

*Epigraphia Indica and record of
the Archæological Survey of India*

Archaeological Survey of India

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

A.—VOLUME V.

- Page 16**, text lines 12, 13.—Professor Kielhorn has told me that, in line 41 of the Kaṭhām plates of A.D. 1009 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23), he takes what I have presented as *Karkara-ṛaṇa-stambhau*, “the two pillars of war of Karkara,” as meaning “**Karkara and Raṇastambha**,” and that he would interpret in a similar way the passage, specified above, in the Managōli inscription of A.D. 1161. This latter passage, indeed, when considered apart from the bias created by my previous rendering of the other passage, makes the point quite certain. And, in the abstract of contents (p. 20, lines 5, 6 from the bottom), there should be read “annihilated king **Kakkara** and king **Raṇakambha**, the sun and moon in the **Rāshtrakūṭa** sky.”—It is due to Mr. Wathen, who brought to notice the Miraj plates of A.D. 1024 which include the verse given in the Kaṭhām record, to add that the translation put forward by him presents “Karkara and Raṇastambha, rājās both of the Rāshtra-kūṭa race;” see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. III. p. 269.—The idea naturally occurs, to take **Raṇastambha** as a northern kinsman and ally of **Kakka II.**, and to connect him with the Jaipur territory in Rājputāna, in which there is the fortress of ‘Ranthambhor,’ = **Raṇastambhapura**,—the ‘Rintimbore or Rantamboor’ of Thornton’s Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV. (1854), p. 320.—J. F. F.
- „ 21, line 18,—for of the race of Vājins, read of the Vājivamśa; and cancel note 2. As has been brought to my notice by Professor Kielhorn, the Vājivamśa is mentioned elsewhere, and the Jain Hullā or Hullapa, a minister of the Hoysala prince Narasiṃha I., belonged to it; see, for instance, *Inscr. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* Introd. pp. 52, 54.—J. F. F.
- „ 71, line 13 from bottom,—for summer-solstice, read winter-solstice.
- „ 77, line 8,—for °नाक्ष[मति*], read °नाक्ष[मत्*].
- „ 96, „ 12,—for summer solstice, read winter-solstice.
- „ 150, line 9.—Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects *jagaḍavāḍu* into *jāgaṭavāḍu*, which would be the same as *jayaghaṇṭavāḍu*, ‘one who strikes the gong;’ compare *jāgaṃṭa* or *jēgaṃṭa* in Brown’s *Telugu Dictionary*, and *jāgaṭe* or *jēgaṭē* in Kittel’s *Kannaḍa Dictionary*.
- „ 168, line 7,—for Bellary, read Anantapur.
- „ 201, paragraph 3.—The identification, which I put forward in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 378, of Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage with ‘Kowteh,’ a small village six miles south-west-by-west from Shōlāpur, on a stream (the ‘Adeela Nulla’) which flows into the Sīnā, which again flows into the Bhīmā, is wrong. I cannot recall the circumstances in which I made the mistake, or the book and map which I then consulted. But it is clear, now, that Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage is the modern ‘Bhundarkowteh’ of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), on the north bank of the Bhīmā itself, in lat. 17° 27', long. 75° 44', about twenty miles south-west from Shōlāpur.—J. F. F.

B.—VOLUME VI.

- Page 6**, line 2,—for ānubhāv-, read ānubhāv-.
- „ 11, note 6,—for °sañchanna-, read °sañchhanna-.
- „ 26, line 9 from bottom,—for Sāmāṅgaḍ, read Sāmāṅgaḍ.
- „ 27, line 9,—for Kṛishṇarāja I., read Kṛishṇarāja I.
- „ 53, note 7, line 6,—for Maṇḍalikatrinētra, read Maṇḍalikatripētra.

Page 57, note 9, line 3,— for Vol. V., read Vol. III.

„ 66, line 9,—for Nalambādhirāja, read Nalambādhirāja.

„ 67, note 4, line 3,— for -Permmānaḍigal=, read -Permmānaḍiga|=.

„ 68, „ 6, „ 2,— for Permanadi, read Permanadi.

69, line 11,— for Kyātanahalli, read Kyātanahalli.

„ 70, „ 8,— for Kisukād, read Kisukād.

„ 83, „ 16,— for king, read kings.

„ 93, „ 7,— for Malapas, read Malapas.

„ 105, verse 1, and note 8.— Professor Kielhorn has now fully accounted for the description of Vishnu here as *Purandara-nandana*, “son of Indra;” see *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 350 ff., where he has shewn that it may be traced back to the use of *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu*, in the *Kirātārjunīya*, i. 24, to denote primarily Arjuna, “the son of Indra,” and secondarily Vishnu, “the younger brother of Indra.” As he has said, in conclusion;—“If a poet like Bhāravi could use *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* as a name of the god Vishnu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym *Purandara-nandana*, in just the same sense.”—J. F. F.

„ 110, note 7.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri aptly identifies *Syamandary* with *Simhādri*, i.e. *Simhāchalam* in the Vizagapatam district; compare Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 27.

„ 111, line 7 f. from bottom.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri states that Pāranandi Bhāskarādvadhānin at Nellore possesses a complete copy of the *Chandrikā*, a commentary on Krishṇamiśra's *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* by Nādimḍla-Gōpa, the sister's son of Sālva-Timma. The colophon of the first act reads as follows:—*Iti śrīmad-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrī-Kṛishṇarāya-mahārāya-sāimrājya-dhuraṁdhara-śrī-Sālva-Timmarāya-daṁḍanāyaka-bhāgināya-Nādimḍla-Gōpa-mamtrī śékharavirachitāyām Prabōdhachandrōdaya-vyākhyāyām Chāndrikā-ākhyāyām prathamō-ślokaḥ ||*

„ 113, line 3 from bottom,— for Mōtupalle, read Mōtupalle.

„ 117, note 11.— *Vṛitrabhid-atman* is synonymous with *indra-nīla*, ‘a sapphire.’

„ 128, „ 6, line 4,— for -Kṛishṇa, read -Kṛishṇa.

„ 131, verse 33, line 3 f.— Read: “If not, why (*dost thou*) whose emblem is the Garuḍa (*assume*) this (*ensign of the hawk*)?”

„ 132, verse 42,— for “whose deep compassion with heroes was,” read “whose heroism and compassion were.”

„ 135, line 20,— for *samvachchkaa*, read *samvachchhara*.

„ 157, text line 191,— for *देवद*, read *देवद*.

„ 169, the last line, and page 170, first line; and throughout subsequent references.—I have recently had occasion to look up Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article on the records of A.D. 915, in the *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. His introductory remarks shew that these two records were obtained at Bagumrā. And they ought, therefore, to be referred to as “the Bagumrā plates of A.D. 915,” and not by a title connecting them with Nausāri as their find-place. His remarks further shew that the seal of each of these two records presents, not only the god Śiva as stated by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253, but also a *svastika* and a *Ganapati* and the legend *śrīman-Nityavarsha*.—J. F. F.

„ 169, note, line 14.— Cancel the words “while his own illustrious queen was prospering.” The correct translation of this passage is given in *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. II. p. 92.

„ 185, line 7 from bottom,— for -Bassappa read -Basappa.

„ „ note 14,— for 7, 8, read 6, 7.

„ 189, „ 1.— It might have been added here that *Ratnāvaloka* occurs as a *biruda* of the *Mahāśmanta* Bappavarasa in the *Mahākūṭa* inscription of A.D. 934: see *Ind. Ant.*

Vol. X. p. 104, No. 96, text line 2; the *biruda* has there been translated, by "he whose glances were (*as bright*) as jewels."—J. F. F.

Page 225, line 10 from bottom,—for Eastern India, read Southern India.

„ 251 ff.; the Diḍgūr inscription.—In editing this record, I overlooked a fact to which Professor Kielhorn has kindly drawn my attention. Just as here we have Dosi as the name of the governor of the Banavāsi province under king Kattiyara, so also we have Dosirāja as the name of the person at whose request, as recorded in the Vakkalēri plates of A.D. 757 (see Vol. V. above, p. 201), the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. granted the village of Suḷḷiyūr, which was in the Pānuṅgal *vishaya* and consequently in the Banavāsi province. The Dosi of the Diḍgūr inscription may well have been a grandson of the Dosirāja of the Vakkalēri plates. At any rate, the identity of these two names Dosi and Dosirāja, and their connection with the same part of the country, is another point in favour of the view that Kattiyara was a Chalukya.—J. F. F.

„ 286, line 20 f. from bottom.—Professor Kielhorn contributes the following remark on this date:—"For Śaka-Saṃvat 789 expired it corresponds to the 23rd December A.D. 867. On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausa ended 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise, and the Uttarāyana-Saṃkrānti took place during the same *tithi*, 1 h. 10 m. before mean sunrise."

„ 286, line 18 ff. from bottom.—In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI. p. 254 f. Dr. Fleet has shewn that Kāmpilya, Chokkhakuṭi, Dabbhellaṅka (this is the correct reading), Apasundara and Kālūpallikā correspond to the modern villages Kaphleta, Chokhad, Dabhel, Asundar and Karoli, and that the river Mandākinī is now called Mindhola.

„ 321, line 15 from bottom,—for Kaśākūḍi, read Kāśākūḍi.

„ 324, note 1, line 4 f., and page 325, line 5,—for Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar, read Jammaṇa-Uḍaiyar.

„ 327, line 23,—for -Uḍaiya[r*], read -Uḍaiya[r*].



Part I.

(Vol. VI.)

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME VI.

No. 1.—AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF PULIKESIN II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 556.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on the east side-wall of an old temple called Mēguṭi, at Aihole in the Hungund tāluka of the Bijāpur (formerly Kalādgi) district.¹ It was first edited, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 67 ff., and a revised version of the text and translation, with an improved photo-lithograph, has been given by the same scholar, *ibid.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff., and *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 129 ff. I re-edit the inscription at the suggestion of, and from an estampage supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet himself, who was anxious to publish the accompanying photo-lithograph which is the first true facsimile of this record. In common fairness I am bound to state that Dr. Fleet's edition, published more than twenty years ago, was an excellent piece of work, which has been of great assistance to me; and I would wish it to be understood that I consider any improvements in the reading or interpretation of the text which I may be able to offer, to be mainly due to the rapid advance of Indian epigraphy, brought about to no small extent by Dr. Fleet's own exertions.

The inscription contains 19 lines of writing, of which nearly the whole of line 18 and the short line 19 apparently are a later addition of little importance, which may be left out of consideration in these introductory remarks. The writing covers a space of about 4' 9½" broad by 2' ¼" high; it is well engraved, and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅝". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are of the regular type of the characters of the Western Chalukya records of the period to which the inscription belongs. Of initial vowels, the text contains the signs for *a*, *ā*, *i* and *u*, and of the signs of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants, all excepting *q̣h*; but *chh*, *ṭh* and the rare *jḥ*² (in =*ōjjhati*, l. 7) occur only as subscript letters. The alphabet also includes the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* (e.g. in *Ravikīrttiḥ=kavitā-* at the end of line 17), the *upadhmaniya* (e.g. in *yaḥ=prabhavaḥ=purusha-*, l. 1), and the Dravidian *ḷ* (e.g. in *Mālava-*, l. 11, and *puḷina-*,

¹ See *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains Bombay Pres.*, p. 183.

² It is strange that none of the published palæographic Tables should give a single instance of the southern form of *jḥ* from an inscription. The form of the subscript *jḥ* used in the present inscription is almost identical with the one employed in the first Cambodian inscription (in the word *ujjhita* in line 7, *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13, and Plate), the alphabet of which in other respects essentially differs from that of the Western Chalukya inscriptions.

l. 12); and of final *m* (e.g. in *ratnānām*, l. 1, and *suchiram*, l. 2), final *t* (e.g. in *prakarshāt*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *iv=ābhavan*, l. 11, and *dvijān*, l. 15). Besides we have the ordinary signs of punctuation, one or two vertical lines, but they are employed irregularly.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is all in verse, the metres employed in the 37 verses being: the ordinary Ślōka, in vv. 20, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34 and 36; Aupachchhandasika, in vv. 9 and 26; Āryā, in vv. 1-4 and 7; Āryāgiti, in v. 37; Upajāti, in v. 6 and v. 19 (Indravajrā); Rathōddhatā, in v. 8; Vamśastha, in v. 12; Drutavilambita, in v. 10; Prabarshinī, in v. 30; Vasantatilakā, in vv. 11, 14, 28 and 35; Mālinī, in vv. 13, 15 and 23-25; Hariṇī, in v. 13; Mandākṛāntā, in v. 17; Śārdūlavikṛīḍita, in vv. 5, 29 and 32; Mattēbhavikṛīḍita, in v. 18; and Sragdharā, in v. 16. So far as I am able to judge, the author has properly observed the metrical rules, and his choice of the metres in some instances, as when he uses the metre Sragdharā in v. 16, appears most appropriate.—The orthography calls for few remarks. *Visarga* has everywhere been changed to the *jihvāmūliya* before *k*, and to the *upadhmāniya* before *p*, and has been assimilated to a following sibilant. The final *m* of a word is at the end of a verse or half-verse always denoted by the special sign of the final *m*, except in *trayāṇām* at the end of verse 25; and in the interior of a Pāda before a consonant it is either changed to *anusvāra* or to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs (before *ch*, *chh* and *j* it is always changed to *ñ*). At the end of the first and third Pādas of a verse the rules of *saṁdhi* have occasionally not been observed, and they have once or twice been neglected in other places. The letter *ṁ* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinha*, l. 3; *v* instead of *b* in *vibhatsa*, l. 11, and *=valaṭh*, l. 14; and *j* instead of *y* in *chirañ=jātaḥ* (for *chiram yātaḥ*), l. 2. Before *r*, *k* is always doubled (e.g. in *parākrama*-, l. 5); and before *y*, *dh* is similarly treated in *ārāddhya*, l. 15. The Dravidian *ḷ* is used in the names *Kālidāsa*, l. 18, *Alupa*, l. 9, *Kēraḷa*, l. 15, *Chōḷa*, ll. 14 and 15, *Nāḷa*, l. 4, *Mālava*, l. 11, and *Kaunāḷa*, l. 13; and also in the words *antarāḷa*, l. 13, *aḷi*, l. 8, *āvaḷi*, l. 9, *kāḷarātri*, l. 4 (but not in *kāla*, l. 16), *ṇuḷina*, l. 12, and *vigaḷita*, l. 11. Clerical errors there are few, and they can be easily corrected.

The inscription is a poem by a certain Ravikirti, who during the reign of the Chalukya Polekēśin Satyāśraya (i.e. the Western Chalukya Pulikēśin II.), whom he describes as his patron, founded the temple of the Jaina prophet Jinēndra on which the inscription was engraved, and who uses the occasion to furnish a eulogistic account (*prastāvi*) of the history of the Chalukya family, and especially of the exploits of Pulikēśin II. As a translation of the poem will be given below, it is unnecessary to burden this introduction with an abstract of the contents, the more so because the historical facts related in this record have been fully discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet;¹ but I may draw attention to one or two statements of our author which are made in verses of which either my text or translation differs from those of the previous edition. From the restitution of the true reading, *Bhaimarathyāḥ*, in verse 17, it appears that the two invaders Āppāyika and Gōvinda, of whom one was repulsed by Pulikēśin II., while the other was made an ally, had come to conquer the country north of the river Bhaimarathi, usually called Bhīmarathi, and that no horses from the northern seas are spoken of in that verse. Again, from the wording of verse 22 it would appear now that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras were not conquered by force, but submitted to, or sought the protection of, Pulikēśin of their own accord. Of greater interest perhaps is my interpretation of verse 28. It will be seen that that verse speaks of a piece of water, apparently containing some islands, which was occupied by Pulikēśin's army, and is called the Kaunāḷa water, or the water (or lake) of Kunāḷa. The position of this piece of water is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the poem. Pulikēśin according to verse 26 subdued the Kalingas and Kōśalas; he then according to verse 27 took the fortress of Piṣṭapura, the modern Piṭhāpuram

¹ See Prof. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., especially p. 51; and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., especially p. 349 ff.

in the Gôdâvarî district; after that, in verse 28, comes his occupation of 'the water of Kunâla;' this again is followed, in verse 29, by his defeat of the Pallava ruler near Kâñchîpura; and in verse 30 he crosses the river Kâvērî. Pulikēsīn's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shews that 'the water of Kunâla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Pithâpuram, between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Kṛishṇâ. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunâla,' given in the poem, would be applicable even at the present day; and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island which more than once has been the object of attack. In the Chellûr plates¹ of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa II. of Śaka-Saṃvat 1056 (exactly five hundred years after the date of the present inscription) we are told that in the Veṅḡ-maṇḍala there is a great lake in which, like Vishṇu's city Dvārakâ in the ocean, is a town named Sarasîpurî, unconquerable by enemies, and that at the time of the inscription that town was possessed or governed by Kâtama-Nâyaka of Kolanu, a Telugu word meaning 'lake,' which according to other inscriptions² must undoubtedly be connected with the Kolleru lake, and which in my opinion is identical with Kunâla.³

Regarding the date of the inscription as given in verses 33 and 34, I have nothing to add to what Dr. Fleet already has stated about it. It corresponds, for the expired year 3735 of the Kaliyuga, here described as the year 3735 since the Bhârata war, and—which is the same—for Śaka-Saṃvat 556 expired, to A.D. 634-35.

Important as this inscription is as an historical document, to myself it seems almost more interesting from a literary point of view. The statement in verse 37 that it raises its author to the level of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi, is surely an exaggeration, but in my opinion this poem indubitably places him in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of *prastâvîs*. Ravikîrti is thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Alankâra-śâstra, and like a true *dâkshinâtîya*, he is unsurpassed in some of his *utprêkshâs*. He is familiar with the works of India's greatest poets, and seems to have especially profited by the study of that most perfect poem of Kâlidâsa's, the *Raghuvamśa*. That this *kāvya* of Kâlidâsa's about A.D. 600 was well-known in widely distant parts of India, and even beyond the confines of India proper, there can be no doubt now. I have elsewhere⁴ had occasion to shew that one of its verses (XII. 1) has been present to the mind of the author of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A.D. 588. I have also drawn attention to the fact⁵ that another verse of the same poem (VI. 23) has been imitated in one of the Nâgârjunî Hill cave inscriptions of the Maukhari Anantavarman, which for palæographic reasons cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century. Besides, so far as I can judge, part at least of the text of the *Raghuvamśa* was

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 57.

² See Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 308.

³ We may compare (see Hémachandra's *Prâkṛit Grammar*, II. 116 ff.) *dlâna* = *ḍṇḍla*, *Achalapura* = *Alachapura*, *karēṇā* = *kanēṇā*, etc.—*Kundja* very probably is the *Kuṇḍla* of the grammarians, which according to Ujjvaladatta is the name of a locality, and according to Hémachandra (*Uḍḍigana* 476) the name of a town.—Moreover, notwithstanding the difference of spelling, I have no doubt whatever that the *Kaundja* of our inscription is identical with the *Kaurḍjaka* in line 19 of the Allâhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 7), which in that inscription is enumerated immediately before *Paishāpuraka*, just as in the present inscription the *jalam Kaundjam* is mentioned immediately after *Pishāpura*. (An antiquated statement, lately repeated in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 63, induces me to add that by the inspection of an excellent estampage I have convinced myself that *Kaurḍjaka*, as published by Dr. Fleet, is the true reading in Samudragupta's inscription).

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 276.

⁵ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 224.

familiar to the composer of the first Cambodian inscription,¹ which according to the most competent authorities belongs to the commencement of the seventh century. And turning to Chalukyan inscriptions, it is sufficient to say that the half-verse *yathāvidhi-hutāgninām yathākām-ārchitārthinām* of *Ragh.* I. 6, is actually copied by the writer of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa,² which may be specifically dated in A.D. 602, and was certainly composed before A.D. 610. As regards the present inscription, I have brought together in the notes to my translation a number of parallel passages both from the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kṛtārjunīya*, which can leave no doubt as to Ravikīrti's indebtedness to the authors of those two *kāvya*s. Here I would only add that for the principal part of his poem, the description of the exploits of his patron in verses 17-32, Ravikīrti clearly has taken as his model the *Raghu-digvijaya* in *Ragh.* IV., and that very probably he would himself have styled this part (if not the whole) of his *prastāvi* the Digvijaya of Polekēśin Satyāśraya.

TEXT.³

- 1 Jayati⁴ bhagavān(ā)=Jinēndrō [vī]ta-ja[rā-ma]raṇa-janmanō yasya [1*] jñāna-samudr-āntargga[ta]m=akhilān=jagad=antarīpam=iva | (||) [1*] Tad=anu chiram=aparī[mē]yaś=Chalukya-kula-vipula-jalanidhir=jjayati || (|) prithivī-mauli-lālāmnām yaḥ=prabhavaḥ=purusha-ratnānām || [2*] Śūrē vidushi cha vibhajan=dānam=mānaḥ=cha yugapad=ēkatra || (|)
- 2 avihita-yāthāsam[kh]y[ō] [ja]yati cha Satyāśrayas=suchiram || [3*] Prithivīvallabha-śabdō yēshām=anvartthātān=chiraṇ=jātaḥ⁵ [1*] tad-varṇsēshu jigīshushu tēshu bahushv=apy=atitēshu || [4*] ⁶Nānā-hēti-sat-ābhigāta-patita-bhrānt-āśva-patti-dvipē nṛityad-bhīma-kavandha-khadga⁷-kīraṇa-jvālā-sahasr[ē] raṇē [1*]
- 3 Lakshmīr-bhāvita-chāpal=āpi cha kṛitā śauryēṇa yēn=ātmasāt(d=)rāj=āśij=Jayasinha-⁸vallabha iti khyātāś=Chalukya-ānvayaḥ || [5*] ⁹Tad-ātma-jō=bhūd=Raraṇarāga-¹⁰nāmā divy-ānubhāvō jagad-ēkanāthaḥ [1*] amānushatvaṁ kila yasya lōkaḥ=¹¹suptasya jānāti vapuḥ-prakarshāt || [6*] ¹²Tasy=ābhavat=tanūjaḥ=Polekēśi(śi) ya[h]¹³ śrit-ēndukāntir=api [1*]
- 4 Śrī-vallabhō=py=ayāsīd=Vātāpīpuri-vadhū-varatām || [7*] ¹⁴Yat-trivargga-padavīm=alam kshitan n=ānugantum=adhun=āpi rājakam [1*] bhūś=cha yēna hayamēdha-yājinaḥ prāpit-āvabhṛitha-majjanā¹⁵ babhau || [8*] ¹⁶Naḷa-Maurya-

¹ *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13. When writing the second half of verse 6 (*dvishdm asahyō yasyaiva pratāpō na ravōr api*) the author of the inscription had in his mind, and the wording of his verse was influenced by, *Ragh.* IV. 49 (*Dīśi mandyātē tējō dakṣiṇasydm ravōr api, tasydm ēva Raghōḥ Pāṇḍydh pratāpam na viśhēhīrē*); in the inscription the use of the particle *api* after *ravōr* in my opinion is awkward, if not improper; in Kālidāsa's verse it is most appropriate. The idea expressed in verse 7 (*Yasya sainyarajō dhātām vjjhitlankṛitishv api, ripustrīgaṇḍadēśishu chūrṇaḥbhāvam upagatam*) was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 54 (*Bhayōtṛishṭavibhūshāṇām tēna Kēralayōshitam, alakēshu chamūrēṇuś chūrṇapratinidhīkṛitah*).

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, line 1 of the text. The same inscription contains other fragments of verses (l. 2, *riddhyd Vaisṛavaṇōpamaḥ*; l. 10, *Mahēndra iva durddharshaḥ Edma vāpardjitaḥ Śibir=Asūnara iva*; l. 11, *samudra iva gambhīraḥ kshumayd prithivī-samaḥ*), the source of which I have not discovered yet. The Nerūr plates of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) also contain a half-verse (l. 11, *Babhau sa Vainya-pratimāna-kṛttis=tamaḥ=pramridnan=svagun-āmśujalāḥ*), which I have not yet identified.

³ From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

⁴ Metre of verses 1-4: Āryā.

⁵ Read *-chiram ydtaḥ*.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁷ Originally *khadga* was engraved, but the *d* of *khad* seems to have been struck out again.

⁸ Read *Jayasinha*.

⁹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Read *Raraṇarāga*.

¹¹ Read *lōkaḥ*.

¹² Metre: Āryā.

¹³ This *yaḥ* (or *ya*?) was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

¹⁴ Metre: Rathōddhatā.

¹⁵ Possibly the *akshara* *nd* has been altered to *nam* in the original, and *prāpit=āvabhṛitha-majjanam* (i.e. *prāpitd avā*?) would be a better reading.

¹⁶ Metre: Aupachchhundāsika.

- Kadamba-kālarātrihs=¹tanayas=tasya babbhūma(va) Kirttivarmma [1*] para-dāra-nivṛtta-chittavṛttēr=api² dhīr=yasya ripu-śri-
- 5 y=ānukriṣhṭā || [9*] ³Rapa-parākkrama-labdha-jayaśriyā sapadi yēna virugna(gṇa)m=aśēshataḥ [1*] nripati-gandhagajēna mah-aujasā pṛithu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam⁴ || [10*] ⁵Tasmin=Surēśvara-vibhūti gat-ābbilāshē rāj=ābhavat=tad-anujāḥ=kila Maṅgal[ē]śah⁶ [1*] yaḥ=pūrvva-paśchima-samudra-taṭ-ōshit-āśva-sēnā-rajah-paṭa-vinirmitta-digvitānaḥ || [11*] ⁷Sphuran-mayūkhair=asi-dipikā-śataih(tair=)
- 6 vyudasya mātāṅga-tāmisra-saṅchayam [1*] avāptavān=yō raṇaraṅga-mandirē Kaṭachchuri-śrī-lalanā-parigrahaṁ || [12*] ⁸Punar=api cha jighrīkshōs=sainyam=ākkrānta-sālam⁹ ruchira-bahu-patākam Rēvati-dvipam=āśu [1*] sapadi mahad=udanvat-tōya-samkkānta-bimbam¹⁰ Vara(ru)ṇa-balam=iv=ābhūd=āgataṁ yasya vāchā || [13*] ¹¹Tasy=āgrajasya tanayē Nahush-ānubhāgē(vē) Lakshmyā kil=ābhi-
- 7 lashitē ¹²Pol[ē]kēśi-nāmnī [1*] sāsūyam=ātmani bhavantam=ataḥ=pitṛivyaṁ¹³ jñātva=āparuddha-charita-vyavasāya-buddhau || [14*] Sa¹⁴ yad-upachita-[ma]ntr-ōtsāha-śakti-prayōga-kṣhapita-bala-viśēshō Maṅgalēśas=¹⁵samantāt [1*] sva-tanaya-gata-rājy-ārambha-yatnēna sārddham nijam=atanu cha rājyañ=jīvitāñ=ch=ōjjhati sma || [15*] ¹⁶Tāvat=tach-chha[t*]tra-bhaṅgē jagad=akḥilam=arāty-andhakār-ōparuddham
- 8 yasy=āśahya-pratāpa-dyuti-tatibhir=iv=ākkrāntam=āst=prabhātam [1*] nṛityad-vidyut-patākaiḥ=prajavini maruti kṣhuppa-pa[r]yyanta-bhāgair=ggarjjadbhir=vvārīvāśai(hai)r=ālī-kula-malinam vyōma yātām kadā vā || [16*] Lab[dhv]ā¹⁷ kālam bhuvam=upagatē jētum=Āppāyik-ākhyē Gōvindē cha dviradanikarair=uttarām=Bhaimarathyāḥ [1*] yasy=ānikair=yudhi bhaya-rasa-jñatvam=ēkaḥ=prayātas=tatr=āvāptam=phalam=upakṛitas=ā-
- 9 parēṇ=āpi sadyaḥ | (||) [17*] ¹⁸Varadā-tuṅga-taraṅga-raṅga-vilasad-dhamsāvalī-mēkhalām Vanavāsīm=avamṛdnatas=surapura-prasparddh[i]nīm sampadā [1*] mahatā yasya bal-ārṇavēna paritas=sānchhādīt-ōrvvitalam¹⁹ sthala-durggañ=jala-durggatām=iva²⁰ gatām tat=tatkshaṇē paśyatām || [18*] ²¹Gaṅg-

¹ Read °rdtri= ; the sign of *visarga* may have been struck out already in the original.

² Originally -*nivṛttichittvṛttē* was engraved; afterwards the *i* of *tī* and the *ḥ* of *tīḥ* appear to have been struck out, the *akṣaras vṛtt[ḥ]* were engraved below the line, and the place where they should be inserted was indicated by a vertical line above the line, before *ra*.

³ Metre: Drutavilambita.

⁴ Originally °*kaḥ* seems to have been engraved.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ The signs for *li* and *lḥ* being very similar, it is somewhat difficult to say whether the reading here and in line 7 is *Maṅgalīśa* or *Maṅgalēśa*; in neither place is it *Maṅgalīśa*. I read the name *Maṅgalēśa*, because I do not think that the engraver twice would have made the same mistake, and because in line 7 the third *akṣara* of the name appears to me undoubtedly to be *lḥ*. Compare the *lḥ* of *kālē* in l. 16, and the *li* of *malinam* in l. 8, and of *līnga* and *Kaliṅga* in l. 13.

⁷ Metre: Vamśastha.

⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

⁹ Read -*ślam*.

¹⁰ Read -*bimbam*.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹² The sign of the first consonant (*p*) of this name, in my opinion, at the top has the vowel *o*, and below it, *u*, but the latter seems to have been struck out. In the following syllable, originally the full sign of *la* seems to have been engraved; whether the vowel-sign at the top is meant for *i* or *e*, is difficult to say.

¹³ Read -*pitṛivyaṁ*.

¹⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁵ Instead of the *akṣara śa* originally *śō* seems to have been engraved.

¹⁶ Metre: Sragdhara.

¹⁷ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

¹⁸ Metre: Mattēbhavikṛdita.

¹⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

²⁰ In the original, between *durgga* and *tāmiva*, the *akṣaras tāmiraga* were engraved, and then struck out again.

²¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

- Ālup-ēndrā vyasanāni sapta hitvā pur=ōpārjjita-sampadō=pi [1*] yasy=ānnbhāv-ōpanatās=sad=āsann=ā-
- 10 sanna-sēvāmrita-pāna-saundhā¹ [|| 19*] Koṅkaṇēshu² yad-ādishta-chaṇḍa-daṇḍ-āmbuvichibhiḥ [1*] udastās=tarasā Maurya-palvalāmbu-samṛiddhayaḥ | (||) [20*]
³Apara-jaladhēr=Lakshmi[m] yasmin=Purim=Purabhit-prabhē madagaja-ghaṭ-ākārair=nnāvām śatair=avamṛidnati [1*] jalada-paṭal-ānīk-āki(ki)ṛṇṇan=navōtpala-mēchakañ=jalanidhir=iva vyōma vyōmnas=sa-
- 11 mō=bhavad=ambubhiḥ(dhiḥ) [|| 21*] ⁴Pratāp-ōpanatā yasya Iāṭa-Māḷava-Gūrjjarāḥ [1*] daṇḍ-ōpanata-sāmanta-charyy-āch[ā]ryyā iv=ābhavan || [22*] ⁵Aparimita-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmanta-sēnā-makuta-maṇi-mayūkh-ākkrānta-pādāravindaḥ [1*] yudhi patita-gaja(jā)ndr-ānīka-vi(bī)bhata-bhūtō bhaya-vigalita-harshō yēna ch=ākāri Harshaḥ || [23*] Bhuvam=urubhir=anīkaś=sā-
- 12 satō yasya Rēvō(vā)-vividha-pulīna-sōbb-āvandhya-Vindhy-ōpakapṭh[ah]⁶ [1*] adhikataram=arājat=svēna tējō-mahimnā śikharibhir=ibha-varjyā(rjyō) var[sh]maṇā sparddhay=ēva || [24*] Vidhivad=upachitābhiś=śāktibhiś=Śakkrakalpas=tiaribhir=api guṇ-aughais=svaiś=cha mākūl-ādyaiḥ [1*] agamad=adhipatitvam yō Mahārāṣṭrakāṇām navaṇavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām trayāṇām || [25*] Grihīṇām⁷ sva-
- 13 sva-guṇais=trivargga-tuṅgā vihit-ānyakshitipāla-mānabhaṅgā[h] [1*] abhavan=upajāta-bhītiliṅgā yad-anīkēna sa-Kō[sa*]lāh-Kaliṅgā[h] || [26*] Pishtam⁸ Pishtapuram yēna jātam durggam=adurggamañ=⁹chitraṁ yasya kalēr=vr̥ttam¹⁰ jātam durggama-durggamam | (||) [27*] ¹¹Sannaddha-vāraṇa-ghatāsthagit-āntarālam¹² nān-āyudha-kshata-nara-kshataj-āngarāgam¹³ [1*] āstj=jalam yad-avamardditam=abhra-garbhām Kaunālam=a-
- 14 mbaram=iv=ō[j ?]ita-¹⁴sāndhyarāgam || [28*] ¹⁵Uddhūt-āmala-chāva(ma)ra-dhvaja-śata-chchha[t*]tr-āndhakārair=vva(bba)laiḥ śauryy-ōtsāha-ras-ōddhat-¹⁶ārī-mathanair=mmaul-a(ā)dibhish=shaḍvidhaiḥ [1*] ākkrañt-ātmabalōnnatim=balarajassañchanna-Kāñchipuraḥ(ra)prākārāntarita-pratāpam=akarōd=yaḥ =Pallavānām=patim || [29*] Kāvērī¹⁷ dr̥ita-śapharī-vilōla-nētrā Chōlānām sapadi jay-ōdyatasya yasya [1*] praśchyōtanmada-gaja-sē-
- 15 tu-ruddha-nīrā saṁsparsam pariharati sma ratna-rāsēḥ | (||) [30*] ¹⁸Chōḷa-Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍyānām¹⁹ yō=bhūt-tatra maharddhayē [1] Pallav-ānīka-nihāra-tuhinētaradīdhitih || [31*] ²⁰Utsāha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitē yasmin=samastā diśō jivā bhūmi-patīn=visṛijya mahitān=ārāddhya dēva-dvijān [1*] Vātāpin-nagarīm=praviśya nagarīm=ēkām=iv=ōvvi(rvvi)m=imām²¹ chañchan-nīradhī(dhi)-nīla-nīra-parikhām

¹ Read *-saundhā*.² Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).³ Metre: Hariṇī.⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁵ Metre of ver ses 23-25: Mālinī.⁶ This, in my opinion, is the intended (and undoubtedly correct) reading. Originally *ṇīśō* was engraved, but the two lines forming the *ō* appear to have been struck out again.⁷ Metre: Anupachchandasika.—The *akshara* *sva* at the end of the line should be struck out, and may have been struck-out already in the original.⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁹ Read *ṛggamam* |.¹⁰ Read *vr̥ttam*.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹² Read *ṛdīam*.¹³ Originally *-narakshatakshata*^o seems to have been engraved, but the first *kshata* apparently has been struck out again.¹⁴ Read *-ōdita*.¹⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁶ Originally *-ōddhit* was engraved.¹⁷ Metre: Praharṣiṇī.—Read *dr̥uta*.¹⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁹ Read *-Pāṇḍyānām*.²⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²¹ Read *-imām*.

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- 16 Satyāśrayē śāsati || [32*] Trimśatsu¹ tri-sahasrēshu Bhāratād-āhavād-
itah [1*] sapt-ābdaśata-yuktēshu śa(ga)tēshv-abdēshu pañchasu [11 33*]
Pañchāśatsu Kalau kâlê² shaṭsu pañcha-śatāsu cha [1*] samāsu
samatitāsu Śakānām-api bhūbhujām || [34*] ³Tasy-āmbudhitraya-nivārīta-
śāsanasya
- 17 Satyāśrayasya param-āptavatā prasādam [1*] śailaū-Jinēndra-bhavanam=
bhavanam=⁴mahimnān=nirmāpitam=matimatā Ravikirtin-ēdam || [35*]
⁵Prasastēr-vvasatēś=ch=āyāḥ⁶ Jinasya trijagad-gurōh=⁷karttā kārayitā ch=
āpi Ravikirttiḥ-kṛitī svayam || [36*] ⁸Yēn=āyōji navē=śma-sthiram=arttha-
vidhau vivēkinā Jina-vēśma [1*] sa ⁹vijayatām Ravikirttiḥ-kavitā-
- 18 śrita-Kālidāsa-Bhāravi-kirttiḥ | (||) [37*] @ ¹⁰Mūlavaḥḥi-Veḥmaḥtikavāda-
[Ma]¹¹chchanūr-Ggaṅgavūr-Puligere-Gaṇḍavagrāma(mā) iti asya bhuktiḥ[h 1*]
Giri(rē)[s=ta]tāt=paśchim-[ā]bhigata¹² Nimūvārīr=yyāva[t*] mahāpathāntapurasya
si(si)mā uttarataḥ dakṣiṇatō
- 19 ¹³. . . . ga . . ¹⁴ na @

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious¹⁶ is the holy Jinēndra—he who is exempt from old age, death and birth—in the sea of whose knowledge the whole world is comprised like an island.

(V. 2.) And next, long victorious is the immeasurable, wide ocean of the Chalukya family, which is the birth-place of jewels of men that are ornaments of the diadem of the earth.

(V. 3.) And victorious for very long is Satyāśraya, who in bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together on either, observes not the rule of correspondency of number.¹⁶

¹ Metre of verses 33 and 34: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

² After this a second *lā* seems to have been engraved and then cancelled again.

³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁴ Originally =*bhavanam* was engraved.

⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁶ Read =*dyā*.

⁷ Read =*gurōh*.

⁸ Metre: Āryāgiti.

⁹ In the place of *vi* originally *ja* was engraved; afterwards it was erased and *i* was engraved above and *v* below it.

¹⁰ From here the writing differs from, and seems undoubtedly more modern than, that of the preceding part of the inscription. Compare especially the signs for *a*, *k*, *t*, *r* and *l*.

¹¹ Dr. Fleet read this *akṣara pa*, and he may possibly be right.

¹² Not understanding the passage, I am unable to say whether (as proposed by Dr. Fleet) this should be altered to *gataḥ*.

¹³ Here one or two *akṣaras* are illegible.

¹⁴ Here one *akṣara* is illegible.

¹⁵ Ravikirti in verses 1-3 glorifies first the Jaina prophet, Jinēndra, for whom he has built the temple at which the inscription was engraved; secondly (*tad=anu*), the Chalukya family, the history of which forms the theme of his poem; and lastly, his patron, the king Satyāśraya (Pulikēsin II.) of that family. Similarly, in the first three verses of the (unpublished) Tālgund Kadamba inscription the poet Kubja first glorifies the god Śhānu (Śiva), near whose temple the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman founded a tank; secondly (*tam=anu*), the Brāhmaṇ caste to which the Kadambas, whose rise to power Kubja describes, belonged; and lastly, the king Kākusthavarman himself.—With the epithet commencing with *etā*, compare *etā-janma-jarasaṁ (paraṁ śuchi brahmaṇaḥ padam)* in the *Kirātārjunya*, V. 22.

¹⁶ Interpreted by Pāṇini's rule, I. 3, 10, *yathā-samkhyam=anuddīśa samāndam*, the statement that Satyāśraya bestowed 'gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned' would mean, that he bestowed gifts on the brave, and honours on the learned. But the fact that the king really bestowed gifts and honours, both together, on the brave as well as on the learned, shews that the above statement should not be interpreted by, or, as the poet puts it, that Satyāśraya did not act in accordance with, Pāṇini's *yathā-samkhyā*-rule. As Ravikirti here refers to Pāṇini, I. 3, 10, so Bhāravi in the *Kirātārjunya*, XIII. 19, clearly refers to the immediately preceding rule of Pāṇini's, I. 3, 9, *tasya lōpaḥ*; compare Mallinātha's commentary on the verse. Similarly, to give only one more instance, Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūtā*, XII. 58 (*dhatōḥ sthāna iv=ādīśam*), alludes to Pāṇini, I. 1, 56, *sthānīyad=ādīśo=naivīdhaḥ*.

(V. 4.) When many members of that race, bent on conquest, applied to whom the title of Favourite of the Earth had at last become appropriate, had passed away,—

(V. 5.) There was, of the **Chalukya** lineage, the king named **Jayasimha-vallabha**, who in battle—where horses, footsoldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and of flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro¹—by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.²

(V. 6.) His son was he who was named **Ranarāga**, of divine dignity, the one master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (*even*) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form.³

(V. 7.) His son was **Polekésin**, who, though endowed with the moon's Beauty, and though the favourite of Fortune, became the bridegroom of **Vâtâpipuri**.⁴

(V. 8.) Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life⁵ the kings on earth even now are unable to follow; and bathed by whom with the water of the purificatory rite, when he performed the horse-sacrifice, the earth beamed with brightness.

(V. 9.) His son was **Kirtivarman**, the night of doom to the **Nalas**, **Mauryas** and **Kadambas**, whose mind, although his thoughts kept aloof from others' wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary.

(V. 10.) Who, having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad *kadamba* trees—the **Kadambas**.⁶

(V. 11.) When his desire was bent on the dominion of the lord of the gods,⁷ his younger brother **Maṅgalêśa** became king, who by the sheets of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters.⁸

(V. 12.) Who in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel, the Fortune of the **Kaṭachchuris**, having scattered the gathering gloom, (*viz.*) the array of elephants (*of the adversary*), with hundreds of bright-rayed lamps, (*viz.*) the swords (*of his followers*).

(V. 13.) And again, when he was desirous of taking the island of **Rêvatî**, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like **Varuṇa's** forces, quickly come there at once at his word (*of command*).

¹ Literally, 'dancing.' The compound commencing with *nrityad-* reminds one of *Ragh.* VII. 48, where a warrior whose head has been cut off with the sword (*khadga*) rises into the sky, and from there views his headless trunk dancing on the battle-field (*nrityat=kabandham samarê dadarê*).—The preceding *aiśa-patti-dvipa* is equivalent to *aiśa-dvipa-vîra*, *ibid.* verse 39.

² Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 46, *chapaî=âpi svabhâvataḥ* . . . *Śrîḥ*.

³ The gods are called *a-nimisha*, or *a-nimêsha*, because they do not shut their eyes (compare *Ragh.* III. 43). When the king was asleep, he did shut his eyes, yet even then the pre-eminence of his form shewed him to be a god. *Vapuḥ-prakarsha* occurs *e.g.* *ibid.* III. 34 and 52, and *Kir.* III. 2.—It may be noted that the word *jagad-êkandthah*, used in this verse, occurs in *Ragh.* V. 23, together with *deijardja-kântiḥ* which is synonymous with the epithet *îrit-êndukântiḥ* in the next verse of this inscription.

⁴ Beauty (*Kânti*) personified is regarded as the wife of the Moon. The town *Vâtâpipuri* is represented by the poet as a newly married woman (*Vâtâpipury=êva vadhûr=navôḍhâ, tasya varô vôḍhâ*); compare *Ragh.* XVII. 25, *rijyatrî-vadhû-varaḥ*.

⁵ I.e. *dharma*, *artha* and *kâma*.

⁶ The expression *prithu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam* apparently was suggested to our author by the *prithu-kadamba-kadambaka* in *Kir.* V. 9. In the *Tâlgund Kadamba* inscription the *kadamba* tree and the Kadamba family have the epithet *vr̥ṣa*, corresponding to the adjective *prithu* in the present inscription and in the *Kauṭhêm plates*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 21.

⁷ I.e. when he died.

⁸ Compare *Ragh.* XVIII. 22, *vêlâ-tatêsh=ûshita-sainikâśvam*; and IX. 50, *gaganam=atvakhur-ôddhata-rêṇubhîr=nri-savitâ sa-vitânum=ic=âkarôṭ*. The eastern and western seas bound the earth on either side; compare *Âmudrasumbhava*, I. 1.

(V. 14.) When his elder brother's son, named Polekēsin, of a dignity like Nahusha's, was coveted by Fortune,¹ and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile,²—

(V. 15.) That Maṅgalēśa, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by Him,³ abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for⁴ his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life.

(V. 16.) Then, on the subversion of that rule encompassed by the darkness of enemies, the whole world grew light again, invaded as it were by the lustrous rays of His irresistible splendour. Or when was it that the sky ceased to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning were dancing like banners, and the edges of which were crushed in the rushing wind?⁵

(V. 17.) When, having found the opportunity, he who was named Āppāyika, and Gōvinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathi, the one in battle through His armies came to know the taste of fear,⁶ while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

(V. 18.) When He was besieging Vanavāsi, which for a girdle⁷ has the rows of *hamsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place, and which by its wealth

¹ A comparison with *Ragh.* V. 38 suggests the interpretation that it was desired to confer on Polekēsin the dignity of *Yuvardja*, or heir apparent.

² The verb *apa-rudh* means 'to debar, to shut out from, to banish, to exile;' it is often joined with *rdshīrdt*, *rdshīrdt-aparuddhaḥ* being equivalent to *rdshīrdt-bhrashṭaḥ*; and *aparuddhaḥ-charati* is used of a person who as an exile wanders about in foreign countries. Already in the *Atharvaveda*, III. 8, 5, we find the phrase *anyakshētrā aparuddhaḥ charant am*, in a hymn by which the restoration of an exiled king is accomplished; see Bloomfield's *Atharvaveda*, p. 74. And in the *Aitarīya-Bṛāhmaṇa*, VIII. 10— I take this quotation from the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*—the manner in which a prince who has lost his kingdom may regain it, is described thus: *Yady u ed ānam upadhāvēd r d s h ī r d d a p a r u d h y a m d n a s : tathā mē kuru yatādhām idam rdshītram punar avagachchhanti, ādām āvainam dītam upanishkramoydt, tathā ha rdshītram punar avagachchhanti*; 'if ever there should seek shelter with him (i.e. with the anointed Kshatriya) one who is being shut out from his kingdom, saying "act for me in such a manner that I may regain this kingdom," he (i.e. the anointed Kshatriya) should let him depart in *tāis* (north-eastern) direction; so verily he recovers his kingdom.' From all this it is clear that what our poet wishes us to understand, is, that Polekēsin, either banished by Maṅgalēśa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked their assistance in the recovery of his rights. The expression *aparuddha-charita* is used by the poet with special reference to the phrase *aparuddhaḥ-charati*, as explained above.—*Vyasaśya-buddhi* is used by Kālidāsa in the *Kumdrasambhava*, IV. 45.

³ I.e. Polekēsin, whose exploits are eulogized in verses 15-32. In the original the sentences in these verses are all relative clauses, the relative pronouns of which are correlated with the *tasya* at the commencement of verse 35. In my translation I have written the pronoun, when it refers to Polekēsin, with an initial capital letter.

⁴ For the use of the word *gata* compare e.g. *Sītā-gatam anāham*, 'his love for Sītā,' in *Ragh.* XV. 86; see also above, verse 11, *vibhūti-gat-dbhildha*.

⁵ The first half of the verse states that, as the rising sun dissipates the darkness of night, so Polekēsin dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of Maṅgalēśa's rule (literally, of the umbrella which is the sign of sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm. And the second half impresses on the reader the fact that only then, on Polekēsin's rise to power, and at no other time, the troubles attending Maṅgalēśa's destruction were put an end to. Though the poet, employing the rhetorical figure of *aprasutaprasāmed*, in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of storm-clouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words (*patdka*, *paryanta-bhāga*, the verb *garj* for which see e.g. *Ragh.* IX. 9, and *aṣi-kula* which recalls *ari-kula*) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed.—The question ending with *kadd* *ed* undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (*na kaddpi*). The word *dvat* with which the verse commences I take in the sense of *tasminn-avasare* or *tatkālā eva*; compare e.g. *Kumdrasambhava*, VII. 30 and 63. With the second half of the verse compare Varāhamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake, *Bṛīhatsaṃhitā*, XXXII. 17.

⁶ Compare *Ragh.* III. 26, *sutasparśarasañjāldm gagan*.

⁷ The city of Vanavāsi, being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *hamsa* birds that play in the Varadā river which flows close to the town. Compare *Ragh.* IX. 87; also *ibid.* XIX. 40, *saikataḥ cha Sarayām vierīṇvatīm śrōṣi-bimbam-iva hamsa-māhālam*; and *Kir.* IV. 1, *kujatkalahamsa-māhāldm . . . priydm-iva . . . bhuvam*.

rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

(V. 19.) Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.¹

(V. 20.) In the Koṅkaṇas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools²—the Mauryas.

(V. 21.) When, radiant like the destroyer³ of Pura, He besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.⁴

(V. 22.) Subdued by His splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.⁵

(V. 23.) Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (*harsha*) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.

(V. 24.) While He was ruling the earth with his broad armies, the neighbourhood of the Vindhya, by no means destitute of the lustre of the many sandbanks of the Rēvā, shone even more brightly by his great personal splendour, having to be avoided by his elephants because, as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains.⁶

(V. 25.) Almost⁷ equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth⁸ and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages.

¹ Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards. The seven vices are enumerated e.g. in the verse (Böhtlingk's *Ind. Sprüche*, 2994): *Dyūtaṁ māṁsam sūrā vīrya-dhīḥ-chaurya-parāṅgandhā mahāpāpāni sapta-aśau vyasandni tyajēd-budhah* ||

² Compare the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in the first act, *atrabhavataḥ kila mama cha samudra-palvalayōr-iv=antaram=astī*; the comparison apparently is a proverbial one.—The juxtaposition of the two words *chanda* and *danda* also is most common; compare e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 415 (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 33), l. 11 of the text, *Yama-danda-chanda-dārdanda*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 349, l. 55 (as corrected by Dr. Hultzsch), *bāhu-danda-chand-dāni*; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 218, l. 40, *chand-dsi-danda*; etc. Compare also the very common title or epithet *mahāprachandadandāyaka*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 127, l. 6 of the text, and elsewhere.

³ I.e. the god Śiva.

⁴ For a similar way of comparing heaven and earth with each other see *Ragh.* IV. 29, *bhūvas-talam=iva vyōma kurvan=vyōm=eva bhūtalām*.

⁵ Although the Lāṭas etc., impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 21, where the *dandōpanata-charita* of the gods Indra etc. towards the king Atithi is described. With *dandrya abhavan* one may compare *dandryakam chakre*, *ibid.* XII. 78.

⁶ Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impassable for them; but the poet's reason is, that the elephants were higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone there, the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain-like elephants would have transgressed the command of the sage Agastya (the *Vindhyasya saṁstambhagītā mahādr̥h*, *Ragh.* VI. 61; see also XII. 81) that it should not grow higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.—With the whole verse compare *Ragh.* XVI. 31; for the use of *avandhya* see *ibid.* I. 86, *dāmsit-dvandhya-prārthana*, literally 'one whose prayer is not destitute of fulfilment.'

⁷ He was like Indra because, like that deity, he possessed certain *śaktis*; but was inferior to him because his *śaktis* were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy), while Indra possesses eight *Śaktis* (*Indrāṇi* etc.).

⁸ According to Pāṇini, IV. 1, 141, *māhākula* would mean 'born in a noble family.'

(V. 26.) Through the excellencies of their householders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the **Kalīngas** with the **Kōsalas** by His army were made to evince signs of fear.

(V. 27.) Hard pressed (*pishṭa*) by Him, **Pisṭapura** became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (*to relate*), the ways of the Kali age to Him¹ were quite inaccessible!

(V. 28.) Ravaged by Him, the water of **Kunāla**²—coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants—was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen.³

(V. 29.) With his sixfold forces,⁴ the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas, and darkness,⁵ and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, He caused the splendour of the lord of the **Pallavas**, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of **Kāñchīpura**.⁶

(V. 30.) When straightway He strove to conquer the **Chōlas**, the **Kāvēri**, who has the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean.⁷

(V. 31.) There He caused great prosperity to the **Chōlas**, **Kēraḷas** and **Pāṇḍyas**, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the **Pallavas**.

(V. 32.) While He, **Satyāśraya**, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel,—having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to gods and **Brāhmaṇas**, having entered the city of **Vātāpi**—is ruling, like one city, this earth which has the dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its moat;⁸

(V. 33.) (Now) when thirty (*and*) three thousand and five years besides, joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the **Bhārata** war;

¹ Against **Pāṇini**, II. 3, 69, the genitive case is used in construction with *durgama* in accordance with the maxim *khalārtha-yōgēpi śēṣa-vicakṣhdyām śaṣṭhīm-iśchokhanti*; see e.g. **Mallinātha** on *Ragh.* XVII. 70, where **Kālidāsa** has *tasya* (instead of *tēna*) *durlabhaḥ*.

² I.e. the **Kunāla** (Kolann, Kolleru) lake; compare my introductory remarks, above, p. 2 f.

³ Compare *Ragh.* XVI. 58 (especially the words *galit-āṅgaragaiḥ saṁdhyōdayaḥ sdbhira iva*); XI. 60 (*sāndhya-mēgha-rudhira*); and *Kir.* IX. 9 (*sthaṅgita-vṛṇḍa-paṅktyā saṁdhyayā*).

⁴ For the *śaḍvidhaḥ balaḥ* see *Ragh.* IV. 26 and XVII. 67.

⁵ The darkness raised by the troops is the dust, the *raḍ-ndhakdra* of *Ragh.* VII. 39. (In *Kir.* XVII. 20 we similarly have a *śar-ndhakdra*, and in the *Vikramāditya-śaṅkarita*, I. 76, a *khaḍg-ndhakdra*). The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries *etc.*

⁶ *Balarajasañchanna-Kāñchīpuraprakāśantarita* is a **Karmadhāraya** compound. The splendour of the **Pallava** first (when he was defeated in the open) was only obscured; afterwards (when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress) it entirely vanished. The poet of course wishes us to understand that the splendour of the **Pallava** is compared with the sun.

⁷ The verse clearly was suggested to our author by *Ragh.* IV. 45: *Sa sānya-paribhōḡaṇa gajādna-rugandhinaḥ | Kāvērī saritā palyaḥ śaṅkanti-dm-iv-dkarōt* || By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing *etc.*, and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting-juice of their elephants, **Raghu** made the (river) **Kāvēri** an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband, who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men. **Ravikīrti** too mentions the rutting-juice, but does so in a mere *epitheton ornans* which he might as well have omitted, because in his verse the real reason for the **Kāvēri**'s keeping away from the ocean is, that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which **Polekēśin** crossed the river. **Ravikīrti** has spoiled **Kālidāsa**'s verse by crowding into it an idea from *Ragh.* IV. 38 (*sa śritvā Kapildā saṅgair-baddha-doirada-śtubhiḥ*).—The epithet of the **Kāvēri**, *druta-śapharī-vilā-nātrā*, apparently was suggested by the epithet *śapharī-pariśphurita-chāru-dṛiṣṭa* in *Kir.* VI. 16 (compare also *ibid.* IV. 3); *prāśhyōtana-mada* occurs *ibid.* VII. 85.

⁸ Part of this verse was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 85-87, describing the conclusion of **Raghu**'s *dig-vijaya*. With the end of the verse compare *ibid.* I. 30: *Sa śēḍa-vapravalayāṁ parikṣhṛita-edgarām | ananyaiścandma-urotā śāḍa-śika-purā-iva* ||

(V. 34.) And when fifty (*and*) six and five hundred years of the Śaka kings also have gone by in the Kali age;

(V. 35.) This stone mansion of Jinendra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise Ravikirti, who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyāśraya whose rule is bounded by the three oceans.

(V. 36.) Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina revered in the three worlds,¹ the wise Ravikirti himself is the author and also the founder.

(V. 37.) May that Ravikirti be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme,² and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi!³

No. 2.—TWO KADAMBA GRANTS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Both these grants were discovered by Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and are edited here, with his kind permission, from ink-impressions made in 1892 by Dr. Fleet from the original plates, which Mr. Rice had been good enough to send to him for examination. Dr. Fleet has placed the impressions at my disposal, and has also supervised the preparation of the accompanying photo-lithographs.

A.—KŪḌGERE PLATES OF VIJAYA-SIVA-MĀNDHĀTRIVARMAN.

The second year.

These plates were obtained by Mr. Rice at Kūḍgere in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of Mysore, and were first publicly mentioned in his *Report* for 1890-1. A summary of their contents has been already given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are three copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 3" high. The plates are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are thin; but, the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good, the letters do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The interiors of the letters, here and there, shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. Various marks and faint lines on the margins and between the lines of writing, in my opinion, render it very probable that the plates originally bore another inscription. The ring on which the plates are strung seems to be of brass, not of copper; it is a plain one, about $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick and $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. It had already been cut when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands. There is no seal, and no indication about the ring of one having ever been attached to it. The weight of the three plates is 13 oz., and of the ring, $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; total, $14\frac{1}{4}$ oz.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions,

¹ Or 'the preceptor of the three worlds.'

² *Viz.* the history of the Chalukyas.—In the original verse observe the *Yamakas* at the ends of the first and second, and of the third and fourth Pādas (*jinavāṇima* and *ravikīrttiḥ*). The locative *artha-vidhau* is a good instance of a *nimitta-saptamī*.

³ I purposely omit from my translation the line which follows in the original, and which is a later addition to the poem. The first part of it enumerates six villages, the revenues of which apparently were assigned to the temple of Jinendra founded by Ravikirti. The concluding part of it, which speaks of boundaries, I do not understand.

resemble most those of the Dêvagere plates of the fourth year and the Halsi plates of the *Mahârāja* Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, and Vol. VI. p. 24, Plates). As regards individual letters, I would draw attention to the very clear and distinct form of *q̣h* in *driḍha*, l. 6 (as compared with the sign for *q̣* in *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 9); to the form of the Dravidian *ḷ* in *Koḷāla*, l. 7; and to the fact that the subscript *t*—while in the conjunct *kt* it is denoted by the ordinary sign for *t* (without the loop) used in this inscription, and in *nt* by the sign with the loop—in the conjunct *tt* is written in both ways, as may be seen *e.g.* from *sva-dattām* and *para-dattām*, in line 14. I would lay some stress on this last point, because we have the same two ways of writing the conjunct *tt* also in the Dêvagere plates of the third year of the *Mahârāja* Mṛigēśavarman, in which the single *t*, as in the present inscription, is always denoted by the sign without the loop;¹ (compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35, Plate, *nivarttanam* in line 12, and the same word and *dattavān* in line 13). For final consonants the full signs, written below the line, are used in *dattavān*, l. 12. *pramādat*, l. 13, and *-bhāk*, l. 16. Final *m* is written in the same way in *siddham*, l. 1; but in other places where my text shews a final *m*, that letter is denoted by a small hook, engraved at the bottom of the line.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the text is in prose. In respect of orthography, I need only mention that the word *brahma* is written *bramha*, in line 10. The phraseology of the text is the usual one, except that some rare technical terms occur in lines 8 and 9.

The inscription records that the *Dharmamahârāja* of (the family of) the Kadambas, Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman, at Vijayanti (*i.e.* Banavāsi), on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha in the second year (of his reign), granted some land at the village of Koḷāla to a spiritual teacher (perhaps the king's own teacher), named Dêvaśarman. The charter (*paṭṭikā*) was written by the *rahasy-ādhikṛita*,² or private secretary, Dāmôdaradatta.

The genealogy of Māndhātṛivarman is not given; and as his name does not occur in the published inscriptions, his relation to the known princes of the same family cannot for the present be determined with any certainty. But I may say that a comparison of this inscription with the other Kadamba inscriptions would lead me to connect Māndhātṛivarman more closely with Mṛigēśavarman than with any other Kadamba prince. Palæographical reasons for this statement have been given above. Other reasons are, that both princes, and they only, are described as residing at Vijayanti; that one is called Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman,³ and the other Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman; and that, corresponding to the epithets of Māndhātṛivarman in the present inscription, *anēka-sucharit-ôpachita-vipula-punya-skandha* and *dhav-ârjita-vipula-parama-driḍha-sattva*, we have, in Mṛigēśavarman's inscriptions, *anēka-janmāntar-ôpârjita-vipula-punya-skandha* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and p. 37, l. 6 of the text), and *âhav-ârjita-parama-ruchira-driḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 35, l. 5) or *naik-âhav-ârjita-parama-driḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 37, l. 10). All this looks to me as if Māndhātṛivarman might have been either, as a younger brother of Śântivarman, the immediate predecessor of Mṛigēśavarman, or the younger brother and immediate successor of this prince.

¹ The case is different *e.g.* with the Halsi plates of the fifth year of the *Mahârāja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate), where the single *t* is denoted by both the sign without the loop and the sign with the loop, and where *tt* is written in three different ways (by two signs of *t* without the loop; both with the loop; and the first without the loop, and the second with it).

² The same official title (in Prākṛit *rahasyādhikṛita*) occurs in the Pallava inscription in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 50 of the text. The same inscription has another rare term in common with the present inscription; see below, p. 15, note 7. The *rahasy-ādhikṛita* in other inscriptions is called simply *rahasya*; see above, Vol. III. p. 21, note 1.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, ll. 4 and 17 of the text. Mṛigēśavarman is so called also in the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, No. 18. The same plates apparently have in common with the present inscription the rare term *antaḥkara-vishṭika*, which I have not found elsewhere. (The term *parihṛita-paṅga-śṭhōḍa* in the same plates may be compared with *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita*—not *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita*, as printed—in line 5 of the Goa plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 532, *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365, and Plates.)

The village of Koḷāla, which is mentioned in this inscription, I am unable to identify with certainty. The *Madras Postal Directory* shews two villages named 'Kolala,' in the Tumkūr district of Mysore,—one in the Tiptūr tāluka, post-town 'Turuvekere,' and the other in the Tumkūr tāluka, post-town 'Kolala' itself; probably Koḷāla is one or other of these.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Siddham || Śrī-vijaya-Vaijayantyām² dharmamahārājāḥ
 2 Svāmī-Mahāsēna-mātrigaṇ-ānudyāt-ābhishiktaḥ
 3 Mānavya-sagotrō Hāriti-putraḥ pratikṛita-svādhyāya-
 4 charchchikaḥ Kadambānām śrī-Vijaya-Sīva-Māndhātṛivarmma

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 anēka-³suchi(c)hārit-ōpachita-vipula-punya-skaṇḍhaḥ
 6 āhav-ārjjita-vipula-parama-dṛiḍha-sat[t*]vaḥ savassaré⁴
 7 dvitīyē Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām Koḷāla-grāmē simni⁵
 8 sa-pāniya-pātaṁ sa-dakṣiṇam a-khaṭvā-vās-audana[m]⁶

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 a-bhaṭa-pravēśam antaḥkara-vipti(shṭi)ka[m] Kaṇḍinya-
 10 sagotrāya datt-ānuyōgāya Taittirīya-sabramha(hma)-
 11 chāriṇē Dēvaśarmmaṇē Modekarani-nāma-halam
 12 rāja-mānēna vimśati-nivarttanam kēdāram da[tta]vān [t*]⁷

Third Plate.

- 13 Pramādāt ⁸adharmmād=vā yō=sy=ābhiha[r]tt[ā] sa
 pā[taka]-sa[m]yukt[ō]
 14 bhavati [t*] Uktañ=cha [t*] ⁹Sva-dattām para-datt[ām] vā¹⁰ yō
 harēna(ta) vasundharām [t*]
 15 shapthim(shṭim) varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu
 saḥ || Yō=sya
 16 abhirakshitā sa tat-phala-bhāk [t*] Uktañ=cha [t*] Bahubhi¹¹
 vasudhā bhuktā
 17 rājabbhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [t*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ¹² bhūmas=tasya
 tasya tadā phala[m] [t*]
 18 [D]ām[ō]daradatēna¹³ rahasy-ādhikṛitēna likhit=ēyam paṭṭikā ||

¹ From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

² Here, and in other places below, the rules of *samdhā* have not been observed.

³ Originally *sā* seems to have been engraved.

⁴ Read *savassaré*. The alteration of *ssa* into *tea* seems to have been made already in the original.

⁵ Below the *s* of this word originally the letter *m* was engraved. Read *-grāma-simni*.

⁶ Originally the full sign of *m* (*ma*) was engraved here, but, with the exception of the 'box' at the top, it has been effaced.

⁷ Below this line some writing—perhaps the words *pramaddi adharmmād=vā yō=sy=d* of the next line—was engraved, and cancelled again.

⁸ Instead of the initial *a* the *akṣhara pra* was originally engraved.

⁹ Metre, here and below: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁰ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

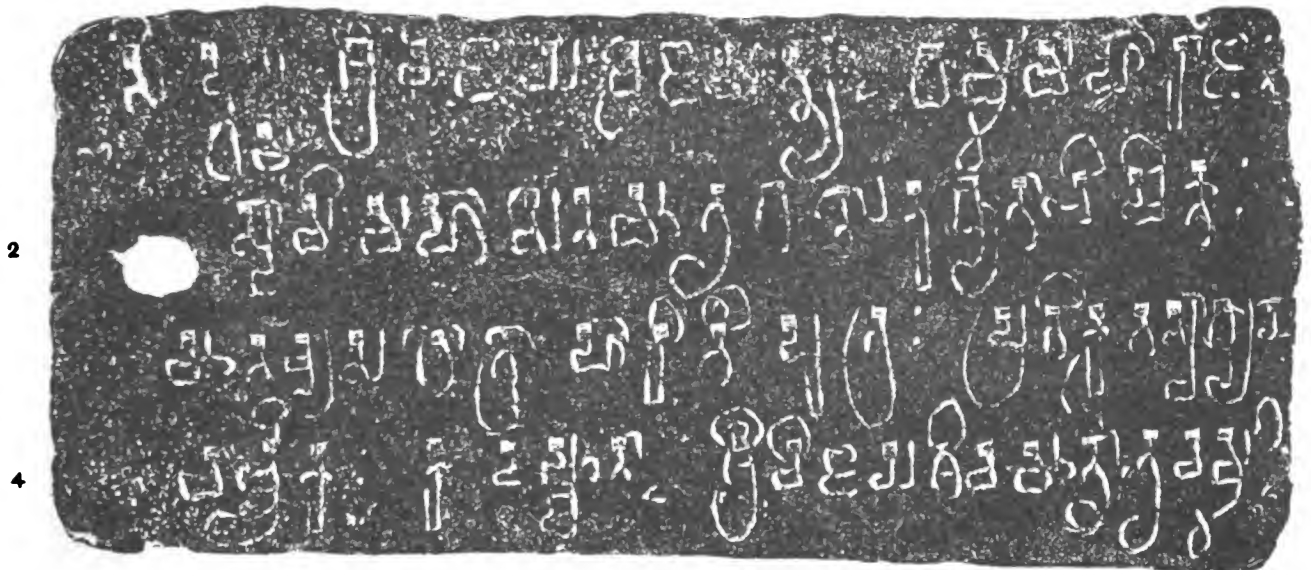
¹¹ Read *bahubhiḥ*.

¹² Read *bhūmiḥ=tasya*.

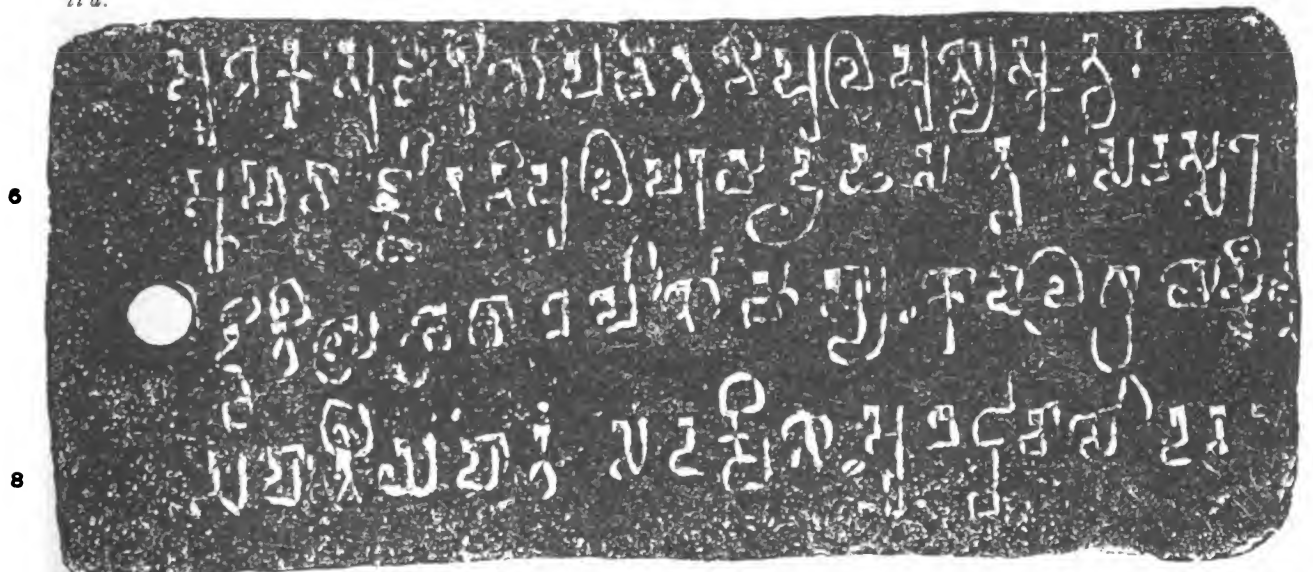
¹³ Read *°dattēna*.

Kudgere Plates of Vijaya-Siva-Mandhatrivarman.

i.



ii a.



J. F. FLEET.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b.

10

12

iii

14
16
18
20

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) (*Be it*) accomplished ! At (*the city*) of victory, the famous *Vaijayanti*, the *Dharmamahārāja*¹—anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the *Mānavya gōtra* (and) a son² of Hārītī, studying the requital (*of good or evil*) as his sacred text,³—the glorious *Vijaya-Sīva-Māndhātṛivarman* of (*the family of*) the *Kadambas*, who by his many good actions has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, and has acquired in war abundant and supreme enduring strength, on the full-moon tithi of *Vaiśākha* in the second year (of his reign), has given, with pouring out of water⁴ (and) with a present (*of money*), the plough-land called⁵ *Modēkarani* within the borders of the village of *Koḷāla*, by the king's measure a field of twenty *nivartanas*, to the spiritual teacher⁶ *Dēvaśarman*, who belongs to the *Kauṇḍinya gōtra* and is a student of the *Taittirīya Vēda*,—exempt from (*the duty of providing*) cots,⁷ abode, and boiled rice, free from the ingress of soldiers, (and) exempt from internal taxes and forced labour.⁸

(L. 13.) He who from wantonness or wickedness takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of sin. And it has been said : Whosoever should take away land given by himself or given by

¹ *I.e.* 'the *Mahārāja* who is devoted to religion ;' but the whole is used as a title, as *dharmamahārāja*, *dhīrāja* and *dharmayuvamahārāja* are in Pallava inscriptions.

² This must not be taken literally. The Kadambas generally were *Hārītīputras*, and therefore individual Kadamba kings also have the same epithet.

³ Instead of *pratikṛita-soddhyāya-charchika*, which occurs also in the Halsi plates of the *Mahārāja* *Harivarman* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30), other Kadamba plates have *pratikṛita-soddhyāya-charchaka* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35), *pratikṛita-soddhyāya-charchāpāra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 31 ; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136 ; and below p. 18), *pratikṛita-soddhyāya-charchāpārāga* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 25, and Vol. VII. p. 33), and *pratikṛita-charchāpāra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 37), where the word *soddhyāya* has probably been omitted by mistake. Since all these epithets apparently are synonymous, it will be sufficient to analyse one of them ; and I select for the purpose *pratikṛita-soddhyāya-charchāpāra*. *Charchāpāra*, which in the *Mahābhāṣya* on P. III. 2, 1, is given by the side of *soddhyāya*, 'one who studies the Vēda,' according to Haradatta denotes 'a person who repeats or studies a particular text, (*charchāṁ pārayati*) ; and *soddhyāya-charchāpāra* therefore would be 'one who studies his Vēdic text.' The word *pratikṛita*, in previous translations of Kadamba inscriptions, has been either omitted or rendered by 'adopted,' a meaning which *pratikṛita* cannot well convey. In my opinion, it will be safer to take the word as a substantive and in its well-known sense of 'requital, recompense,' and to regard *pratikṛita-soddhyāya* as a Karmadhāraya compound (in the sense of *soddhyāya* *īva* *pratikṛitam* or *pratikṛitam* *īva* *soddhyāya*), so that the whole epithet would denote 'one who studies the requital (of good or evil) as his sacred text.' If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas, as told in the Tālgund inscription (Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 286 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27). So long as the Kadambas were private Brāhmanas, it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts ; in other words, they were *soddhyāya-charchāpārds*. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to requite good and evil ; to do so was, what the study of the Vēda had been to them before ; and thus, having been *soddhyāya-charchāpārds*, they then were *pratikṛita-soddhyāya-charchāpārds*.

⁴ The phrase *sa-pāntya-pātam*, which also occurs below, p. 18, l. 17, and in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, is equivalent to *udak-dīśargṣha*, *udaka-pūrvam*, and similar expressions. In the same sense, but occasionally misunderstood, we repeatedly meet with *udakam pātetod* in the *Jātakas* ; compare *e.g.* Vol. III. p. 286, l. 3, *udakam pātetod addsi* ; Vol. II. p. 371, l. 13, *suvaṇṇabhikkārena pupphagandhadvatitā udakam pātetod addsi* ; and Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *rājā tussitod gandhodakapunnāṃ suvaṇṇabhikkāram addya "gāmaṃ rājabhogena bhūñjā" ti settihissa hatthe udakam pātetod*. This last quotation clearly states the well-known fact that the water was poured into the hand of the donee.—With the *sa-dakṣhiṇam* of our inscription compare the *sa-hirayya[m*]* in line 9 of the (spurious) Hoṣūr plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 97.

⁵ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 23, l. 6 of the text, where also a field has a special name (*Beḷovara*).

⁶ I take *datt-anuyōga* to be equivalent to *anuyōga-kṛit*, which according to Goldstücker's *Dictionary* denotes 'an Āchārya or spiritual teacher.' *Dēvaśarman* was perhaps the king's own teacher.

⁷ Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, l. 31 of the text, where also we have *khaṭṭadōsa* (*khaṭṭod-ōsa*), in a Pallava inscription.

⁸ The expression *antaḥkara-viṣṭika* apparently occurs also in the Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, plate iii. b, l. 1.—[With *antaḥ-kara* compare *antar-dyam*, 'internal revenue,' and its counterpart *para-dyam*, 'external revenue,' in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 61, text line 5 f.—E. H.]

others, he is burnt in hell for sixty-thousand years. He who preserves this (*gift*), shares the reward of it. And it has been said : The earth has been possessed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; to whomsoever at any time the land belongs, to him, for the time being, belongs the reward (*of a grant*).

(L. 18.) This charter was written by the private secretary Dâmôdaradatta.

B.—BANNAHALĪ PLATES OF KṚSHṆAVARMA II.

The seventh year.

These plates were discovered about 1888, while digging at Bannahalī in the Chikmagalūr tāluka of the Kadūr district of Mysore, and are now in the possession of the Pāṭil of Halēbiḍ. They were first publicly noticed by Mr. Rice in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introduction, p. 15; and an account of their contents is given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are four copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $2\frac{1}{4}$ " high. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The engraving is good, but not very deep. The letters do not shew through on the reverse sides of the plates; they shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout.—On one of the edges, the plates are numbered, by four notches¹ on plate i., three on plate ii., two on plate iii., and one on plate iv. (i.e. in exactly the reverse order); and near these notches there is also a single notch on each plate: whether this marking is ancient or recent, is not apparent.—The plates are strung on a ring, which had been cut already when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands; it is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured in a seal which is roughly circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. About a quarter of an inch from the edge of it, there is a raised rim; and inside this, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a lion, standing to the proper right.² The weight of the four plates is 1 lb. 9½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 7 oz.; total, 2 lbs. $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern alphabet. With those of the Halsī plates of the fifth year of the Mahārāja Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate) they have this in common that the letter *t*, both when used singly and in conjuncts, is mostly denoted by the sign with the loop; but otherwise they quite differ from those of other Kadamba inscriptions, and might, in their general appearance, rather be compared with the characters of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarma II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 196, Plate). From the photo-lithograph it will be seen that the letters are frequently finished off, or embellished, with small circles. The *sva* of *svasti* in line 1 has two such circles at the ends of the lines on the proper right; the *sti* of the same word two at the bottom of the superscript *i*, and one at the end of the proper right stroke of *s*; the *ya* of the following word *jayaty* has two at the top; etc. I believe, there can be no doubt that by these circles the writer has tried to imitate the little 'boxes' of the characters of such inscriptions as the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51, Plates), and has done this in a not very intelligent manner. A certain influence of the characters of Pallava inscriptions may perhaps be distinctly traced also in the use of the looped *t* already mentioned; and in the fact that in the *akshara* *ṇā* the vowel *ā* is here denoted by a separate downward stroke, while in other Kadamba inscriptions it is nearly always written, in the ordinary way, by bending back the last downward stroke of *ṇ*, in an upward direction; compare the *aksharas* *ṇām* in line 4 of the present inscription, *ṇō* in line

¹ For other plates which are marked in the same manner, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 197.

² I owe the above information to Dr. Fleet, according to whom the later Kādambas, both of Hāṅgal and of Goa, also had the *śiṃṣa-lāṅghāṇa* or lion-crest; see his *Dynasties*, second ed., pp. 560 and 565. Mr. Rice finds the lion also on the seal of the Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 2.

17 of the Uruvupalli plates, *ṇā* in line 3 of the plates of the Pallava Simhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, Plate), and *ṇā* in line 3 of the Halsi plates of the Kadamba Kākusthavarman (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 23, Plate).¹ The usual test-letters, *kḥ* (in *duḥkham*, l. 22), *j*, *b*² and *l*, are all of the earlier type; but some other letters, such as the subscript *ḥ* of *śḥi* in lines 2 and 24, the *śh* of *śrēśḥṭhinā*, l. 19, and some forms of *y* (as in *Kaśkēya*, l. 7, *samayāchāra*, l. 18, *yō*, l. 24, and *śriyā*, l. 11), seem to me to present so late an appearance that, in my opinion, this inscription can hardly be placed earlier than the seventh century A.D. The Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in the names *Vallāvi* and *Koḷa-Nallūra*, l. 16; the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* in *duḥkham*, l. 22; and the sign of final *m*, the only final consonant which occurs, in *°pālanam*, ll. 22 and 23.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. After the words *ōṃ svastī*, the text opens with a verse eulogizing the god Hari (Vishnu), and in lines 20-26 it contains four benedictive and imprecatory verses, ascribed to Manu; otherwise it is in prose. The main part of the text, ll. 3-17, forms a single sentence, the construction of which is not quite correct, and which, except for the phrases with which it commences, reminds one of Pallava grants rather than of other Kadamba inscriptions. The orthography does not call for any particular remarks.

The inscription is one of the Kadamba *Mahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman [II.], the son of the *Mahārāja* Simhavarman, who was a son of the *Dharmamahārāja* Viṣṇuvarman, who was begotten by the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman [I.] on a daughter of Kaikēya. It records (in ll. 13-17) that, on the fifth tithi and under the nakshatra Jyēshṭhā in the waxing half of the month Kārttika, in the seventh year of his reign, the king granted the village Koḷa-Nallūra in the Vallāvi-vishaya to a Brāhman of the Kausika *gōtra*, named Viṣṇuśarman; and adds (in ll. 17-20) that the king was advised (to make this donation) by the *Śrēśḥṭhin* Haridatta of the Tuṭhiyalla *gōtra* and *pravara*.

I consider it very probable that the Kṛishṇavarman I. of this inscription is the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman who in the Dēvagere plates of the Yuvarāja Dēvavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33) is mentioned as the father of this Dēvavarman. Judging from the writing, the Dēvagere inscription undoubtedly is earlier than the present inscription; the Kṛishṇavarman who is mentioned in it, like Kṛishṇavarman I. of this inscription, is described as *atvamēdha-yājīn*, 'the performer of a horse-sacrifice'; and the (in these inscriptions unusual) statement of the present grant that Viṣṇuvarman was Kṛishṇavarman's son 'from the daughter of Kaikēya,' seems pointedly to indicate that Kṛishṇavarman I. had one or more sons from another wife, and would thus agree with the fact that the Dēvagere grant is by a son of Kṛishṇavarman named Dēvavarman.—The names of the Kadamba *Mahārājas* Viṣṇuvarman and Simhavarman do not occur in other inscriptions of the same family.

Of the localities mentioned, the name of the Vallāvi *vishaya* appears to survive in 'Ballāvi,' the name of a town in the Tumkūr district of Mysore, Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, Plate 34, Cc; the village Koḷa-Nallūra I am unable to identify.

The date does not admit of verification. Judging from a number of native calendars, the *nakshatra* Jyēshṭhā is joined more frequently with the 4th than with the 5th *tithi* of the bright

¹ In the Hiraḥaḍagalli plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, Plates) the *ḍ* of *ṇḍ* is denoted by a line attached to the foot of *ṇ*, on the proper left side; compare the word *bamhaṇḍam*, in line 8. Practically the same way of writing *ṇḍ* we have e.g. in lines 1 and 9 of the Dēvagere plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, Plates). And the same sign for *ṇḍ* occurs in line 6 of the Halsi plates of the same king (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 24, Plate); there, however, a separate downward stroke originally was wrongly added to *ṇḍ*, and subsequently cancelled again. (In Prof. Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Plate VII. Col. xiii. No. 43, the uncorrected wrong form is given; the correct sign for *ṇḍ* is given *ibid.* No. 21). In the Halsi plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, Plate) the sign for *ṇḍ* which is used in the present inscription is employed once, exceptionally, in line 1.

² The sign of *b* in *baśa*, l. 1, apparently is open on the proper right; see above, Vol. V. p. 119.

half of Kārttika; but it sufficiently often goes together with the 5th as a current *tithi*, to render the mention of it, by itself, practically useless.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti || ⁴Jayaty=udrikta-Daityēndra-bala-vīryya-vimarddanaḥ [I*]
 2 jagat-pravṛitti-saṁhāra-sṛiṣṭi-māyādharaḥ Hariḥ [II*]
 3 Svāmi-Mahāsēna-mātrigaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhishiktānām Mānavya-
 4 sagōtrānām Hāriti-putrānām pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchchāpārānām

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 ⁶śrī-Kadambānām Kṛishṇavarmma-dharmmamahārājasya⁶ aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ
 6 anēka-samara-saṁkaṭ-ōpalabdha-vijayakīrttēḥ vidyā-vinītasya
 7 Kaikēya-sutāyām=utpannēna śrī-Vishṇuvarmma-dharmmamahārājēna
 8 ⁷gandharvva-hastīśikṣhā-dhanurvvedēshu Vatsarāj-Ēndr-Ārjuna-samēna

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 śabdārttha-nyāya-viduṣh=ōtpādītasya⁸ putra śrī-Simhavarmma Kadambānām
 10 mahārājā(jō) vikrāntō=nēka-vidyā-viśāradas=tasya sūnunā śrī-Kṛishṇavarmma-
 11 mahārājēna sva-vīryya-bala-parākram-ōpārjita-rājyaśriyā
 12 paramabrahmanyēna samyak-prajāpāla[na*]-dakṣhēṇa kṣhīṇa-lōbbhēna
 13 varddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē septamē Kārttika-māsē

Third Plate; First Side.

- 14 āpūryyamāna-pakṣhē pañchamyām Jyēsthā-nakṣatrē Kauśika-sagōtrāya
 15 vēda-pāragāya śaṭkarmma-niratāya āhit-āgnayē Vishṇuśarmma-nāma-
 16 dhēyāya ātma-nisrēyasārttham Vallāvi-vishayē Koḷa-Nallūra-
 17 nāma-grāmō dattaḥ sa-pāniya-pātaḥ⁹ sarvva-parihārah [I*] Tuṭhiyalla-gōtra-
 18 pravareṇa samay-āchāra-sa[m]pannēna svakarm-ānushṭhāna-tatparēṇa

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 19 rāja-pūjitēna gō-sahasra-pradātrā Haridatta-śrēsthīnā upadēśaḥ
 20 kṛitaḥ [II*] Atra Manu-gītā ślōkā bhavanti || ¹⁰Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

¹ A *nakṣatra* (Uttara-bhadrpadā) is mentioned together with a *tithi* (the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) also in the date of the Dévagere plates of the third year of the Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35; but that date is incorrect. The *nakṣatra* either was *Uttara-phalgunī* (for the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) or the *tithi* was the 10th of the *bright* half of Kārttika. Curiously, exactly the same mistake was made in the date of the Hāsan plates of Dévarāja I. of Vijayanagara, of Śaka-Saṁvat 1328; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 150, *P.S.O.-C.I.* No. 25.

² From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

³ Represented by a symbol, which stands on the proper right margin, before the space between lines 2 and 3. The same symbol, similarly placed, we have in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava *Evamahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51. And the same symbol, placed before the first line of the text, occurs in the plates of the Pallava *Mahārāja* Simhavarmman, *ibid.* p. 155; in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarmman II., above, Vol. IV. p. 195; and elsewhere.

⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

⁵ The letter *s* is imperfect on the proper right side.

⁶ Here, and in other places below, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

⁷ Read *gandharva*.

⁸ Since some correction is necessary in lines 9 and 10, it is simplest to alter *ōdītasya* to *ōditaḥ*. Similar mistakes occur in the Vakkalēri plates of Kīrtivarman II., above, Vol. V. p. 202.

⁹ Read *-pātām*.

¹⁰ Metre, here and below: Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

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ii a.

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ii b.

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J. F. FLEET,

iii a.

14

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iii b.

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- 21 rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s=*] tasya tasya
 22 tadā phalaṁ || Svam dātum sumahach=chhakyam dukkham=any-ārttha-
 pālanam [I*]
 23 dānam vā pālanam v=ēti¹ dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [II*]

Fourth Plate.

- 24 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [I*] shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi
 25 ghōrē tamasi pachyatā [II*] Adbhīr=ddattām tribhīr=bhuktām sadbhiś=cha
 paripālītām [I*]
 26 ātāni na nivartantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha || Yō=sya lōbbhān=mōhād=v-ā-
 27 bhibartt[ā*] sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-²saṃyuktō bhavati [II*] Svasty=astu
 gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail! Victorious is Hari (Vishṇu), who crushes the strength and heroism of the haughty lord of the Daityas, (and) owns the art of upholding, destroying and creating the world.

(L. 3.) (In the family) of the glorious **Kadambas**, anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Mānavya *gōtra* (and) sons of Hārītī, who study the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text, (there was³) the *Dharmamahārāja* **Kṛishṇavarman**, the performer of a horse-sacrifice, who obtained the fame of victory in many a hard-fought battle, (and was) well-trained in learning. To him was born, from the daughter of **Kaikēya**, the *Dharmamahārāja*, the glorious **Vishṇuvarman**, in the art of music,⁴ the management of elephants and the science of archery like the king of Vatsa,⁵ Indra and Arjuna, learned in grammar⁶ and logic. He begot as his son the *Mahārāja* of the **Kadambas**, the glorious **Simhavarman**, valiant (and) conversant with many branches of learning.

(L. 10.) His son, the *Mahārāja*, the glorious **Kṛishṇavarman**, who has gained the fortune of royalty by his heroism, strength and enterprise, (and is) most devoted to religion, able to protect properly his people, (and) free from greed,—in the seventh year of his prosperous reign of victory, on the fifth tithi in the waxing half in the month *Kārttika*, under the nakshatra *Jyēsthā*,—for the sake of his beatitude in the life to come, has given, with pouring-out of water, the village named **Koḷa-Nallūra** in the *Vallāvi-vishaya*, with every exemption (from taxes), to the *Brāhmaṇ* who keeps alive the sacred fire, named *Vishṇuśarman*, who belongs to the *Kauśika gōtra*, knows the whole *Vēda*, (and) delights in the six duties (enjoined on *Brāhmaṇs*).

(L. 17.) The *Śrēṣṭhīn* **Haridatta**, of the *Tuṭhiyalla gōtra* and *pravara*, whose conduct is conformable with his obligations, who is solely devoted to the performance of his duties (and) is honoured by the king, (and) who bestows thousands of cows,⁷ has advised⁸ (the king to make this donation).

¹ After this there is a mark on the plate, perhaps intended for a sign of punctuation, which, however, is unnecessary.

² This *ka* was at first omitted, and then engraved below the line.

³ In the original, lines 3-17 form a single sentence, which has been broken up here into four.

⁴ Some words here and below remind one of line 13 of the *Junāgaḍh* rock inscription of **Rudradāman**, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 259; for *gāndhārva* see also e.g. *Rāmdayana*, Bo. ed., II. 2, 35.

⁵ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 357, verse 29.

⁶ *Śabdārthika* literally is 'the words and their meanings' or 'the meanings of words.' In the *Junāgaḍh* rock inscription the expression has generally been taken to mean 'grammar and polity.'

⁷ *Ushavadāta* gave (as alms) three hundred thousand cows; see *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 99, No. 5, line 1.

⁸ Compare the Halst plates of the *Mahārāja* **Harivarman**, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, l. 8 of the text.

(L. 20.) Here there are (*the following*) verses sung by Manu:—[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 26.) He who from greed or infatuation takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of the five great sins. May blessings rest on cows and Brāhmins! ¹

No. 3.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 200.)

Vol. IV. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* again contains a number of Chôla inscriptions with Śaka dates. Dr. Hultzsich has sent me revised transcripts and translations of six of them (Nos. 32-37), which are all in the Heggadadēvankōṭe tāluka of the Mysore district. The transcripts were made from inked estampages, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A. The seventh of the new dates (No. 38) is taken from Vol. III. of Dr. Hultzsich's *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

I would add here a few words about the commencement of Rājārāja's reign. Above, Vol. V. p. 48, I found that that reign commenced between (approximately) the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 29th August A.D. 985. By the statement of the Śuchindram inscription, *ibid.* p. 44, according to which the tenth year of the king's reign commenced with the month of Karkātaka, the previously found period is reduced to the time from the 25th June to the 25th July A.D. 985.

A.— RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

32.— On a stone at the Bāṇēśvara temple at Belatūru.²

- 1 Śrī svasti [||*] Saka-varisha ³vombhaynōṅa-nālvatta-mūṅe(ṅa)neya varishada⁴
 Raudra-saṁvatsarada Ā-
 2 śhāḍha-māsada punṇave Uttarāśhāḍha-nakshatram Maka-
 3 ra-chandram Bri(bri)haspati-vāram śrī-Muḍigonḍa-Rājendra-Chōlam rājyam [ge]-
 4 yyutt-ire iyāṇḍu omhattāvudara(ṅo)l.

"Thursday, the moon being in Makara, the *nakshatra* being Uttarāśhāḍhā, during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Āśhāḍha in the Raudra year (*which corresponded*) to the nine-hundred-and-forty-third year of the Śaka years,—in the ninth year of the reign of the glorious Muḍigonḍa-Rājendra-Chōla."

The Jovian year Raudra by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 943 as a current year (= A.D. 1020-21). In that year the month Āśhāḍha was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second or *nija* Āśhāḍha ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhāḍhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., after mean

¹ Cows and Brāhmins are often mentioned together in this order; compare e.g. line 15 of Rudradāman's inscription referred to above; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 32, l. 10 of the text; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 52, and p. 129, l. 28; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 39, l. 1; *Edmāyana*, Bo. ed., I. 26, 5; III. 23, 28 (*svasti gō-brāhmanābhyas-tu*); III. 24, 21 (*svasti gō-brāhmanāndm cha*); VI. 107, 49; etc.

² Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 16.

³ The opening words of line 1 as far as *vombha* are engraved at right angle to the remainder.

⁴ This word is entered below the line and its omission indicated by a cross above *neya*.

sunrise. The ending point of Uttarâshâḍhâ being $276^{\circ} 42' 15''$ or 280° , the moon of course was in the sign Makara (270° — 300°).

According to our date, this Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020, fell in the ninth year of the king's reign. How far this statement may agree with other dates of Râjendra-Chôla I., will be considered below, under No. 34.

33.— On a stone lying at the Bânêśvara temple at Bejatûru.¹

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|---|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti | śrī [I*] | Pûrvva-dêsamum |
| 2 | Gaṅgeyum | Kaḍâramum | goṇḍa kô Pa- |
| 3 | rakêsarivarmanmar=âna | | śrī-Râjendra- |
| 4 | Chôladêvargg=iyânḍu | | irppatt-eraḍâ- |
| 5 | vudu [I*] | svasti [I*] | Saka-nṛipa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara- |
| 6 | śataṅga | 955ya | Śrîmukha-samvatsarada Mârggaśi- |
| 7 | ra-suddha-pâḍivam=Mûl-Ârkkad=amdu. | | |

"In the twenty-second year (of the reign) of king Parakêsarivarman alias the glorious Râjendra-Chôladêva, who conquered the Eastern country, the Gaṅgâ, and Kaḍâram,² — on Sunday, (the nakshatra being) Mûla, during the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśira in the Śrîmukha year (which was) the 955th of the hundreds of years passed from the time of the Śaka king."

The Jovian year Śrîmukha by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 955 as an expired year (= A.D. 1033-34). In that year the first tithi of the bright half of Mârgaśira ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th October A.D. 1033, when the nakshatra was Anurâdhâ. This in no way satisfies the requirements of the case.

I have no doubt that the month intended in the original is really the month Pausa of our Tables³ (which follows immediately upon Mârgaśira), because, for that month, the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033,⁴ when the first tithi of the bright half ended 21 h. 14 m., and when the nakshatra was Mûla,⁵ by the Brahma-siddhânta for 2 h. 38 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal-space system for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

According to our date, this Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033, fell in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. This, too, will be considered under the next date.

34.— On a stone in front of the Arkêśvara temple at Aṅkanâthapura.⁶

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti [I*] | Sha(śa)ka-varisham | 959neya | I(i)śvara-shatsamrada ⁷ |
| 2 | Âṣaḍa-mâssada ⁸ | Kâlâshtavaya | Shâti-naktra | Somma- |
| 3 | varada [a]ndu | śrī-Mmu(mu)ḍigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Râjhê(jê)ndra-Chô- | | |
| 4 | ladêvarkk=iya(yâ)ndu | ippata-aṅavudu. ⁹ | | |

¹ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 17.

² Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 69, date No. 5.

³ I must add that there may be a way of proving the quotation in the original date of the month *Mârgaśira* to be correct. In Śaka-Samvat 955 expired, by the rules of mean intercalation, a month was intercalated before Pausa. That month would ordinarily be called *Pausa*; but it might be called *Mârgaśira* on the supposition that it was calculated by the Ârya-siddhânta, and named according to Brahmagupta's rule; see my *List of North. Inscr.* No. 484. This remark does not affect the correctness of the European equivalent of the date, given above.

⁴ On the immediately preceding day the *Dhanuṣ-samkrânti* took place, 13 h. after mean sunrise.

⁵ That it is correct to translate *Mûl-Ârkkad=amdu* by 'on Sunday, (the nakshatra being) Mûla,' is proved by a date on p. 17 of the Roman text of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. That date gives us for calculation Śaka-Samvat 1039 (current, the year Darmukha), Jyêṣṭha-bahula 1, and *Mûl-Ârkkadra*; and it corresponds to Sunday, the 28th May A.D. 1116, when the first tithi of the dark half commenced 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and when the nakshatra was Mûla by all systems.

⁶ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 104.

⁷ Read *soṅṭatsarada*.

⁸ Read *Âṣaḍha-mâssada Kâlâshtamiyum Srâti-nakshatram Sôma-vradad=amdu*.

⁹ Read *irppatt-araḍadu*.

"On Monday, the *nakshatra* being Svāti, during the *Kālāshṭamī* (*tithi*) of the month of Āshāḍha in the Īśvara year (*which was*) the 959th Śaka year,—in the twenty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Muḍigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Rājendra-Chōḷadēva."

The Jovian year Īśvara by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 959 as an expired year (=A.D. 1037-38). *Kāl-āshṭamī* is a name of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half. As this *tithi*, in the month of Āshāḍha, can under no circumstances be joined with Svāti (the 15th *nakshatra*), the given date cannot be correct.

As a matter of fact, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of Āshāḍha of Śaka-Saṃvat 959 expired ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 8th July A.D. 1037, when the *nakshatras* were Āsvini and Bharanī (the first and second *nakshatras*). And the 8th *tithi* of the dark half cannot have been quoted erroneously instead of the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (on which in Āshāḍha the *nakshatra* may be Svāti), because in the given Śaka year the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha ended on a Thursday (the 23rd June A.D. 1037), not on a Monday. I have calculated the date also for other months of the given year, but without any satisfactory results.

Giving up this date as hopelessly wrong, we have still to consider what *data* are furnished by the two preceding dates for ascertaining the time of the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. By No. 32 the 7th July A.D. 1020 fell in the ninth year, and by No. 33 the 25th November A.D. 1033 in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. Accordingly (approximately) the 7th July A.D. 1012 and the 25th November A.D. 1012 must have fallen in the first year; and the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I., according to the two new dates, therefore undoubtedly must have commenced some time between (approximately) the 28th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July A.D. 1012.

I have previously (above, Vol. IV. p. 266) stated that the king's reign commenced between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002. That statement necessarily was based solely on the date No. 5 (*ibid.* p. 69), which corresponds to the 23rd October A.D. 1032, and which, according to the actual reading of the date, is of the 31st year of the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. With the new dates before me, in which the numbers of the regnal years are given in words, I feel sure that the number 31 in the date No. 5 has been put erroneously for 21, and that the 23rd October A.D. 1032 really fell in the 21st year of the king's reign, which would agree with the new result. This result would also tend to shew that in the incorrect date No. 34 the Śaka year (959 expired), at any rate, is given correctly.

B.—RAJADHIRAJA.

35.—On a stone in front of the Māri temple at Koḷagāla.¹

- 1 Śrī-Rājādhirājadēva[r*]gg=iyāṇḍu [35].²
- 2 āvadu [Sa]kha-va[ri]śam³ 975[ne]-
- 3 ya *Vijayōśchaiva-saṃvatsara[da]
- 4 Jēshṭa-māsada sukla-pakshada tra[yō*]-
- 5 daśī Ādityavārad=andu.

¹ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 114.

² The two figures of the date are damaged, but cannot be read otherwise. Mr. Rice reads *yāṇḍugemīārādu*. From this erroneous reading he further concludes that Rājādhirāja's regnal years were reckoned in two different ways; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 13 of the Introduction.

³ Read *Śaka-varsham*.

⁴ This curious form is derived from certain *versus memoriales* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1881, p. 276), in which the year Vijaya is introduced by the words *Vijayaś=chaiva*. Compare the two similar terms *Pramōdūta* and *Pramōdīcha*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 109, note 2.

"In the [35]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on Sunday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the Vijaya year (which was) the 975th Śaka year."

The Jovian year Vijaya by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 975 as an expired year (= A.D. 1053-54). For that year the date is incorrect; for the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the given year corresponds to Tuesday, the 1st June A.D. 1053, which was entirely occupied by the *tithi*.¹

The date would be correct for the third (instead of the 13th) *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the given year, which ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.

From what I have stated above, Vol. IV. p. 266, about the commencement of Rājādhirāja's reign, it is clear that any date of the 35th year of that king's reign must fall between (approximately) the 15th March A.D. 1052 and the 2nd December A.D. 1053.

C.—RAJENDRADEVA.

36.—On a stone near the Binakalamma temple at Beḷatūru.²

- 1 Ōm [||*] Svasti śrī-Chōḷa-rājam sakala-vasudheyaṃ koṇḍu Rājēndradēvaṃ
 'dust-āri-vrāta-ghātāṃ negaḷe barisaṃ=āṅ=āge mattaṃ Sak-ābdaṃ [||*]
 vis[t]ā-
 2 rak[k*]=ombhat-ē-ombhatum=ene barisaṃ Hēmaḷambi-prasiddhaṃ svastaṃ māsaṃ
 gaḍaṃ Kā[r*]ttikaṃ=asi[ta]-dināṃ dvādaśi Sōmavāraṃ (||)

"Hail! When it was six years after the glorious Chōḷa king Rājēndradēva, renowned as the slayer of crowds of wicked enemies, had taken possession of the whole earth,—and again, in detail, in the Śaka year reckoned as nine, seven and nine (*i.e.* 979), in the year known as Hēmaḷambin, on Monday, the twelfth *tithi*, a day of the dark (*fortnight*) of the auspicious month of Kārttika."

The Jovian year Hēmaḷambin by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 979 as an expired year (= A.D. 1057-58); and for that year the date corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Kārttika ended 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

Below, under No. 38, it will be seen that the words of the date 'when it was six years after' *etc.*, simply are intended to convey the sense of 'in the sixth year of the reign of.'

37.—On a virakal at Gujjappanahūḍi.⁴

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 5 | Vira-siṅgaśanattu | vīṭr=irind=aruḷina | kōv=Irājakēsaripadmar=āna | oḍeya |
| 6 | śrī-Rājēndradēvargg=iyāṇḍu | panniraṇḍāvuḍu | | |
| 7 | | | | |
| 8 | Saka-varisha | | 11 | Pāḷguṇa-mā- |
| 9 | 984 ⁵ | | 12 | sada punṇave- |
| 10 | saṃvatsarada | | 13 | y-andu. |

¹ The date would be incorrect also for the current Śaka year 975.

² Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 18.

³ Read *dusāḷi*.

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 115. The original is much worn and many *akṣharas* are indistinct, but the figures of the Śaka date in line 9 are clear. The introduction (ll. 1-4) mentions Rājēndra's elder brother (*vis.* Rājādhirāja), the planting of a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram, and the defeat of Āhavamalla at Koppam.

⁵ Here two or three *akṣharas* are lost.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman¹ alias the lord śrī-Rājēndradēva, who was pleased to be seated on the throne of heroes,—during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Phālguna in the . . . year (which was) the Śaka year 984."

This date does not admit of verification. All that I can say about it, is, that if the Śaka year is Śaka-Saṃvat 984 expired, the date, which is stated to be of the twelfth year of the king's reign, will ordinarily correspond to the 15th February A.D. 1063. From No. 38, below, it will be seen that this day fell really in the eleventh year of the king's reign.

38.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimāṅgalam.²

- 13 kō=Ppara[k]ēśari[panmar]=āna [u]dai[y]ār śrī-
Rājēndradēva[ku] yāṇḍu nālāva-
14 du [nā*] 8[2] || ivv-āṭṭai Si[m*]ha-nāyaru
apara-paksha[t]tu aṣṭamiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum
15 peṇṇa Rōja(hi)ni-nāl.

"On the 8[2]nd day of the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the lord śrī-Rājēndradēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṃha in this year."

Of the years indicated in a general way by the two preceding dates, the one which yields a correct (and a most satisfactory) result for this date, is Śaka-Saṃvat 977 expired. In that year the month of Siṃha lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A.D. 1055; and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (which was the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* *nija* Śrāvaṇa) commenced 14 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055, when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇī, from sunrise (or, by the equal space system, from about midday) to the end of the day. Although the *tithi* commenced so late in the day, the result is correct, because the *tithi* with which we are concerned is the *Janm-aṣṭamī* or *Kṛishṇ-aṣṭamī*, a *tithi* which must be joined with that day of which the time of midnight is occupied by it, and which therefore, in the present instance, could have been joined only with the Thursday on which it commenced about four hours before midnight. The occasion was the more auspicious as the *nakṣatra* at midnight was Rōhiṇī.³

The equivalent of this date, then, undoubtedly is Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055. As this was the 82nd day of the fourth year of the king's reign, the first day of the fourth year was the 28th May A.D. 1055, and Rājēndradēva's reign commenced (approximately) on the 28th May A.D. 1052. The result shews that the equivalent of the date No. 36 (the 27th October A.D. 1057) fell in the sixth year of his reign, while the equivalent suggested for No. 37 (the 15th February A.D. 1063) fell in the eleventh, not in the twelfth year.

For convenience of reference the commencement of the reigns of the seven Chōḷa kings whose dates have been examined in the preceding, may now be given thus:—

- 1.—Rājarāja: between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.
- 2.—Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.: between the 26th November A.D. 1011, and the 7th July 1012.
- 3.—Rājādhirāja: between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.
- 4.—Rājēndradēva: (approximately) the 28th May A.D. 1052.
- 5.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.: between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.
- 6.—Vikrama-Chōḷa: (most probably) the 18th July A.D. 1108.
- 7.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.: between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178.

¹ In all other published inscriptions the king bears the surname Parakēsarivarman.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 29, pp. 61 and 63.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 182, *Śrāvaṇa-kṛishṇapakṣa* VIII.

No. 4.— KONNUR SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 782.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Paramēśvara at Konnūr,¹ the 'Khonor' of the map, a large village on the south bank of the Malparbhā river, 23 miles in a north-easterly direction from Nawalgund, the chief town of the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar district; *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 41, long. 75° 34' E., lat. 15° 51' N. I edit the inscription from an excellent impression, kindly given to me by Dr. Fleet.²

The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 5' 4½" high by 2' 10" broad. Above the writing, in the arched top with which the stone ends, there are some sculptures, viz., in the middle, a shrine holding a sitting Jaina Tirthamkara, with a chowrie-bearer on either side of him; on the proper left of the shrine, a cow with a sucking calf and, above them, a sword and the sun; and on the right of the shrine, another chowrie-bearer and an elephant, with the new moon above them. The writing is well executed, and for the most part in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ⅞". The characters are Kanarese of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in lines 62-64, and the prose passage at the end of the inscription, lines 70-72, which are in Kanarese. The greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography, it will suffice to draw attention to the frequent use of the Dravidian *ḷ*, and of the sign of the *upadhmaniya* (also in the word *puḥpa* for *pushpa*, l. 40), and to the occasional employment of the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* (in *dharmanāḥ-kēvalam*, l. 14, *yaḥ-kāmchanam*, l. 54, and *kirttiḥ-kakubhām*, l. 69).

The inscription divides itself into two parts. Lines 1 to (the word *sarvam* in) 59 record a grant, professedly made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha [I.] on a date which falls in A.D. 860. Lines 59 (from the word *mithyābhāva*) to 72, on the other hand, after praises of the Jaina creed and the two sages Mēghachandra-Traividya and his son Viranandin, inform us that, at the request of Huliymarasa, the *Mahāprabhu* of Koḷanūra, and others, Viranandin had a copper charter, which they had seen, rewritten here as a stone charter. According to this statement, lines 1-59 of the inscription were copied from a copper-plate inscription;³ and from the dates which we possess for Viranandin and his father Mēghachandra-Traividya, the time when this copy was made, and when the inscription, as we have it, was engraved, may approximately be determined to be the middle of the twelfth century A.D. From an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgola (Roman text, p. 26, ll. 3-6) we know that Mēghachandra-Traividya died on Thursday, the 2nd December A.D. 1115;⁴ and according to a notice published by Mr. Pathak,⁵ Viranandin finished the writing of his *Āchāra-sūtra* on a date which I find to correspond to Monday, the 25th May A.D. 1153.

The principal part of the inscription (lines 1-59, the alleged copy of a copper-plate inscription) records, that—at a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of the month Āśvayuja

¹ I am told by Dr. Fleet that a similar name in the Belgaum district is distinctly *Konṇūr*, from the old form *Konḍawūr*, as well as by actual verification of the present spelling. But the name with which we are here concerned is derived from *Koḷandra*, which occurs in this record.

² The inscription is mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 406, note 4.

³ That other stone inscriptions have been copied from copper-plates, there can be no doubt; and the fact is distinctly stated e.g. in the inscriptions in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 281, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 20.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 116, No. 17.

⁵ See *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 14. The date given by Mr. Pathak is 'Śaka 1076, the Śrīmukha *śrīvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of Jyāishṭha.' On the corresponding European date given above, the first tithi of the bright half of the second Jyāishṭha commenced 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

(or Āśvina) in the [Jovian] year Vikrama, Śaka-Saṃvat 782 expired or, as is expressly stated, 83 current (ll. 43 and 44)—king Amôghavarsha [I.], the successor of Jagattuṅga (ll. 15 and 16), residing at his capital of Mānyakhēṭa¹ (l. 34), at the request of his subordinate Baṅkēśa (Baṅkēya) and in recognition of important services rendered by him, granted the village of Taleyūra (l. 38) and some land in other villages (ll. 45-48), for the benefit of a Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkēya at Kolanūra, to the sage Dēvēndra,² who had been appointed by Baṅkēya to the charge of the sanctuary, the disciple of Trikālayōgīśa, of the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dēśīya *gaṇa* of the Mūla *saṃgha* (ll. 35-38). The introductory part of the inscription—after two verses of which one invokes the blessing, at the same time, of the god Viṣṇu (Jina) and the first Jaina prophet (Jinēndra), and the other³ the protection of both Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) and the king Amôghavarsha himself, here, as in verse 34, called *Vīra-Nārāyaṇa*⁴—in verses 3-11 gives the genealogy of Amôghavarsha. Verses 17-34 contain a eulogistic account of the services rendered by Baṅkēśa (Baṅkēya). And the concluding lines 57-59 record the writer's name, Vatsarāja, and that of, Baṅkēyarāja's chief adviser, the *Mahattara Gaṇapati*.

It may at once be stated here that the date given above undoubtedly is correct. The Jovian year Vikrama corresponds to Śaka-Saṃvat 782 expired, by both luni-solar systems;⁵ and on the full-moon day of Āśvina of that year, corresponding to the 3rd October A.D. 860, there was a total eclipse of the moon, fully-visible in India for more than three hours. But much as the correctness of a date, containing such particulars as are given here, would speak in favour of the genuineness of a record, there is at least one point in the preceding, which raises a doubt whether the stone inscription, even if it was based on a genuine copper-plate charter, is an authentic copy of it in every detail. Excepting the Kaḍaba grant of Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda III.) the form of which is altogether peculiar, the earlier Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the main line, from the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates of Dantidurga to the Nausārī plates of Indrarāja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 836, all commence with the verse *Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma*; and as that verse is found also in Amôghavarsha's own Śīrūr inscription, I should have expected the present inscription also to begin with it, and might well fancy that the Jaina copyists substituted for it a verse referring to their own creed.

However this may be, it is certain that the genealogical account in verses 3-11 of this inscription, which we now have to consider, cannot possibly be admitted to be a true copy of a genuine copper-plate charter. To shew this, I place side by side here the line of succession as

¹ According to the Dēśī plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 862 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, l. 18 of the text) Mānyakhēṭa was founded by Amôghavarsha I. The earliest plates in which it is described as the residence of a king, are the Nausārī plates of Indrarāja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 836 (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257 and 261).

² This may be the Dēvēndra of Baṅkāpura, mentioned in *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Roman text, p. 49, l. 8.

³ With this second verse may be compared the third verse of the Nausārī plates mentioned above, which eulogizes the king Indrarāja III. who issued the grants, by comparing him with, and ascribing to him actions which were performed by, the god Viṣṇu.

⁴ I.e. 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) in the shape of a hero,' or 'a hero who is like Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu).' Amôghavarsha I. is described as *Vīra-Nārāyaṇa* also in the Nausārī plates; and the same epithet is given to Amôghavarsha Kakkarāja II. in the Kardā plates of that king (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 40 of the text). Similar epithets are *Kṛtī-Nārāyaṇa*, 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) in fame,' applied to Gōvinda III. in the Śīrūr inscription of Amôghavarsha I. (*ibid.* p. 218, l. 5 of the text), and to Indrarāja III. in his Nausārī plates; and *Vikrānta-Nārāyaṇa*, 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) in valour,' applied to Gōvinda IV. in his Sāṅgli plates (*ibid.* p. 251, l. 38 of the text).—In the case of the present inscription, what, in my opinion, must strike one as somewhat suspicious, is, that, in verse 34, the king in his own speech should have been made to represent himself as *Vīra-Nārāyaṇa*.

⁵ Judging by other dates, the proper system for Śaka-Saṃvat 782 is the so-called northern luni-solar system; but by the strict mean-sign system also the day of the date would fall in the year Vikrama, which ended on the 14th October A.D. 860.

furnished by this inscription, and the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes from Gōvindarāja I. to Amōghavarsha I., as we know it from their copper-plates.

From this inscription.

1. In the Yādava lineage.
Gōvinda, son of Prichchhakarāja.
2. Karkara, son of king Indra.
3. His son Dantidurga.
4. Śubhatuṅgavallabha-Akālavarsha.
5. Prabhūtavarsha, son of Dhāravarsha.
6. His son Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattuṅga.
7. Amōghavarsha.

From the copper-plates.

- Gōvindarāja I.
His son Kakkarāja or Karkarāja.
His son Indrarāja.
His son Dantidurga.
Śubhatuṅga-Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇarāja I.,
son of Kakkarāja).
His son Prabhūtavarsha¹ (Gōvindarāja II.).
His younger brother (Dhruvarāja-Nirupama)
Dhāravarsha.
His son Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattuṅga (Gō-
vindarāja III.).
His son Amōghavarsha.

From the above it will be seen that, excepting the strange name Prichchhakarāja² for which I cannot account, the same names, though not always written uniformly, are there on either side. But to the writer of this part of our inscription the mutual relationship of the princes whose names he knew, apparently was a riddle. He therefore either observed a discreet silence or perpetrated such blunders as to make Karkara the son of Indrarāja, whereas he was his father; or to put down Prabhūtavarsha as the son of Dhāravarsha, to omit Dhāravarsha altogether from the line of kings, and then to make Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattuṅga the son of Prabhūtavarsha. Moreover, the assignment of these kings to the Yādava lineage,³ and especially the occurrence of the name Karkara,⁴ instead of Kakkarāja or Karkarāja, seem clearly to indicate that the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I.

The person with whom our inscription is chiefly concerned, is Baṅkēśa or, as the name also is written, Baṅkēya, or Baṅkēyarāja, by Amōghavarsha's favour in the enjoyment of, or governing, thirty-thousand villages the most important of which was Vanavāsi (verse 21). As reported by Dr. Fleet,⁵ an unpublished inscription at Niḍagundi in the Dhārwar district mentions, as a feudatory of Amōghavarsha I., Baṅkeyarasa, governor of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, the Belgali three-hundred, the Kundarage seventy, the Kundūr five-hundred, and the Purigere three-hundred, who apparently is the same personage. According to our inscription, Baṅkēśa *alias* Sella-kētana was the son of Adhōra (or Ādhōra), proprietor of Kolanūra, and his wife Vijayānkā, and grandson of Erakōri, of the Mukula family (*kula*; vv. 17-19). The name Baṅkēśa (or Baṅkēya) together with the *biruda* Sellakētana identify

¹ I take this name from the Kadaba plates.

² According to the fragmentary Ellōrā Dnāvatāra cave temple inscription (*Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. V. p. 87) Gōvindarāja I. was the son of Indrarāja.

³ In line 17 of the Wanī plates of Gōvindarāja III. of Śāka-Saṁvat 780 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157) the Yādava *vaśīśa* is mentioned by way of comparison; but the earliest plates in which the Rāshtrakūṭas are stated to belong to the Yādava *vaśīśa*, are the Nausāri plates of Śāka-Saṁvat 836.

⁴ The earlier inscriptions have only the names *Kakkarāja* and *Karkarāja*; the name *Kakkala* occurs in the Kardā plates of Śāka-Saṁvat 894 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264), in the Guṇḍūr inscription of Śāka-Saṁvat 896 (*ibid.* p. 271), and in later inscriptions; and *Karkara* I first meet with in the Kaṭhēm plates of Śāka-Saṁvat 930 (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41 of the text).

⁵ See *Dynasties*, p. 403: Dr. Fleet has informed me that in the Niḍagundi inscription Baṅkēya is described as *Chellakētana śīmat Baṅkeyarasa*, but is also called simply *Bankeya*. See below.

him with the **Chellakētana**, whose son **Lōkāditya** *alias* **Chellapatāka** (the younger brother of **Chelladhvaja**), of the **Mukula kula**, in A.D. 897 was governing the **Vanavāsa** country at **Baṅkapura**, so named by his father *after his own name* (**Baṅkēsa**);¹ and there can therefore be hardly any doubt that the date of our inscription (in A.D. 860) may give us a true date for the time of **Baṅkēsa**.—The exploits of **Baṅkēsa** are told in verse 22-31. As leader of the hereditary forces, he at the king's command invaded **Gaṅgavāḍi**² (the country of the Western **Gaṅgas**), took the fort of **Kēḍala**, put to flight the ruler of **Talavanapura**, and after crossing the river **Kāvērī**, conquered the enemy's country. Recalled then by **Amoghavarsha** on account of disturbances which had broken out at home, and in which, as appears from verse 31, the king's own son was concerned,³ he quickly returned, and succeeded in quelling the insurrection and restoring his master's fortune.—The **Talavanapura** here mentioned is the well-known capital of the Western **Gaṅgas**, the modern **Talakāḍ** on the left bank of the river **Kāvērī**,⁴ and **Kēḍala** may perhaps be the modern 'Kaidala' which, according to the map in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, is to the north-east of **Kaḍaba**.

As regards the places mentioned in connection with the actual grant, **Koḷanūra** has already been stated to be the village of **Konnūr**, where the inscription is. The village granted, **Taleyūra**, which was in the **Majjantiya-seventy bhukti**, has not been identified; nor have its boundaries, **Beṇḍanūru**,⁵ **Sāsavavā[du]**, **Paḍilagerē**, and **Kilavāḍa**. In addition to the main grant, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted at **Koḷanūra** itself, and at each of the thirty villages which are enumerated in lines 45-48. Eleven of these may be identified⁶ with modern villages at a reasonable distance from **Konnūr**, thus:—

Avaravā[ḍi]= 'Owruḍdee,' 'Aurwādi,' 6 miles west by north from **Konnūr**;
Beṇḍanūru= 'Bennoor,' 1½ miles north of 'Owruḍdee';
Suḷḷa= 'Soolah,' 'Sula,' 5 miles east by south from **Konnūr**;
Māvinūru= 'Munnoor,' 8 miles east by south from **Konnūr**;
Mattikaṭṭe= 'Mutteekuttee,' 'Matikatti,' 12 miles north by east from **Konnūr**;
Niḷa[gun]dage= 'Neelgoondee,' 5½ miles north-east from **Konnūr**;
Tāḷikhēḍa= 'Tullakodda,' 'Talakwāḍ,' 2½ miles north-west from **Konnūr**;
B[e]ḷḷeru= 'Belleeree,' 2½ miles west-north-west from **Konnūr**;
Muttalagerē= 'Mootulgeeree,' 'Motalgeri,' 7½ miles east by north from **Konnūr**;
Kākeyanūru= 'Kakanoor,' 'Kāknur,' 7½ miles north-west from **Konnūr**;
Neṛi[la]ge= 'Neerlehgee,' 'Niralgi,' 9 miles north by west from **Konnūr**.

¹ See the passage from the Jaina *Uttarapurāṇa*, first published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 217, and afterwards, more correctly, in Prof. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 429; also Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks, *ibid.* p. 430 and pp. 120 and 121. Our inscription shews that in the Sanskrit text *Mukula*, and not *Padmālaya*, must be taken to be the name of **Lōkāditya**'s family.—The *biruda Chellakētana* (or *Sellakētana*) Mr. Pathak in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 223 has translated by 'cloth-bannered' (see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 403, note 2), but, so far as I can see, the Kanarese word for 'cloth' is *śeḷa* = Sanskrit *chēḷa*. Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* gives *śeḷa* (from the *Kādambarī*) and *śeḷla* in the sense of 'a kind of weapon'; and Kittel's *Dictionary* has *śeḷa* = *śeḷa* = *śalya*, 'a dart, a javelin, a spear tipped with iron, a pike' etc., and also *śeḷḷa* = *śeḷḷa* = *śalya*; I think that these are the words with which the first part of the *biruda* should be connected. In support of this view, I would state that I find *śeḷla* as the first part of a proper name in *Sellavidyādhara* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, line 29 of the text), and that in the verse in which the name occurs (where I would alter the corrupt *śeḷḷaḍḍita-pāṇind* to *śeḷla-ḍḍita-pāṇind*) the author too apparently has understood *śeḷla* to denote some kind of weapon ('*Sellavidyādhara*, whose hand is fondled by the javelin').—Compare also the *biruda Sellavidyādhara* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 219, l. 61.

² The wars with the **Gaṅgas** are often spoken of in *Rāshtrakūṭa* records. In Sanskrit inscriptions the name of their country is ordinarily written *Gaṅgapāṭi*.

³ Regarding **Amoghavarsha**'s wars with rebellious members of his own family, see e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 53. I am not aware that elsewhere his own son is spoken of in this connection.

⁴ See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 299.

⁵ There is a 'Bennoor,' 2 miles north-west of **Konnūr**, and another village of the same name will be mentioned below.

⁶ Most of these have been identified for me by Dr. Fleet.

The names of the other nineteen villages are Mudugunḍi, Kittaivoḷe, Mus[a], Da[dh]ere,¹ Saṃgama, Piriśiṅgi, Behuru,² Ālūgu, [Pārva]nagere, Hosāṇ[ja]la[lu], I[n]dugalu, Haganūru, Unalāru, Inḍagere, Munivaḷli, Koṭṭa[s]e, Oḍḍiṭṭage, Si[kimab]ri?, and Giri[pi]ḍalu.

Stating distinctly what I have indicated above, I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter; at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document.

TEXT.³

- 1 ⁴Śriyaḥ=priyas=samgata-viśvarūpas=sudarśana-chchhinna-parāvalēpaḥ [1*] diśyād=anamataḥ=pranata-āmarēndraḥ śriyaṃ mam=ādyaḥ=paramām Jinēmdraḥ || [1*]
⁴Ananta-bhō-
- 2 ga-sthitir=atra pātu vaḥ pratāpaśīla-prabhav-odayāchalaḥ [1*] su-Rā[sh]trakūṭ-
ōrjita-vamśa-pūrvvajas=sa Vira-Nārāyaṇa ēva yō vibhuḥ || [2*] Tadiya-bhūp-
āya-
- 3 ta-Yādav-ānvayē kramēṇa vārddhāv=iva ratna-samchayaḥ [1*] babhūva Gōvimda-
mahīpatir=bhbhu(bbhu)vaḥ prasādhano⁶ Prichchhakarāja-nandanaḥ || [3*] Imdr-
āvanipāla-sutēna dhāriṇi prasāritā
- 4 yēna Pṛithu-prabhāvinā [1*] mah-aujasā vairi-tamō nirākṛitaṃ pratāpa-sīlēna [sa]
Karkara-prabhūḥ || [4*] Tatō=bhavad=damti-ghaṭ-ābhimarddanō Himāchajād=
ōrjita-sē-
- 5 tu-simna(ma)taḥ⁷ [1*] khalīkṛit-ōdvṛitta-mahīpa-mamḍalaḥ kuḷ-āgrāṇi⁸ yō bhuvī
Dantidurgga-rāt || [5*] Svayambā(va)ribhūta-rapāṃganāḥ tatas=sa nirvvyapēkshaṃ
Śubhatumga-vallabhaḥ [1*] chaka-
- 6 rsha Chālukya-kuḷa-śriyaṃ balād=vilōla-pālīdhvaja-māla-bhāriṇīm || [6*] Jay-
ōchchasiṃhāsana-chāmar-ōrjitas=sit-ātapatrō⁹ pratipaksha-rājya(ja)¹⁰-hā [1*]
Akālavārsh-ōrjita-bhū-
- 7 pa-nāmakō babhūva rājarshir=asēsha-punyataḥ || [7*] ¹¹Tataḥ=Prabhūtavarshō-
bhūd=¹²Dhārśvarsha-sutaś=sarair=ddhārāvarehāyitaṃ yēna samgrāma-bhuvī
bhūbbujā || [8*] Tasya sutaḥ ||
- 8 Yaj-janma-kālē dēvēmdrair=ādishtaṃ vṛishabhō bhuvāḥ [1*] bhōkt=ēti Himavat-
sētu-paryant-āmbudhimēkha[ḥ]m || [9*] Tataḥ=Prabhūtavarshas=san svayam-
pūrṇa-manōrathaḥ [1*] Jagattumgas=Sumā-
- 9 rur=vvā bhūbhṛitām=upari sthitaḥ || [10*] Bandhūnām¹³ bandhurāṇāṃ=uchita-nija-
kulē pūrvvajānām prajānām jātānām Vallabhānām bhuvana-bharita¹⁴-satkīrtti-
mūrtti-sthitānām [1*] trātum kīrttiṃ sa-lō-

¹ Perhaps the modern 'Dédérkop,' 2½ miles south-west from Konnūr.

² Perhaps the 'Beeoor' of the map, 15½ miles west from Konnūr.

³ From Dr. Fleet's impression.

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Metre of verses 2-7: Vamśastha.

⁶ Read 'dhanah'; this correction may have been made already in the original.

⁷ Before both ablatives the preposition *d* should have been used; compare *e.g.* above, Vol. III. p. 106,

line 14 of the text.

⁸ Read 'grāma'.

⁹ Read 'patraḥ'.

¹⁰ This correction may have been made already in the original.

¹¹ Metre of verses 8-10: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹² Originally *bhāvdhā* was engraved.

¹³ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁴ The word *bharita*, properly 'filled with,' is used wrongly here in the sense of 'filling'; compare *Inscriptions at Sravastha-Belgoḷa*, p. 108, l. 1.

- 10 *kām* *kali-kalusham*=*athō* ¹*hantam*=*antō* *ripūnām* *śrīmān*=*simhāsana*-*sthō*
²*bhavanavanim*=*atō*=*mōghavarshaḥ* *prasāsti* || [11*] ³*Yasy*=*ājñām* *para-*
chakriṇaḥ *srajam*=*iv*=*ājasraṁ* *śirōbbhir*=*vvaham*-
- 11 *ty*=*ā* *digdamti*-*ghaṭ*-*āvali*-*mukha*-*paṭ*[*ē*]⁴ *kīrti*-*pratānas*=*sataḥ* [*1**] *yatra*-*sthaḥ*
sva-*kara*-*pratāpa*-*mahimā* *kasy*=*āpy*=*adūra*-*sthitaḥ*⁵ *tējaḥ*-*krānta*-*samasta*-*bhūbbhid*=
ina *ēv*=*āsau* *na* *kasy*=*ōpari* || [12*]
- 12 ⁶*Chatus*-*samudra*-*paryyamta*[*m*?] *svamudraṁ* *yat*-*prasādhitaṁ* [*1**] *bhagnā* *samasta*-
bhūpāla-*mudrā* *Gāruḍa*-*mudrayā* || [13*] ⁷*Rājēndrās*=*tē* *vamdanīyās*=*tu* *pūrvvē*
yēshām *dharma*-
- 13 *h*=*pālānīyō*=*smad*-*ādyaiḥ* [*1**] *dhvastā* *dushtā* *varttamānās*=*sadharmmaḥ* *prārthya*
yē *tē* *bhāvinah*=*pārthivēndrāḥ* || [14*] *Bhuktaṁ* *kaiśchid*=*vikramēn*=*āparēbhyō*
dattaṁ *ch*=*ānyais*=*tyaktaṁ*=*ēv*=*āparair*=*yyat* [*1**]
- 14 *k*=*āsth*=*ānityē* *tatra* *rājyē* *mahadbhiḥ* *kīrttyā*(*rttyai*?) *dharma*=*kēvalam* *pālānīyaḥ*
|| [15*] ⁸*Tēn*=*ēdam*=*aniḥ*-*vidyuch*-*chamchaḥ*=*avalōkya* *jīvitam*=*asāram* [*1**]
kshītīdāna-*paramapunyaḥ*=*pravarttitō*
- 15 *dēvadāyō*=*yam* || [16*] *Sa* *ēva* *paramabhaṭṭāraka*-*mahārājādhirāja*-*paramēśvara*-*śrī*-
Jagattumgādēva-*pādānudhyāna*(*ta*)-*paramabhaṭṭāraka*-*mahārāj*[*ā*]-*dhirāja*-*paramēśvara*-
śrī-
- 16 *prithivī*-*vallabha*-*śrīmad*-*Amōghavarsha*-*śrī*-*Vallabhanarēndradēvaḥ* *sarvvān*=*ēva*
yathāsambaddhyamānakān=*rāshṭravishayapati*-*grāmakūṭ*-*āyuktaka*-*niyuktak*-*ā*-
- 17 *dhikārika*-*mahattar*-*ādīn*=*samādisaty*=*astu* *vas*=*samviditaṁ* *yathā* || *Vikrama*-*vilāsa*-
nīlayō *Mukula*-*kuḷē* *pūrvva*-*bandhubhir*=*mmānyaiḥ* [*1**] *Eṣakōri*-*nāmadbhēya*-
- 18 *h*=*pravikasitō*=*bhūt*=*prasūna*-*samaḥ* || [17*] ⁹*Āvir*-*āsīt*=*prabhus*=*tasmāt*=*prasūnāt*=*phaḷa*-
sannibhaḥ [*1**] *nāmn*=*Ādhōraḥ* *kuḷ*-*ādhāraḥ* *Koḷanūr*-*ādhipas*=*svayam* || [18*] *Su*-
- 19 *tō*=*sya* *Vijayāmkāyām*=*abhūd*=*bhuvana*-*mānitaḥ* [*1**] *prachanḍa*-*maṇḍal*-*ātamkō*
Bamkēśaḥ *Sella*-*kētanah* || [19*] *Madiyō* *vitata*-*vyōtir*=*nni*(*nni*)*sītō*=*sir*=*iv*=*āparaḥ*
[*1**] *u*-
- 20 *nmūlita*-*dvishad*-*vṛiksha*-*mūlō* *maula*-*baḷa*-*prabhuḥ* || [20*] *Mat*-*prasādēna* *samlabdhā*-¹⁰
Vanavāsi-*purassarān*=*grāmān*¹¹=*trimsat*-*sahasrāṇi* *bhunakty*=*avirat*-*ōdayaḥ* || [21*]
- 21 *Mahā*-*pratāpād*=*uchchhēdam*¹²=*udayachchhan*=*mad*-*ichchhayā* [*1**] *mūlād*=*uchchhēttum*=
uttumgām *Gaṁgavāḍi*-*vatātavim* || [22*] *Tatr*=*āntarē*=*smat*-*sāmantair*=*mmātsaryy*-
āhi-
- 22 *ta*-*mānasair*=*upēkshītō*=*pi* *kōp*-*ōdyat*-*sāhas*-*aika*-*sakhaḥ* *svayam* || [23*] ¹³*Dhvasta*-
ripu-*nīti*-*mārggō* *raṇa*-*vikramam*=*ēka*-*buddhim*=*abhinīya* [*1**] *sa* *madiya*-*hṛidaya*-
samgatam=*avandhya*-
- 23 *kōpatvam*=*āvahati* || [24*] *Yēna* || *Tat*=*Kēḍaḷ*-*ābhidhānam* *durggam* *vapr*-*ārggaḷ*-
ādi-*durllamghyam* [*1**] *maula*-*baḷ*-*ādhishtitaṁ*=*api* *sadyaḥ* *prōllamghya* *hēlay*=
āgrāhi || [25*] ¹⁴*Janapadam*=*adaḥ*¹⁵ *kṛitvā* *ha*-

¹ Originally *kra*° was engraved; read *hantum*=.

² Read *bhuvanam*=*idam*=*sītō*, or, perhaps, *bhuvanam*=*anamitō*.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁴ I am unable to explain this properly. Perhaps the word *paṭi* is used here in the sense of *paṭṭa*, 'the frontlet or fillet which is tied to the head of an elephant;' see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, s.v. *paṭṭa*.

Read *-sthitas*=.

Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh). With the first half of the verse compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, l. 11 of the text.

⁵ Metre of verses 14 and 15: Śālinī.

⁶ Metre of verses 16 and 17: Āryā.

⁷ Metre of verses 18-23: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁸ Read *samlabhya*.

⁹ Read *grāndhīs*=.

¹⁰ Read *=duichhēdam*=(?).

¹¹ Metre of verses 24 and 25: Āryā.

¹² Metre: Hariṇī.

¹³ Read *=amam*.

- 24 sté vidhūya virōdhinam Talavanapur-adhīsam kṛtvā [śruta]m¹ raṇa-vikramam
[1*] mad-ari-vijayī bhartuḥ ślāghyas=samanvita-saṅgarah samara-samayē vidvit-
chakrai-
- 25 r=avakrita-vikramah || [26*] Kāvērīm² guru-pūra-durggamatamām=ullamghya simha-
[kra]māt=pratyagra-sphurita-pratāpa-dahana-prōdyach-chhikhā-śrēṇibhiḥ [1*] ni-
26 rddahy=aikapadēna saptapadakān=vidvid-van-ōchchhēdinā yēn=ākāmpi jagat-
prakampāna-patōr=vvairājyam=apy=ūrjjitam || [27*] ³Tatr=āntarē mad-amtikam=
antarbhbbhērbbbhēdēna jāta-saṁkshōbhē [1*]
- 27 pratyāgantavyam=iti⁴ tvay=ēti mad-vachanamātrēṇa || [28*] Aprāptē⁵
Vallabhēmdrē(drō) mayi jayati yadā vidvishaḥ syān=tad=āham samnyast-
āśēsha-saṁgō munir=atha
- 28 vidhinā vidvishām syāj=jaya-śrīḥ [1*] tatr=āpy=u[ddā]ma-dhūmadhvaja-vitata-sikhās=
ūtpatāmi pratāpād=ity=ārūḍha-pratijñah katipaya-divasaiḥ=prā-
29 pad=asmat-samīpam || [29*] ⁶Māsa-trayasya madhyē yadi bhōjayitum na
śakyatē svāmī [1*] kshīram vijitya śatrūn=⁷tath=āpi vahnīm viśāmy=ēva
|| [30*] ⁸Ity=ukt=ākrama-vikram-ō-
- 30 chchhikhā-sikhī-jvāl-āvalīdā(ḍha)-bra(vra)jē dhūma-śyāma[li]tē tirōhita-tanau
prāyah=para-prēshitē [1*] yātē mat-tanayē sthit-ānya-nripatīn=nirjjitya yō
jitvarō bandhkritya
- 31 ripūn=nihatya cha tadā tīrṇa-pratijñō=bhavat || [31*] ⁹Āvishkrīta-kōpa-sikhā-
nirddagdḥ-ārindhanō vin=āpy=anīlāt [1*] ajvālītē(tō)=pi yasya pratāpa-vahnir=
mmuhur=jvalati || [32*]
- 32 Yasya cha kripāpa-[vāripi] rudhir-ā[kulitā] dvishām mahā-lakshmīḥ [1*]
majjaty=unmajjati tu sv-ādhipatēḥ kumkum-ākt=ēva || [33*] Hutvā¹⁰ yēna
ripūn virōdhi-rudhira-prājy-ā-
- 33 jya-dhār-āhuti-brā(vrā)ta-prasphuri[ta]-pratāpa-[daha]nē vidvishta-sāntēs=sritam [1*]
viprēṇ=ēva raṇ-ādihvarē suvihita-śrī-mamtra-śakty=ārjjitam kalpāntasthira-vīra-
śāsanam=idam
- 34 mad=Vira-Nārāyaṇāt || [34*] Tēn=aivambhūtēna Ba[mkēy-ā]bhidhānēna mad-ishta-
bhṛityēna prārthitas=san¹¹ tat-prārthitanayā Mānyakhēta-rājadhānyām=avasthitēna
mayā [mā]-
- 35 tā-pitrōr=ātmanas=ch=aibhik-āmūtrika-puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayē Kōlanūrē tad-
Bamkēya-nirmāpita-jināyatana-paripālana-niyuktāya
- 36 ¹²Śrī-Mūlasaṅgha-Dēśiyagana-Pustakagachchhataḥ [1*] jātas=Trikalayōgīśah kshīr-
ābdhēr=iva kaustubhaḥ || [35*] Tach-chāritra-vadhū-putrah śrī-Dēvēmdra-
munīśvaraḥ [1*]
- 37 saiddhāntik-āgrapīs=tasmai Bamkēyō [yām=adān=mu?]dā¹³ || [36*] Tad-vasati-
saṁbandhi-navakarm-ōttarabhāvikhanda-sphuṭita-sammārjjan-ōpalēpana-paripālan-ādi-
dharmamōpa-
- 38 yōgi-karmma-karāṇa-nimittam Majjantiya-sap[t]atigrāma-bhukty-amtarggataḥ¹⁴
Taleyūra-nāma-grāmaḥ tasya ch=āghātāḥ tat-Kōlanūrāt-pūrvvataḥ Bemḍanūru
- 39 dakshinataḥ śāsavevā[du] tat-pāschimataḥ Paḍilagerē uttarataḥ Kilavāḍah
ēvam=ayam chatur-āghātan-ōpalakshitaḥ s-ōdraṁgas=sa-pari-

¹ The two *akṣaras* in brackets are almost completely effaced.

² Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

³ Metre: Āryā.

⁴ This *ēti* is superfluous.

⁵ Metre: Śṛagdhara.

⁶ Metre: Āryā.

⁷ Read *śatrūn*.

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁹ Metre of verses 32 and 33: Āryā.

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹¹ Read *saṁ*.

¹² Metre of verses 35 and 36: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹³ The *akṣaras* in brackets are almost entirely effaced and therefore doubtful.

¹⁴ Here and in some places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

- 40 karah sa-damda-das-âparâdhas=sambhrit-ôpâtta-pratyayas¹=s-ôtpadyamâna-vishtiti(ka)h
sa-dhanya-hirany-âdêyah dvâdaśa-puṣpavāṭaḥ ²pamchâsaduttara-śata-ha-
- 41 [sta]-vistārah=pamchâśata-hasta-pramāṇ-âyāmah grihāṇām=âghâṭas=samuditaḥ
³pravêśyas=sarvva-râjakīy[â*]nām=ahastaprakshêpanīyah â-
- 42 [cha]m̐dr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakâlinah putra-pautr-ânvaya-kramêṇa
pratipālyah pûrvapradatta-dêvabrahmadâya-rahitô=hya(bhya)-
- 43 [n]tarasi[d*]dhyâ bhûmichchidra-nyâyêna ||⁴ Śakanripa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara-
śatêshu saptasu dvâ(dvya)śity-adhikêshu tadabhyadhika-samanantara-
pravarttamâna-tra-⁵
- 44 yôśititama-Vikrama-samvatsar-ântarggat-Âśvayuja-paurṇamâsyâm sarvvagrâsi-
sômagrahaṇê mahâ-parvvaṇi baḷi-paksha-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âti-
- 45 thi-santarppanâd⁶=dhâr-ôdak-âtisarggêṇa pratipâditaḥ || Tath=âtr=aiva tat-
Koḷanûr[a]⁷ tad-[bh]ukti-madhya-vartty-Avaravâ[d]i- | Bēḍanûru- |
Mudugumḍi- | Kittai-vo-
- 46 le- | Sulḷa- | Mus[a]- | Pa[dh]eṇ- | Mâvinûru- | Mattikaṭṭe- | Nila[gum]dage- |
Tâlikhêda- | B[e]ḷḷeṇ- | Saṁgama- | Pisisimgi- | Muttalageṇ- | Kâkeyanûru-⁸ |
Behuru- |
- 47 Âlûgu- | [Pârvva]nagere- | Hosam[ja]ḷa[lu]- | I[m]dugalu- | Nerī[la]ge- |
Haganûru- | Unalâru- | Inḍageṇ- | Munivaḷḷi- | Koṭṭa[s]e- | Oḍḍiṭṭage- |
Si[kimabri?]- |
- 48 Giri[pi]ḍalu- | nâmadhêyêshv-êtêshu Koḷanûr-âṭa⁹ tad-bhukti-varttishu
tri(tri)m̐satsv=api grâmêshv=êkaika-grâmê dvâdaśa nivarttanâni bhûmêḥ
pratipâditâni [||*] Atô=sy=ô-
- 49 chitayâ ¹⁰dêvadâyadâya-sthityâ bhûmijatô bhôjayataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ
pratidîśatô vâ na kaiśchid=alp=âpi paripanthanâ kâryyâ tath=â-
- 50 gâmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=asmad-vam̐syair=anyair=vvâ sâmanya[m] bhûmi-dâna-phalam=
avêtya vidyul-lôḷâny=aiśvaryyâni tṛipâgra-lagna-jalabindu-chamchalam cha ji-
- 51 vitam=âkalayya svadâya-nirvviśêshô=smad-dâyô=numantavyah pratipâlayitabya(vya)ś=
cha [||*] Yas=tv=ajñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matir=¹¹âchchhidyamânakam
- 52 ch(v)=ânumôdêta sa pamchabhvir=mmahâpâtakais=sôpapâtakais=cha¹² samyuktaḥ
syâd=ity=¹³nktam bhagavatâ vêda-byâ(vyâ)sêna¹⁴ || ¹⁵Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrâni
svarggê tishṭhati
- 53 bhûmidah [||*] âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêṭ || [37*]
Vim̐dhy-âtavishv=atôyâsu sushka-kôṭara-vâsishu(nah) [||*] kṛishnasarppâ hi
jâyamtê bhûmi-

¹ The term intended apparently is *sabhâutôpâtta-pratyayas*, which occurs in other inscriptions.

² Instead of the sentence commencing here and ending with *samuditaḥ*, a single compound should have been used, qualifying *grâmah*.

³ Here *achâṭabhâṭa*- has been omitted.

⁴ This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

⁵ Read *-tryâśititama*-.

⁶ The passage commencing with *baḷi*- is quite out of place here, the object of the grant having already been stated correctly in lines 37 and 38. In inscriptions where a similar statement is properly made we find *churn* (instead of *paksha*) and *-santarpapâdriham*. For the following *dhâr-ôda*° of this inscription one would have expected *ady=ôda*°.

⁷ Read *°ndrê* (?).

⁸ Read *-âghâṭê* (?).

¹¹ Read *-matir=âchchchindydâ=âchchhê*°.

¹² Read *iti || Uktam cha bhâ*°.

¹³ Metre of verses 37 and 38 : Ślôka (Anuśṭubh). Read *Shashṭim va*°.

⁹ Originally *Kâmke*° was engraved.

¹⁰ Read *dêvadâya*°.

¹² This *cha* should have been omitted.

¹⁴ After this the word *Vyâsêna* has been omitted.

- 54 dānam haranti yē || [38*] ¹Agnēr=apatya[m] prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=Vvaishnavi sūrya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ [*] lōka-trayan=tēna bhavēd=dhi dattam yaḥ=kānchanam gām cha mahīm
- 55 cha dadyāt || [39*] ²Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || [40*] Sva-dattam para-dattam vā yatnā-
- 56 d=rakshy[ā]³ narādhipaḥ [*] mahīm mahimatām⁴ śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || [41*] Iti⁵ kamala-daḥ-āmbubindu-lōḥam śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitam cha [*] ativima-
- 57 la-manōbbhir=āmakair=⁶nna hi purnahaiḥ=para-kirttayō vilōpyāḥ || [42*] Likhitam ch=aitad=Vāḷabha-kāyastha-vamśa-jātēna dharmmadhikarapa-s[th]ēna bhōgika-Vatsarājēna
- 58 Śriharsha-sūnuna grāmapa[tta]lādhiprita⁷-lēkhakaraṇahasti-Nāgavarṇma-Prithvirāma-bhṛityēna || ⁸Baṁkēyārāja⁹-mukhyō Gaṇā(ṇa)pati-nāmā ma-
- 59 hattaraḥ=prājñāḥ [*] rājñas=samīpa-vartti tēn=ēdam=anushṭhitam sarvvaṁ || [43*] ❖ ¹⁰Mithyābhāva-bhav-ātidarppa-para-tad-duśśāsan-ōchchhēdakam prājñ-ājñā-vaśa-varttamā-
- 60 na-janatā-sat-saukhyā-sampādakam [*] nānārūpa-viśiṣṭa-vastu-parama-syādvāda-lakṣmī-padam jējyāj=Jina-rājāsāsanam=idam svāchāra-sāra-pradam || [44*]
- 61 Siddhāntāmrīta-vārdhī-tārakapatis=tarkk-āmbuj-āharppatiḥ śabd-ōdyānavan-āmrīta-aika-saraṇir=yyōgīndra-chūḍāmaṇiḥ [*] Traividya-āpara-sārtha-
- 62 nāma-vibhavaḥ=prōddhūta-chētōbhavaḥ¹¹ jīyād=anyamat-āvanibhṛid-aśaniḥ śri-Mēghachandirō muniḥ || [45*] Ide¹² haṁsi-brīndam=iṁṭal=bagedapudu
- 63 chakōri-chayam chamchuvindam kardukal=sārdappud=īśam jaḍeyol=irisal=end=irddapam sejjeg-ēṇal=padedappam Kṛishṇan=emb=ant=esedu bisa-lasat-kandali-kam-
- 64 da-kāntam pudidatt=ī Mēghachandira-bra(vra)titilaka-jagadvartti-kirtti prakāśam || [46*] ¹³Vaidagdhya-śri-vadhūti-patir=akhiḷa-guṇ-ālamkṛitir=Mmēghacham-
- 65 dra-Traividyaśy-ātma-jātō Madana-mahibhṛitō bhēdanē vajrapātaḥ [*] saiddhānta-byū(vyū)ha-chūḍāmaṇir=anupala(ma)-chintāmaṇi-
- 66 r=bbbhū(bbhū)-janānām yō=bhūt=saujanya-rūndra-śriyam=avati mahau Viranandi mun-iṁdraḥ || [47*] ¹⁴Yas=śabdajña-nabhasṭhaḥ-i-dinamaṇiḥ kāvyajña-chūḍāma-
- 67 pir=yyas=tarkkasthiti-kaumudī-himakaras=tūryyatray-ābj-ākaraḥ [*] yas=siddhānta-vichāra-sāra-Dhishapō ratna-trayī-bhūṣaṇaḥ sthē-
- 68 yād=uddhata-vādi-bhūbhṛid-aśaniḥ śri-Viranandi muniḥ || [48*] Yan-mūrttir=jagatām janasya nayanē karppūrapūrāyatē yad-vṛittir=vviduśhān=ta-
- 69 tēs=śravaṇayōr=mmānikyabhūṣāyatē [*] yat-kirttiḥ=kakubhām śriyaḥ kacha-bharē maḷḷilātāntāyatē jējyād=bhuvi Viranandi-munipas=sai-
- 70 ddhānta-chakr-ādhipaḥ ||¹⁵ [49*] ❖ Śri-Koṇḍakundānvay-āmbara-dyumaṇi vidvajjana-śirōmaṇi samast-ānavadya-vidyā-vilāśini-vilāsa-mūrtti śri-Viranandi-sai[ddhā]-

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.² Read *vrakṣa narddhīpa*.³ Metre: Pūshpitāgrā.⁴ The second *t* of the *akṣara* in brackets may have been struck out in the original; read *°paṭaḍ°*.⁵ Metre: Āryā.⁶ Metre of verses 44 and 45: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.⁷ Metre: Mahāśraḍharā. The same verse, with some slight various readings, is found in *Inscr. at Sravasa-Belgoḷa*, pp. 25 and 31.⁸ Metre: Śraḍharā. The same verse, with two various readings, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.⁹ Metre of verses 48 and 49: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.¹⁰ This verse, incomplete and with a various reading, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.¹¹ Metre of verses 40 and 41: Ślōka (Anushṭubh).¹² Read *makṭbhṛitām*.¹³ Read *dīmanśair*.¹⁴ Originally *°rājya-* was engraved.¹⁵ Read *°bhavō*.

- 71 ntika-chakravarttigala śrīman-mahāsthānam Kolanūra mahāprabhu Hūliyam-
 arasanum mūru-pura-paṁcha-maṭha-sthānāṅgaḥ tām̐bra-śāsana[maṇ]
 72 nōḍi bareyisim=enalk=ā śāsanadoḥ=ent=irddud=ant=ī śilā-śāsanamaṇ bareyi[s]idaru [||*]
 Maṅgaḷa mahā-śrī śrī śrī namō .¹ [||*]

TRANSLATION.²

(Verse 1.) May the beloved of Fortune, with whom all forms are conjoined,³ who with his discus destroys the conceit of adversaries, the infinite being before whom bow down the lords of the immortals, the primeval lord Jina, grant to me supreme bliss!⁴

(V. 2.) May the lord Vira-Nārāyaṇa⁵ protect you here, he who rests on the body of (the serpent) Ananta, (and) is the mountain from which (like luminaries) rise men of valorous conduct, the progenitor of the mighty race of the excellent Rāshtrakūṭas!

(V. 3.) In the long Yādava lineaga of the princes of that (race) there was in the course of time, like a collection of jewels in the ocean, king Gōvinda, who subdued the earth, the son of Prihohhakarāja.

(V. 4.) The lord Karkara, the son of king Indra, it was by whom, mighty like Pṛithu, the earth was brought under subjection, (and) by whom, of great strength and full of valour, the enemies were scattered like darkness.

(V. 5.) From him sprang king Dantidurga, who defeated arrays of elephants from the Himālaya to the confines of (Rāma's) mighty bridge, (and) who, a leader of his family, crushed the circle of arrogant princes on the earth.

(V. 6.) After him Śubhatuṅga-vallabha, on the battle-field which became a *svayamvara*, fearlessly carried off by force the Chālukya family's Fortune, adorned with a garland of waving *pāḍidhvaja* flags.⁶

(V. 7.) Grand with his victory, high throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella, a destroyer of opponent kings, called the mighty king Akālavārsha, he was a royal saint through his infinite religious merit.

(V. 8.) Then came Prabhūtavarsha, the son of Dhāravarsha, a king who on the field of battle acted with his arrows like a torrent of rain (*dhārā-varsha*).⁷

His⁸ son —

(Vs. 9 and 10.) At the time of whose birth the lords of the gods ordained that, as her master, he should rule the ocean-girded earth as far as the Himālaya and (Rāma's) bridge, afterwards, being (called) Prabhūtavarsha because he fulfilled desires of his own accord, as Jagattuṅga stood over (all) kings as the Sumēru does over the mountains.

¹ From here and up to the end of the line some *akṣaras* (at the utmost six) are effaced.

² Of lines 34-57 of the text which, in the usual style and for the most part in well-known terms, record a grant, I consider it sufficient to give only an abstract of the contents.

³ *I.e.* who assumes all forms, or exists in all forms.

⁴ As translated here, the verse refers to the god Viṣṇu (*Jina*), of whom *Vīśvārūpa* (by itself) and *Ananta* also are epithets or names. But it also is intended to invoke the blessing of the first Jaina prophet, *Jinendra*, and on this alternative the word *sudarāṇa*, above rendered by 'discus,' would mean 'excellent doctrine.'

⁵ *I.e.* the god Viṣṇu. But *Vira-Nārāyaṇa* also is an epithet of the king Amoghavarsha (see below, verse 34) and, with reference to him, the verse also is intended to convey the meaning: 'May the king Vira-Nārāyaṇa protect you here, he the continuance of whose rule is without end, who is the mountain from which rises the conduct of valour, (and) who has excellent ancestors of the mighty race of the Rāshtrakūṭas!'

⁶ See above, Vol. III. p. 107, lines 22 and 34 of the text.

⁷ This play on the word *dhārāvarsha* shews that the subject of the verse should be Dhāravarsha, not Prabhūtavarsha, 'the son of Dhāravarsha.'

⁸ According to the context, Prabhūtavarsha's; really, Dhāravarsha's.

(V. 11.) After him, to guard both the world and the fame of his charming relatives—of the ancestors in his righteous family who have become favourites¹ inasmuch as they are good fame, filling the earth, incarnate—and to destroy the wickedness of the Kali age, the glorious Amôghavarsha, the annihilator of his enemies, is ruling this earth, seated on the throne.

(V. 12.) The command of this excellent (*king*) other sovereigns perpetually carry on their heads like a garland. The creeping plant of his fame grows up to the fillets on the foreheads of the array of the elephants of the quarters. The mighty valour that dwells in his hand is far away from no one. He being the very sun which with its heat scorches all mountains,² who is the king above whom he does not rise?

(V. 13.) He with his own seal has stamped all (*land*) as far as the four oceans; the seals of all kings he has broken with his Garuḍa seal.

(V. 14.) Honour surely we must the great kings of the past whose acts of religion we are to preserve; destroyed are the wicked kings of the present; solicit³ we must those future rulers who share our sense of religion.

(V. 15.) What imports that fleeting royalty which some have enjoyed by their bravery, some bestowed on others, and others again resigned even? Great men, to secure fame, must cherish religion only.

(V. 16.) Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he has devised this gift to the gods, most meritorious on account of a donation of land.

(Line 15.) He, the *Paramabhṛtṛaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the favourite of fortune and the earth, the glorious Amôghavarsha, the glorious *Vallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhṛtṛaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Jagattuṅgadēva*, commands all *Rāshṭrapatis*, *Viśayapatis*, *Grāmakūṣas*, *Āyuktakas*, *Niyuktakas*, *Ādhikārikas*, *Mahattaras* and others, as they may be concerned: Be it known to you:—

(V. 17.) In the *Mukula*⁴ family there blossomed like a flower, with ancestors worthy of honour, *Erakōri*, a home of the play of bravery.

(V. 18.) From that flower grew, as it were its fruit, a masterful man named *Adhōra*,⁵ the stay of his family, who himself was lord of *Kolanūra*.

(V. 19.) His son from *Vijayāṅkā* was *Baṅkēśa* (*alias*) *Sella-kēṭana*,⁶ honoured in the world, a fierce fever to districts.

(V. 20.) Like another flashing sharp sword of mine, as commander of the hereditary forces he has uprooted, like trees, my adversaries.

(V. 21.) By my favour he has received and rules the thirty-thousand villages of which *Vanavāsi* is the foremost, never ceasing to prosper.

(V. 22.) At my desire, in his great valour he has striven to extirpate that lofty forest of fig-trees—*Gaṅgavādi*, difficult to be cut down.

(Vs. 23 and 24.) On that occasion, though abandoned by my jealously minded feudatories, by himself, solely aided by the daring which sprang from his anger, setting at nought the enemy's policy, displaying a bravery in war which had one aim only, he made the anger of my heart not barren.*

He, by whom—

(V. 25.) That fort named *Kēḍaḷa*, difficult to be scaled on account of its ramparts, bars *etc.*, though held by hereditary forces, was at once ascended and easily taken.

¹ The word *vallabha* is purposely chosen in the original, because it is a common surname of *Rāshṭrakūṭa* kings; compare below, verse 29.

² In the original the word for 'mountains' also means 'kings.'

³ *Vis.* to preserve our acts of piety.

⁴ Or *Adhōra*.

⁵ *Mukula* ordinarily is 'a bud.'

⁶ See above, p. 27 f.

(V. 26.) Having occupied that country, having driven away the hostile lord of Talavanapura, having shewn famous valour in war, defeating my enemies, for his master an object of praise, true to his promise, he at the time of battle did not let his bravery be baffled by the hosts of the enemy.

(V. 27.) With a lion's spring having crossed the Kāvêri, most difficult to be passed on account of its heavy floods, by the lines of the ever freshly flashing flames of fire of his valour having at once consumed the allied,¹ extirpating the forest of adversaries, he shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world.

(Vs. 28 and 29.) On that occasion, when through internal dissension a disturbance had arisen near me, then, at the mere word of me that he should return—having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I, the Vallabha lord, should defeat the enemies, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world, or if by chance the fortune of victory should fall to the enemies, he would enter into the flames of a roaring fire—he arrived near me after a few days.

(Vs. 30 and 31.) Having said that also he certainly would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not make his master drink milk²—after my son, whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped, perchance sent away by the rest—he completely defeated the princes who remained, and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, and thus fulfilled his promise.

(V. 32.) The fire of his prowess, with the flames of wrath which it emits, consumes the enemies on which it feeds, even without wind; though unlit, it blazes forth again and again.

(V. 33.) Soiled with blood, the Fortune of the enemies dives into the water of his sword; but that of his master emerges from it, anointed as it were with saffron.³

(V. 34.) Like a Brāhman, having sacrificed the enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many oblations of streams of melted butter—the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, Vira-Nārāyaṇa,⁴ this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his expiatory rite—the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficiency of his spell—the restoration of my fortune.

(Line 34.)⁵ At the request of this my dear servant Baṅkēya, I, residing at the capital of Mānyakhēṭa,—seven hundred and eighty-two years having passed since the time of the Śaka king, on the auspicious occasion of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of Āsvayuja in the year Vikrama, the eighty-third current year—have given the village of Taleyūra, in the *bhukti* of the seventy villages of Majjantiya, to him who has been appointed to take care of the Jina sanctuary founded by Baṅkēya at Koḷanūra—*vis.* (vv. 35 and 36) to Dēvēndra, the chief of ascetics (*munīśvara*) to whom Baṅkēya has given the temple, the disciple of Trikālayōgīśa, born from the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dēśiya *gaṇa* of the Mūla *saṅgha*—for any new work connected with the sanctuary, for future repairs, for the cleansing, plastering, maintaining of it, and for other acts of piety. The boundaries of the village are, on the east of the said Koḷanūra,⁶ Beṇḍanūru, on the south, Śāsavevā[du], on the west of it, Paḍilagerē, and on the north, Kilavāḍa.⁷

¹ In the original the word is *saptapadaka*, which I cannot find elsewhere. Compare *śaptapadāna*.

² *Vis.* to allay his anger or mental distress. According to the writers on medicine, milk is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental disorder.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 30 of the text.

⁴ Compare above, verse 2.

⁵ From here to line 57 only an abstract of the contents is given.

⁶ Why the words *tat-Koḷanūrdit*, 'of the said Koḷanūra,' have been added, it is difficult to explain. If correct, the words would indicate that the village granted was quite close to Koḷanūra.

⁷ Among the usual phrases specifying the conditions of the grant, we have, in lines 40 and 41, the statement that the village contained twelve flower-gardens, and that the total extent of the houses was 150 *hastas* p breadth and 500 *hastas* in length.

(L. 45.) I also have given twelve *nivartanas* of land at Kolanūra itself, and at each of the following thirty villages within its *bhukti*,¹ viz. Avaravā[d]i, Benḍanūru, Mudugunḍi, Kittaivoḷe, Suḷḷa, Mus[a], Ḍa[dh]ere, Māvinūru, Mattikaṭṭe, Nīla[gun]dage, Tālikhēḍa, B[e]ḷḷeru, Saṅgama, Pirisiṅgi, Muttalagere, Kākeyanūru, Behuru, Ālūgu, [Pārva]nagere, Hosāḍ[ja]ḷa[lu], I[n]dugalū, Neri[la]ge, Haganūru, Unalāru, Inḍagere, Munivaḷḷi, Koṭṭa[s]e, Oddiṭṭage, Si[kimabri?], and Giri[pil]ḍalu.

Lines 48-57 contain the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee and to preserve the grant, and quote six benedictive and imprecatory verses (37-42), ascribed to Vyāsa.

(L. 57.) This has been written by the *bhōḡika* Vatsarāja, an official in the court of justice, born in the clan of the Vālabha Kāyasthas, the son of Śrīharsha² and servant of Nāgavarman Pṛithvirāma, keeper of village records and war-elephant of writers.

(V. 43.) The chief (adviser) of Baṅkēyarāja, the wise Mahattara Gaṇapati, who is near the Rājā's person, has executed all this.

(V. 44.) Ever victorious, like a royal edict,³ be this doctrine of the Jinas, which destroys the false doctrines of people who are filled with an excessive pride arising from ignorance; which brings about the true happiness of all who act in obedience to the commands of the wise; which is the place of glory of the excellent *syāddōḍḍa* by which things appear under manifold forms, and grants the quintessence of good conduct!

(V. 45.) Victorious be the holy sage Mēghachandra, who is the moon to the ocean of the nectar of established truths,⁴ the sun to the lotus—reasoning, the one continuous stream of nectar to the garden—speech, the crest-jewel of the lords among contemplative saints; whose lofty second name of Traividya is truly appropriate; who has shaken off the god of love, and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—other creeds!

(V. 46.) Manifestly, the fame, pervading the world, of this Mēghachandra, the foremost of devotees, has shone forth and entered (*here*), glittering like the fibres of the waterlily (*and*) lovely like the bulbous root of the plantain tree, saying (*to itself*), "Lo! the flock of female *hamsas* begin to think of drinking; the collection of female *chakōra* birds approach to peck with their beaks; Īśa gives orders for the decoration of his matted hair; (*and*) Kṛishṇa is eager to choose (*an occupant*) for his couch."⁵

(V. 47.) Viranandin, the chief of sages, owns on earth the glory (*of being*) rich in benevolence, he who is the husband of the young woman—renown of cleverness, the ornament of every kind of excellence, the offspring of Mēghachandra-Traividya, a stroke of lightning to split the mountain Madana,⁶ the crest-jewel of the crowd of those who know

¹ Or, perhaps, 'within that *bhukti*' (of the Majjantiya seventy villages, mentioned before).

² Or 'of the illustrious Harsha.'

³ The word for 'doctrine' in the original is *śāsana* which also means 'an edict,' and the author calls the doctrine of the Jinas a *raja-śāsana*, or 'royal edict.'

⁴ Compare *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 8, l. 15, *Jinśvara-mata-kṣhṛdāhi-tārdpati*; p. 48, l. 4 from bottom, *siddhāntamṛta-śrddhi-varddhana-vidhā*; p. 49, last line, *Jindgama-sūdhāraṇava-pūṇṇachandra*; and other similar passages.

⁵ For the exact meaning of the several words of this charming verse, which in the original is in Kanarese, I have consulted Dr. Fleet and the Rev. Mr. Kittel. Ordinarily, fame for its brightness is compared, among other objects, with milk, lotus fibres, the moon, and Śrī (the wife of Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa; compare e.g. *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Roman text, p. 15, l. 4 ff.). Here, the fame of Mēghachandra is actually identified with all four, and is made to appear in the world, of its own accord, to fulfil the demand for them on the part of respectively the *hamsas* and *chakōra* birds, and the gods Śiva and Kṛishṇa. The words translated by 'for the decoration of' literally mean 'to place in.' Concerning the *hamsas*, I may remind the reader of the well-known line *hamsair-yathā kṣhṛam-iv-dmūmadhyā*.

⁶ *I.e.* the god of love.

the established truths, and an unrivalled jewel to yield the desires of the creatures of this world.

(V. 48.) May he abide (*here*), the holy sage Viranandin, who is the sun of the firmament—those who know the science of words, the crest-jewel of those conversant with poetry, the moon to the moon-light—the science of reasoning, a pool of the lotuses—the triad of music, song and dance;¹ who is a Bṛihaspati for the quintessence of the investigation of established truths; who adorns the three jewels,² and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—conceited disputants!

(V. 49.) Ever victorious be in the world the chief of sages Viranandin, the lord of the circle of those who know the established truths; he whose form is like a stream of camphor for the eyes of the creatures of the worlds, whose conduct like a jewel-ornament for the ears of the assemblage of the learned, and whose fame like the shoot of a jasmine creeper for the hair-tresses of the Fortune of the regions!

(Line 70.) ³The universal sovereign of those who know the established truths, the holy Viranandin, the sun in the sky of the glorious Koṇḍakunda-line, the crest-jewel of the learned, the embodiment of the sport of the courtesans—the several branches of faultless learning,—when Huliyaamarasa, the Mahāprabhu of the sacred great place of Koḷanūra, and (*the authorities of*) the three towns and the five maṭhas,⁴ having seen a copper charter, bade him cause it⁵ to be written,—caused this stone charter to be written in accordance with what was in that (*copper*) charter.

Bliss! Great fortune, fortune, fortune! Adoration to⁶!

No. 5.—CHEBROLU INSCRIPTION OF JAYA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1157.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of the left one⁷ of two pillars which are in front of the *gōpura* of the Nāgēśvara temple at Chēbrōlu, in the Bāpaṭla tāluka of the Kistna district. My account of it is based on an excellent inked estampage, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., and forwarded to me by Dr. Hultsch.

The inscription contains 168 lines of carefully engraved writing, which, with the exception of a few letters, damaged or broken away at the commencement of lines 3-5 and 131-137, and at the end of lines 85-91, is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Telugu;⁸ and the size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Excepting the greater part of line 158

¹ Compare *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 49, l. 4, *gītā eddyē cha nṛityē*; p. 52, l. 18, *gītā-eddyā-nṛitya-sūtradhārayam*.

² See above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3.

³ For the interpretation of the following, which in the original is in Kanarese, I am indebted to Dr. Fleet.

⁴ The exact meaning of this is not apparent. Compare *e.g. Mysore Inscr.* p. 158, l. 11; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 208, note.

⁵ *Viz.* the stone charter, mentioned immediately afterwards.

⁶ What may have followed is effaced in the original.

⁷ The inscription which is on the pillar on the right has been edited by Dr. Hultsch, above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

⁸ With regard to the alphabet here used, I would only draw attention to the fact that ḍā (which occurs in the word *madḍā* in line 136) is distinguished from ḍ by a semi-circle, open to the proper right, which is placed below, and attached to, the proper left curve of the sign for ḍ. In the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 88, Plate, line 110) a similar separate sign for ḍā is used, but there the distinguishing semi-circular line is not attached to, but intersects, the left curve of the sign for ḍ. An examination of the published photo-lithograph leads me to suspect that a sign for ḍā, similar to the one in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription, is used already

and the whole of line 159, which are in Telugu, the language is Sanskrit; and the text is all in verse, excepting the words *svasti śrīḥ* with which the inscription begins, and the Telugu passage already referred to.

This is another inscription of Jāya or Jāyana, the now well-known general of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. Verses 1-43 (lines 1-141), which give the genealogies of Gaṇapati and Jāya, need not be published, because, except for some slight various readings, they are identical with the same verses (lines 1-114) of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription edited and translated by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. III. p. 82 ff. All that it is necessary to state about them specifically, is, that the names *Mam̐thena-Guṇḍa*, *Kroyyūru*, and *Bam̐ḍuladēvi*, which occur in lines 15, 45 and 64 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription, in the present inscription (ll. 18, 54 and 78) are spelt *Mam̐thena-Guṇḍa*, *Krōyūru*, and *Bham̐ḍuladēvi*.¹

The short remaining part of the inscription, the text of which is given below, in verses 44-47 records that, in the year of the Śaka king (or kings) numbered by the mountains (7), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1), i.e. in Śaka-Saṃvat 1157, on the tithi of Girijā (Pārvatī)² in the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha), on a Saturday, the general Jāya set up at Tāmrapura an image, in the shape of a *linga* made of black stone, of the god Chōḍēśvara, so called after Jāya's father (Pinna-Chōḍi); that he built for this god a temple which the people called 'the ornament of Ayya's³ family,' after Jāya himself; that in front of the temple he erected two rows of double-storied houses for sixteen female attendants;⁴ and that for the requirements (*aṅga-raṅga-bhōga*) of the god he gave the village Mrontukūru in Velanāṇḍu, one of the villages that had been given to him by the king (Gaṇapati). A statement in Telugu (in lines 158 and 159) adds that the land within the four boundaries of the village amounted to 45 *kha* 6 *na*;⁵ and that the land to the west of the Irēru (river) amounted to 5 *kha* 18 *na*. After this, the inscription has four benedictive and imprecatory verses, nearly identical with the verses at the end of the other Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya, above, Vol. V. p. 148.

The date of this inscription regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1157 expired, to Saturday, the 21st April A.D. 1235, when the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha (as a *kshaya-tithi*) commenced 0 h. 51 m., and ended 22 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise. Of the localities mentioned, Tāmrapura (as has been stated already by Dr. Hultzsch) is Chēbrōlu itself; and Mrontukūru I take to be the 'Modukur' of the map, about six miles south-east of Chēbrōlu.

END OF THE TEXT.⁶

141	Śō-yaṃ	Jāya-
142 chamūpatir-ggiri-śara-kshma-chandra-saṃkhyēṃ ⁸		śa-

in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradēva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 12, Plate), in the word *pāriṣṛīḍha* in line 17, although in the photo-lithograph the sign for *ḍha*, at first sight, does not seem here to differ at all from the sign for *ḍa*. Neither of the signs for *ḍh* here described is given in the palaeographic Tables hitherto published.

¹ As regards other various readings, I may add that in this new inscription the Dravidian *ḷ* is employed more frequently than in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription; and that instead of *khaḍga-mu[kha]ya* in line 106 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription we here (in line 131) have *khaḍga-mukhēna*, and instead of *pratipakṣham-dti* (in line 108) the better reading *baḥulē [pra]ydti* (in line 133).— With reference to Dr. Hultzsch's translation and notes I would state, at his request, that *ślōpaldh* in verse 3 means 'sapphires,' and that the word *bijāhrita* in verse 13 is accounted for by Pāṇini, V. 4, 58.

² I.e. the third tithi; ('trityā Giriputryāśtu chaturthi Vighnadhṛipah'). The third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha is the well-known *Akṣaya-trityā*.

³ See above, Vol. III. p. 83.

⁴ Literally, 'superior courtesans.'

⁵ *Kha* is an abbreviation of *khaṇḍi* (see Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p. 149, note 6); *na* may be an abbreviation of *śaḥasam*, 'a furlong.'

⁶ From an inked stampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. Line 141 is the fourth line on the south face of the pillar.

⁷ Metre of verses 44 and 45 : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁸ Read *-saṃkhyē*.

143	kēndr-ābdē	Mādhava-māsa-sūdtha(ddha)-Girijā-ti-
144	thyām	Śanēr-vvāsarē | śrīmat-Tāmmrapurē ¹ mu-
145	dā janaya(yi)tur=nnā(nnā)mn=ātra	Chōḍēsvarām praty-
146	shthā(shthā)payad=achchha-nīladṛishadā	² nishpamna-ling-ā-
147	kṛitīm ³ || [44*]	Dēvasy-āsyā sa-śātakumbha-kalāsām
148	Kailāśasail-ōpamām	⁴ vistīrṇ-ōjvala-mamṭapām
149	suruchiraprākāravād-gōpurām |	prāsā-
150	dam	niramāpayad-guṇa-nidhiḥ śrī-Jāya-
151	sēnādhipas=tan-nāmn=aiya	yam=Ayyavamāsa-tila-
152	kam brūtē samastō janaḥ || [45*]	⁵ Puratō=syā shōḍa-
153	śānām	vara-gaṇikānām dvibhūmika-gṛihā-
154	ṇi | āli-dvayēna	ramyāṇy=achīkaraj=Jāya-sai-
155	nyēśaḥ || [46*]	⁶ Nṛipa-dattēshu svēshu grāmēshv=asy=āngara-
156	ṇigabhōgārttham=ayam |	Jāya-chamūpaḥ prā-
157	dād-Velanāmḍau	Mromtukūru-nāma-grā-
158	nam || [47*]	īy=ūra chatas-simamula naḍimi polamu
159	kha 45 na 6 | Irēti paḍumaṭi polamu kha 5 na 18 ||	
160	⁷ Gām=ēkām	ratnikām=ēkām bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=amgula-
161	m | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-ā-bhūta-samplavam || [48*]	Sva-
162	dattām para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishtthi(shthi)ra | ma-	
163	hīm=mahibhṛitām śrēsththa(shthā) dānāch=chrēyō=nupālanam || [49*]	
164	⁸ Sva-sukṛita-paripālanāt=prabhūpām	para-kṛita-pālana-
165	m=ēva lālanīyam | Harir=api Kamalāsanasya	srishṭīm sa-
166	tatam=avan ⁹ jagatām=abhūd=upāsyah || [50*]	Idam ¹⁰ rakshi-
167	shyatām rājūām yāsāś=chamḍrikayā saha | chiram	Jāya-
168	chamūpasya dharmma-chamḍraḥ pravardhtha(rddha)tē || [51*]	

No. 6.—THREE WESTERN GANGA RECORDS IN THE MYSORE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM AT BANGALORE.

By J. F. FLEET, Ph.D., C.I.E.

In Vol. V. of this Journal, pp. 151 to 180, I have contributed an article on the Śravana-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nōlambāntaka-Mārasimha II., with a first serious attempt to settle the real history and chronology of the family of the great Gaṅga princes of Mysore, to which he belonged. That article is correct in all its essential features. But, while it was still in proof, it came to my knowledge, from information that became available too late, that certain additions and modifications might be made, and certain corrections ought to be made, in it. The additions did not much matter; they could be attended to on any future occasion. The modifications and corrections were a more important matter; and it was mortifying not to be able to make them. The proofs, however, were in pages, with other articles already in page-proof after them. And it was, therefore, impossible to make the necessary alterations. In these circumstances, I had to leave my article just as it stood. And I now take the first convenient opportunity that I have had, of reverting to the subject of it.

¹ Read *Tdmra*.

² Read *vistīrṇ-ōjvala*.

³ Metre of verses 48 and 49: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁴ R 3 d = aca.

⁵ Read *nishpanna*.

⁶ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁷ Read *kṛitīm*.

⁸ Metre: Āryāgṛī.

⁹ Metre: Pushpitāgṛī.

DODDAHUNDI STONE.



E. F. H. Wiele, photo.

Photo-etching: Survey of India Office, Calcutta, May 1898.

Before entering, however, on any general remarks, I now put forward revised versions of three Western Gaṅga records, final renderings of which have not as yet been arrived at.

A.—Dodḍahunḍi Inscription of Nitimārga and Satyavākya.

This inscription was brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, when he edited it, with a lithograph, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 91. I give my rendering of it from an ink-impression, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Dodḍahunḍi is a village somewhere in the Mūgūr hōbli of the Tirumakūḍlu-Narasipur tāluka of the Mysore district. It should be shewn in sheet No. 60 or 61 of the Indian Atlas; but it is not to be found there.¹ The name means "large hamlet;" and it is probably an appellation of somewhat modern introduction, as the record does not appear to include any name answering to it, and gives the name of the village itself, or else of another village which gave the name to the circle to which this village then belonged, as Guḷdapāḍi. The inscription is on a stone, apparently about six feet high, which was found lying in a pond at Dodḍahunḍi and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The upper part of the front of the stone is occupied by sculptures illustrating the scene that is referred to in the record, namely, the death of a prince who had the appellation of Nitimārga. He is shewn lying on a couch, from the back of which there stand up two royal umbrellas. Near his head there stands his eldest son, Satyavākya, with one similar umbrella behind him. And on the couch there is seated a follower of the prince, named Agarayya, who is represented as supporting across his knees the legs of the dying prince, and as holding with his right hand a dagger which he seems to be drawing out from the left side of the prince.—The writing commences below the sculptures. Lines 1 to 6, on the front of the stone, cover an area about 3' 6" broad by 1' 9" high. Below them there is a blank space, about one foot high, which was evidently left void in order to allow of the stone being set upright in the ground without hiding any part of the record. Lines 7 to 24 are short lines down the side of the stone, covering an area about 9" broad by 3' 5" high, with a similar blank space below them. And a line runs across the stone between lines 15 and 16, to mark a division of the text there. The writing on the front of the stone is in a state of fairly good preservation. The writing down the side of the stone has suffered more damage; and for this reason, and also because it was not very convenient to introduce it in the Plate, this part of the record has not been reproduced.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them—(by which I mean, here and always, the height of such letters as *ga*, *cha*, *da*, *pa*, etc., which are properly formed entirely between the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below)—ranges from about 1½" in the *ga* of *Agarayyaṃ*, line 4, to about 2½" in the *ṇ* of *Koṃguṇivarman*, line 1; the penultimate syllable *lgu* of line 6 is about 4½" high. The characters include final forms of *r* in line 3 and *n* in line 4, and also a final form of *l* or else an *l* with a *virāma* attached to it, in line 3. And they shew the lingual *ḍ*, distinguished from the dental *d* by a marked turning up and over of the right-hand end of the lower part of the letter; it can be recognised very clearly in *ḍridoḍe*, line 4. Two of the characters which furnish the best test for undated records of the period to which this record belongs, do not occur here; namely, the *b* and the guttural *ṣ*. In *vakhya*, by mistake for *vākya*, line 6, we have a *kh* of the old square type,² which cannot be placed much after A.D. 860. On the other hand, the *l*, which we have in *Kovaḷḍla*, line 2, and also in *kalaṇḍu*, line 8, is of the later cursive type, which cannot be placed much before A.D. 800: we have it throughout the grant of Gōvinda III., of

¹ Mūgūr is in sheet No. 61 (1894), in lat. 12° 7', long. 77°.

² I use the word "type" intentionally. Plenty of instances will be forthcoming, in which the old square "type" of the *kh* and other characters is followed, though the actual "forms" present hardly a straight line at all.

A.D. 804¹ (except in *modalol*, line 9, and *likhstah*, line 19), and perhaps in *vallabha*, line 1 (but not in *ballaha*, line 2, and *lōka*, line 3) of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of his father Dhruva;² but the Tajakāḍ inscription of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa³ shews only the old square type of the *l*. The *j*, which occurs twice, in line 2, is of the old square type, which remained in use during the whole of the ninth century A.D., but, towards the end of it, in conjunction with also the later cursive type. In the *ja* of *rāja*,—the fourth syllable in line 2,—we have an ordinary old square *j*, but of the open form; that is to say, with spaces at the place at which the top part of the letter and the lower part usually join to form an upright, and at which the centre stroke to the right starts from that upright. In the *jā* at the beginning of line 2, we have a peculiar form of the old square type of the *j*, which I would propose to call the “back-to-back” *j*, because one more stroke in the centre of the left-hand (proper right) part of the character would have given us a double *j* back-to-back: here, the exact form of it is closed; in B., the Bêgûr inscription, we shall meet with it in its open form. In other genuine records, we have this back-to-back *j*, in the closed form, in the words *śrīrājya* and *yuvārāja*, line 3, and several other words, in the Kyātanashalli inscription of Bātuga I. of the period A.D. 870-71 to about 908,⁴ and in the word *Bijēsvarada* in a short inscription at Paṭṭadakal, in the Belgaum district,⁵ which may be referred to the same period or may be placed somewhat later. And we may note that in spurious records we find it all through the Merkara grant, of the Western Gaṅga series,⁶ the lithographs of which shew it in both the open and the closed forms, and which includes also the corresponding form of the guttural *ṣ* which we shall meet with in B., the Bêgûr inscription; and we find it, again, in the same class of records, in the Chicaole grant of Dêvêndravarmān, of the Eastern Gaṅga series,⁷ in the closed form in *vijayavata*, line 1, *Vājasanēya*, line 13, *Nāgarāja*, line 23, and other words, and in the open form in *nija*, line 7. The forms of the *j* in this Doddahundi record do not guide us much. But the *kh* and the *l* indicate that we may place it in the period A.D. 800 to 860, even if they do not actually compel us to do so. There are, indeed, in the forms of *j* and *ṣ* which occur in B., the Bêgûr inscription, plain indications that the development of the alphabet of Western India was slower in Mysore than in the more northern parts. But it does not seem likely that the old square type of *kh* can have lingered on long enough, even there, to justify us in referring this record to A.D. 938 or thereabouts, as we should have to do if, instead of accepting my proposed identification of the princes who are mentioned in it, we identify the Nitimārga, whose death is recorded, with the next admissible prince who had that appellation.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record includes two words, *mane-magattin* in line 4 and *kil-guṇṭhe* in line 5, for which only conjectural meanings can be proposed.⁸ And, as indicated to me by the Revd. Mr. Kittel,⁹ in *śrīmar*, for *śrīmat*, line 3, the composer seems to have formed a plural which is not justifiable.—As regards orthography, the only actual peculiarity is the use of *s* for *ś* in *śvara*, line 2. But we may note also that we have the short *i* for the long *ī* twice, in lines 1 and 5, and the long *ī* for the short *i* once, in line 1; this latter feature, however, may be treated as a mistake in writing, quite as much as a mistake or peculiarity in spelling.¹⁰

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate.

² *Ibid.* p. 124, and Plate. A more faithful reproduction of this record will be issued before long.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 1, and Plate.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147, and Plate.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 170, and Plate at p. 167.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 363, and Plate, and *Coorg Inscri.* p. 1, and Plate.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273, and Plate. On its occurrence in this record, see some remarks by Prof. Kjelhorn, above, Vol. V. p. 122, note 4.

⁸ See page 44 below, notes 4 and 6.

⁹ I consulted Mr. Kittel about the meaning of *mane-magattin* and *kil-guṇṭhe* in this record, and about some expressions in the Bêgûr and Ātakûr inscriptions, sending him, of course, my full readings of the texts, and translations. And I am much indebted to him for various suggestions, which I mention in the footnotes.

¹⁰ It is rather a curious thing that, whereas in the oldest records the difference between *i* and *ī*, as attached to consonants, is nearly always marked, less and less attention was paid to this detail, in the

The inscription records, in the first place, the death of a Western Gaṅga prince, who is mentioned in it by the appellation of *Nitimarga*, without his proper name being disclosed. We are told, however, that he left a son who had the appellation of *Satyavākya*. We know that *Satyavākya* was the appellation of a prince *Rājamalla*, for whom we have the date of A.D. 870-71. We know also that *Sripurusha-Muttarasa*, who is to be placed about A.D. 765 to 805, had a son named *Ranavikrama*, and that the latter had a son named *Rājamalla*. And consequently, since the characters place the record justifiably, if not of absolute necessity, in the period A.D. 800 to 860, we naturally identify this *Satyavākya* with the *Rājamalla* of A.D. 870-71, and this *Nitimarga* with *Ranavikrama*; and, till we learn anything more definite as to the actual year of *Ranavikrama*'s death, we place the record roughly about A.D. 840. In the second place, the inscription registers the fact that *Satyavākya*-(*Rājamalla*) granted to a follower of his father, named *Agarayya*, a *kālnāḍu* or allotment of uncultivated land¹ known by the name of *Gulḍapāḍi*, the components of which were evidently specified in lines 16 to 22.

TEXT.²

- 1 Om³ Svasti Ni(nl)timārgga-Komguṇi(nl)varmma-dharmmamahārā-
 2 jādhirāja Kovaḷāla-purapar-ēsvara⁴ Nanda-
 3 giri-nātha śrīmar(t) Permmaṇaḍigaḷ svarggam⁵-ēṇida[m]⁶ [!]
 4 ēṇidode Pemmanāḍigaḷ mane-magattin Aga-
 5 rayyam Ni(nl)timārgga-Permmaṇaḍige kiḷ-guṇṭhey=āda[m] [!]
 Permma-
 6 naḍigaḷ-agga-putram⁷ Satyavakhya⁸-Pem[m]ānaḍigaḷ-Gulḍa-

Down the side of the stone.

7 [pā]ḍiya[m]

8 kālnāḍu

Kanarese characters, as time went on, until at length the distinction practically disappeared altogether, and it remained for modern invention,—on the part, I believe, of the early Jesuit missionaries,—to devise the mark by which the long *ī* is now distinguished from the short *i*, and also the long *ē* and *ō* from the short *e* and *o*. The ancient alphabet does not seem to have ever marked the difference between the long and the short forms of *e* and *o*; we read the signs as *e* or *ē* and *o* or *ō*, just as is required. As regards the *i* and *ī*, it is a question, in publishing critical texts, how far it is necessary to complicate the texts by, for instance, shewing the short *i* when it actually occurs in an original by mistake for a long *ī*, and then making a correction in brackets or in a footnote. But probably, while attending to the detail in the case of the earlier records, we may ignore the point in records dating from about A.D. 1000 onwards, and may give the short *i* or the long *ī* as is actually required, irrespective of the exact form in the original.—Dr. Burnell has traced back the present Kanarese method of marking the long *ī*, *ē*, and *ō*, as attached to consonants, to the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. (*South-Ind. Palae.* p. 80).

¹ The word *kālnāḍu* may be translated literally by "stoney tract." Mr. Rice has pointed out,—quite correctly, I think,—that, as used in inscriptions, "it seems to designate what is now known as Government waste, that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation or that having been cultivated has been "abandoned" (*Ep. Cars.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8).

² From the ink-impression.

³ Represented by a plain symbol: So, also, in line 15, where, however, the symbol is turned the other way.

⁴ Read *puravar-ēsvara*.

⁵ We have here a rather pointed instance, to which my attention was specially drawn by Mr. Kittel, of the use of the nominative instead of the accusative, which is mentioned by Kēśirāja in his *Śabdamañi-darpaṇa*, sūtra 186. In other records, we often find in this expression the dative, *svarggake*, instead of the accusative; this usage is mentioned in sūtra 135.

⁶ Read *ēṇida*, more correctly, in agreement with the honorific plural *Permmaṇaḍigaḷ*.

⁷ Mr. Rice's text gives *Pemmanāḍigaḷ su-putra*. The real reading is quite certain, though the *ga* is somewhat damaged.

⁸ Read *Satyavākya*.

- 9 [ko]ttadu¹ ga(?)
 10 chcha[m] māḍi
 11 parih[ā]ra[m] [||*]
 12 Idan=aḷi-
 13 do[m] Vārap[ā]-
 14 siyan=aḷi-
 15 do[m] || Ōm ||
 16 Idakke Kamma-
 17 . . . gaya-
 18 lli(?)kummaḷna(?)
 19 ga(?)tagesiko(?)
 20 ttastaḷu(?)ṇga-
 21 lavedi(?)ma(?)
 22 ṇḍu(?)ṇṭu[||*] Idan=a-
 23 lido[m] mā-pā-
 24 tagan=a[kkum ||]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! Hail! The *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*³ Nītimārga-Koṅṇuṇivarman, the lord of Kovaḷāla the best of towns,³ the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Permanāḍi, ascended to heaven (i.e. died). When he was ascending,—by right of being a son of the house (?)⁴ of Pemmānāḍi,⁵ Agarayya became, to Nītimārga-Permanāḍi, the attendant who drew out (the weapon that caused his death) (?)⁶ (In recognition of that), Satyavākya-

¹ Read *koṭṭadu*, for which *koṭṭadu* is a vulgarism, as remarked by Mr. Kittel.

² See above, Vol. V. p. 163, note 2.

³ Kovaḷāla is the modern Kōlār, the chief town of the Kōlār district, Mysore. In Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, the modern name is given with the Drāviḍian *z*,—Kōlāra. It is, however, doubtful whether there is any authority for this.

⁴ *Mane-magattin*. Mr. Rice would translate this by "*major-domo*" (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4).—taking, I understand, *magattin* as a Tamil form of *mahattin*, which would, however, make it the instrumental singular of *mahattu*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *mahat*, 'great, large, etc.' To this there are the objections that, being an instrumental case, it cannot be in apposition with the nominative *Agarayya*, and that, as the Chōḷa occupation of Mysore did not commence till about A.D. 1000, there is no apparent reason why the Kanarese language should be in any way influenced by Tamil at the period of the present record; moreover, such a hybrid compound as *mane-mahattu* could hardly be admitted under any circumstances. Mr. Kittel is of opinion that, if we might correct the text into *maggattina*, we might explain it by *magga* as the genitive of *maggu*, 'subjection, submission,' and *attina* as another form of *attana*, 'of that side,' and might translate "Agarayya of the side of house-subjection, i.e. Agarayya who was in subjection to, or held the position of a dependent in, the house of Pemmānāḍi." *Magattu* may perhaps be connected in some way with *ogataṇa*, 'the management of household affairs.' But I think, on the whole, that we must find in it some derivative from *maga*, 'a son.' And the idea that the expression conveys to me, is, that Agarayya was the son of a concubine of one of the princes of the Western Ganga family.—The records appear to give another similar word, which, also, Mr. Rice would translate by "*major-domo*" (*loc. cit.* p. 7) or "retainer" (p. 34), in the forms of *mane-vagati*, My. 41, 44, and Nj. 159, *mane-yagati*, My. 42, and *mane-magati*, My. 43. In Nj. 158, *mane-vagati* may qualify the woman Nīlabbe, quite as readily as her son Rāchamma, and therefore may quite possibly mean 'concubine' there. In the other cases, however, there does not seem to be any female name that the word could qualify.

⁵ Or "of the Pemmānāḍis." We have to note the use of the form Pemmānāḍi here, and in line 6, whereas in lines 3 and 5 we have the more customary Permanāḍi.

⁶ *Kiḷ-guṇṭhe*. Mr. Rice's translation proposes "became? lame under Nītimārga-Permanāḍi,"—which, however, does not seem very appropriate. *Guṇṭhe*, in which the aspirated *ṭh* is rather peculiar, being so unusual in Kanarese, must, I think, be connected with the Telugu *guṇḍa*, 'a servant, a warrior, a soldier, an armed attendant,' which appears in Malayāḷam as *kuṇḍe*, 'a slave,' and Mr. Kittel is inclined to agree with me he considers, indeed, the termination *e* to be rather puzzling; but he instances the same termination in *tanḍe*, 'a father,' which is said to be a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *tāta*. As regards the first part of the

Pemmanāḍi, the eldest son of (Nitimārga)-Permanāḍi, gave (to Agarayya) Guḍḍapāḍi,¹ (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land,— having laved (his sword)(?),² — (with) relinquishment (of all taxes). He who destroys this, is (like) one who destroys Vāraṇāsi! Om!

[(L. 16 ff.)—This part of the record evidently gives the names of the villages which made up the allotment. But the reading is very uncertain in some places. And no names can be found in the maps, helping to elucidate the reading and to divide the words. The record ends]:— He who destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the great sins!³

B.—Bēgūr Inscription of Ereyappa.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Mysore territory; and a print from his negative has been given in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Tanavese Inscriptions*, No. 247,⁴ issued in 1878. In 1879, Mr. Rice gave a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 209, with a lithograph of the entire stone (*id. Frontispiece*). And a rendering of the record by myself, partly from Col. Dixon's photograph and partly from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultsch, was published in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 346. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Bēgūr is a village in the Bangalore tāluka of the Bangalore district, Mysore. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), in lat. 12° 52', long. 77° 41', about seven miles S.S.E. from Bangalore. It is evidently the ancient Bempūr (Bempūr) or Bempūru of the record; though, why the *mp* or *mp* should have changed into *g*, is not apparent.⁵ And the record shews that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Bempūr twelve. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6' 6" broad by 6' 8" high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

compound, we have the word *kiḷ*, *kiḷ*, *kiḷu*, 'the state of being low, below, beneath, under, down, base, degraded or mean,' which occurs in such expressions as *kiḷ-kabbiga*, 'an inferior, base poet,' *kiḷ-dī*, 'a low man,' and *kiḷu-manneya*, 'a petty chieftain;' and in epigraphic records we meet with *kiḷ-keṛe* or *kiḷ-keṛe*, evidently meaning 'a lower tank' (*Inscr. at Śrāv.-Bel.* No. 24), and *kiḷ-kaluddu*, meaning apparently 'a lower or smaller portion of uncultivated waste' (an inscription at Hirt-Bidanūr, for the text of which I am indebted to Mr. Rice). And Mr. Kittel, taking the whole word in connection with his proposal of *mane-maggattina*, would interpret the text as meaning that "Agarayya, who held a (*mere*) servile position in the house of Pemmanāḍi, became a (*real, though*) subordinate servant, or armed attendant, to Nitimārga-Permanāḍi." But we have also the verb *kiḷ*, *kiḷ*, *kiḷu*, 'to draw or pull out, etc.' And I think that the indication afforded by the sculptures on the stone, suggests for *kiḷ-guṭṭe* the meaning that I propose in my translation.

¹ Mr. Rice's translation gives "Permanāḍi's good son Satya-vākya survived to Permanāḍi." This requires us to analyse, at the end of line 6, *Pemmanāḍigaḷge uḷḍam*. And I adopted that analysis, in taking the record to mean that "Agarayya survived to (*render service to*) Satyavākya" (above, Vol. V. p. 163). But I consider now that such an analysis is wrong. The past tense of *uḷi*, 'to remain alive, to remain behind,' would be *uḷḍam*, not *uḷḍam*; the line across the stone between lines 15 and 16 of the text, marks that place as the first division in the text; and the *Satyavākhyā-Pemmanāḍigaḷ* in line 6 must be taken as the agent of the verbal form *koṭṭadu* (for *koṭṭadu*) in line 9.

² In line 9-10, where Mr. Rice's text gives *Kappahalli*, we have in all probability *gachcham mḍdi*. And *gachcham* must stand for *kachcham*, the accusative of *kachchu*, 'washing.' The expression *kḍam kachchu*, *kachchu*, *kaḷchu*, 'to wash, or lave the feet,' is a very well known one, in the case of grants given or entrusted to priests. And we have also the nouns *kḍi-gachchu*, 'feet-washing,' and *ḍḍi-gachchu*, 'sword-washing' (see page 52 below, note 4). A prince would lave an attendant's sword,—not his feet.

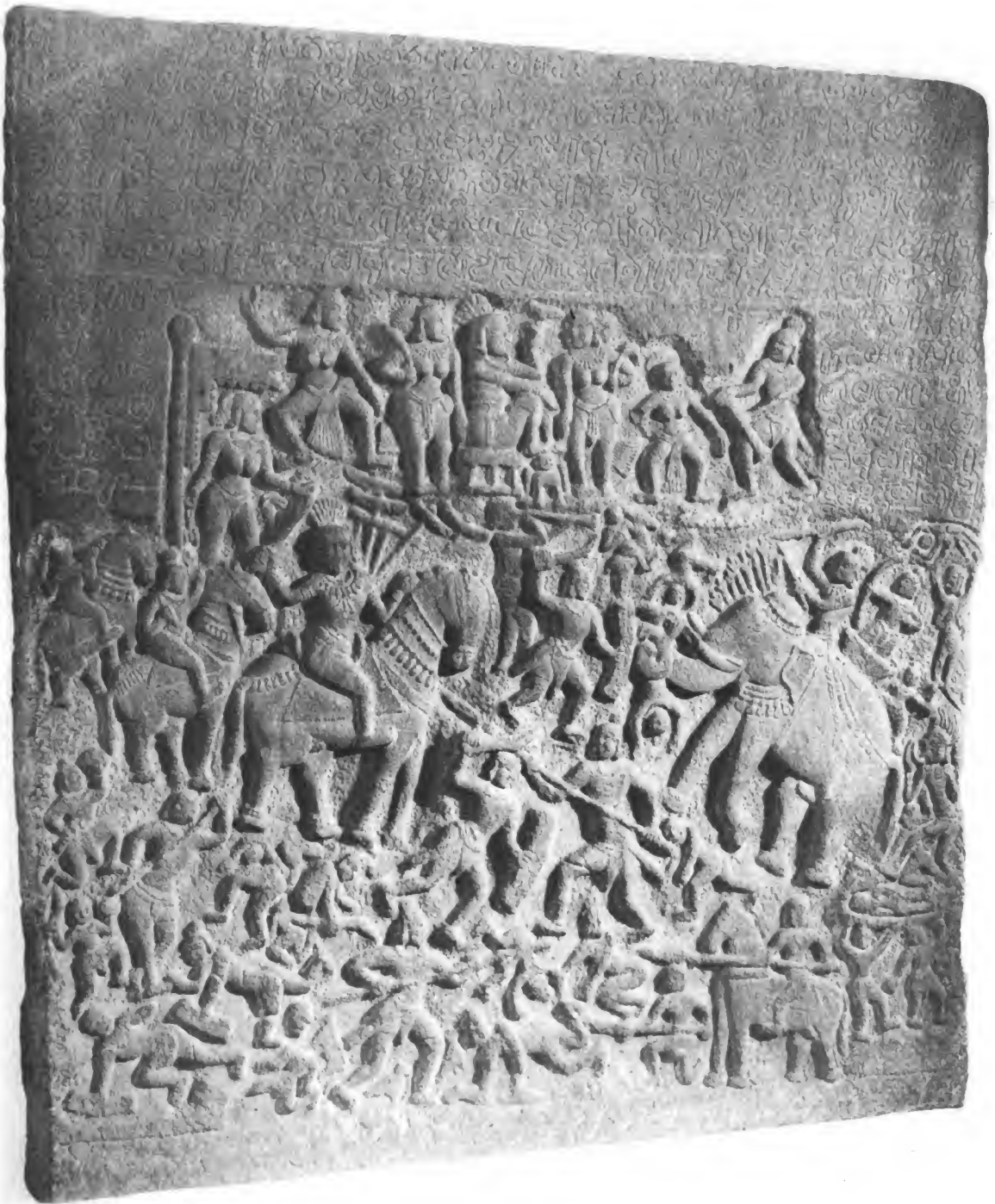
³ The *pañcamaḥḍḍika* or five great sins are, killing a Brāhmaṇ, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and associating with any one guilty of those offences.

⁴ The correct name of the village was not then known, and is there given as 'Beygoor,' mistakenly.

⁵ The first component of the name, however, may possibly be another variant of *ḍḍu*, *ḍḍu*, 'spying;' in which case, the name would mean "spying-town" or "watch-town."

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering an area about 6' 6" broad by 1' 5" high, which run right across the upper part of the stone; and, in a somewhat exceptional manner, each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side, the same number on the proper left side, and the name of a village (treated as line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is mostly very well preserved; and it is legible throughout, in the ink-impression, without any doubt, except in respect of the village-name in line 13.—The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side must be those of the Viramahendra of the record. They are led by a man on horseback, waving a sword: that he is a person of very high rank, is indicated by umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one; and he seems, therefore, to be Viramahendra himself. Behind him there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn of the long straight kind. And, above the latter, there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are the Nāgattara army of the record. They are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, who is evidently the hero whose death is recorded in the inscription; and the fierceness of the attack upon him is indicated by the arrows sticking in the forehead of the elephant. He is attended by an archer in the *hauda*, and by a follower on horseback shewn below the elephant. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above all this, there is another scene, the central figure of which is a man, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool devised in that form. He may possibly be Egeyappa. But the absence of umbrellas is rather against that view; and it seems more likely that we have here another representation of the leader of the Nāgattara army who was killed in the battle. He is attended by two female *chauri*-bearers. Behind the *chauri*-bearer at his back, there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on his uplifted left hand. And behind her, again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. Beyond the *chauri*-bearer in front of the central seated figure, there stands another woman. And beyond her there is a man, standing, and holding across his right knee what seems to be either a quiver or the scabbard of a sword: that he, also, is of some rank, is shewn by the head-dress, which figures similarly on the heads of the other three principal figures, and seems to include a kind of plume standing up from the *paffa* or frontlet or fillet of dignity and authority; and he is probably the Iruga of the record, who was appointed to the command of the Nāgattaras in consequence of their original leader being killed in the battle.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{8}$ " in the *l* of *vēlidoḍe*, line 4, to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *va* of *Tovagūrū*, line 6: the *śrī* of *śrīmad*, line 2, is $3\frac{1}{8}$ " high; and the *śrī* at the end of line 19 is $3\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The characters include a final form of *r* at the end of line 2, and either a final *l*, or else an *l* with a form of the *virāma* attached to it, in *Kūḍal*, line 15. They include the distinct form of the lingual *ḍ*, which can be seen very clearly in *māḍi* and *Gaṅgavāḍi*, line 3, and in *kalnāḍ*, line 6: but the distinction was not made throughout; for instance, it was not observed in *endoḍe*, line 6. We have, in this record, all the leading test-letters. The *kh*, *b*, and *l* present only the later cursive forms: the *kh* occurs once, in *mēkhāḍ*, line 1; the *b* may be seen very clearly in *badhdham* and *Beṃpūru*, line 6; and the *l*, in *lakshmi*, line 2, and *pola*, line 15. In *Gaḷamjavāgilā*, line 11-12, we have the later cursive *j*: but the old square type is presented in *jaḷadhi-jaḷa*, line 1: here, in both cases, we have the back-to-back *j*, in its open form, that is to say, with a small space at the top and also at the bottom of the central upright stroke; it is particularly clear in the second instance. The guttural *ṣ* follows the types and forms of the *j*, as, for some reason or other not yet explained, it nearly always does: in *Irugaṅge*, line 5, *maṅgala*, line 6, *Komaraṅgundu*, line 7-8, *Nāgaraṅge*,

BEGUR STONE.



E. F. H. Wiele, photo.

Photo-etching: Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1898.

line 18-19, and *maṅgala*, line 19, it is the later cursive *ṣ*, differing from the corresponding *j* in only the absence of the right-hand stroke which, in the *j*, starts and turns up from the centre of the letter; on the other hand, in *Gaṅga*, line 1, *Gaṅgavāḍi*, line 3, and *dēvaṅge*, line 4, we have an *ṣ* of the old square type, answering to the back-to-back *j*, from which it differs, as may be seen best in line 3, essentially in the absence of the centre stroke to the right, and, as found in this particular record, by the projections to the left being turned in to meet the central upright stroke. — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 18, we have a curious word, *ṣavuchara*, which seems to stand for *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower.' — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *āḷamkrity*, line 1-2, though the *ṛi* is given correctly in *ṣvayamvṛita*, line 2; (2) the use of *dhdh* for *ddh* in *badhdham*, line 6; (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *Bira*, line 3; (4) the use of *ṣ* for *s* in *ṣvayamvṛita*, line 2; and (5) the use of the Drāviḍian *ḷ* in all the Sanskrit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakṣmi*, line 2, and except in *maṅgala*, line 6. The last-mentioned word occurs spelt both ways. In line 19, where it is the ordinary Sanskrit word, used in its customary sense, it is written with the Drāviḍian *ḷ*. In line 6, it is part of a village-name;¹ and there it is written with the ordinary *l*, as seems to be always the case, even in Tamil records, when it is used in that way.

The inscription, which is partly a *virgal* or monumental record of a hero who was killed in battle and partly an ordinary *śāsana* or charter, refers itself to the period of the rule of the Western Gaṅga prince Eṇeyappa, i.e. to between about A.D. 908 and 938. It tells us that Eṇeyappa lent to Ayyapadēva, for the purpose of fighting against Viramahēndra, a force which was collected and commanded by the leader of the Nāgattaras. The commander of the force was killed in a battle that was fought at Tumbepāḍi. And Eṇeyappa appointed Iruga to succeed to the leadership of the Nāgattaras, and also, in recognition of the bravery that had been displayed by his predecessor, granted to Iruga the circle of villages that was known as the Bempūr twelve.

As has been pointed out by Mr. Rice² since the time when the contents of this record were first discussed, Ayyapadēva was doubtless a Nōlamba, and is to be identified with the Nōlambādhirāja-Ayyapadēva, "of the Pallava lineage," one of the Nōlambas of the Nōlambavāḍi province on the north of the Gaṅgavāḍi province, who is mentioned in an inscription at Hiri-Bidanūr.³ The identity of Viramahēndra is not so certain. But there is, at any rate, no good reason now for proposing to identify him with the Nōlamba Mahēndrādhirāja who is mentioned, in inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvatī,⁴ as a son of a Nōlambādhirāja who was a brother-in-law of Nītimārga son of the Gaṅga prince Rājamalla. And it seems probable that he was an Eastern Chalukya king. In that dynasty, we meet, not only with Rājamahēndra as a *virūda* both of Amma I. (A.D. 918 to 925) and of Amma II. (A.D. 945 to 970),⁵ but also with Gaṇḍamahēndra as a *virūda* of Chālukya-Bhīma II. (A.D. 934 to 945).⁶ The name Viramahēndra, "a very Mahēndra (Indra) among brave men," is exactly synonymous with Gaṇḍamahēndra, "a very Mahēndra among heroes." The Eastern Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Rāshtrakūṭa kings and the Western Gaṅga princes. The name of "the very terrible Ayyapa" is actually mentioned among the names of certain enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II.,⁷ whom he is said to have slain. The dates fit in satisfactorily. Thus, in all probability, the Viramahēndra of this record is Chālukya-Bhīma II., who, we must then understand, had invaded Mysore and was met by a combined force of Gaṅgas and Nōlambas. And the event has

¹ [At the end of village-names, *maṅgala* seems to be an abbreviation of the frequent, but inconveniently long term *chaturvāḍi-maṅgala*, 'a Brāhmaṇ settlement.'—E.H.]

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, note 3.

³ For this record, see, provisionally, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, note 2.

⁴ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 266, 270.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 269.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 270.

to be placed towards the end of the rule of Ereyappa, between about A.D. 934 and 938. Against this, it might be urged, in the first place, that the statement in this record, that Ereyappa was governing the Gaṅgavāḍi province as an united whole after having deprived all his enemies of their power; is suggestive of an early period in his rule, and, in the second place, that an early period is suggested by also the fact that the record includes an *ṣ* and a *j* of the old type, which seems to have entirely disappeared in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory by about A.D. 900. But the Ātakūṭ inscription, C. below, of A.D. 949-50, similarly describes Būtuga II. as then governing the province after having fought and killed Rāchamalla I.,—regardless of the fact that that event occurred about ten years before that date. While, as regards the palæographic point, the record can at any rate not be placed before A.D. 906-907, which date we have for Ereyappa's predecessor Būtuga I. There seems, therefore, no objection, from this point of view, to placing it even some thirty years later. And we thus gather from this record, in respect of palæography, that the development of the alphabet in Mysore was perceptibly slower than in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory more to the north.

Of the places mentioned in the record in addition to Bempūr-Bêgūr, we may doubtless safely identify Tumbepāḍi, where the battle was fought, with the modern 'Tumbadi' of the Madras Postal Directory and of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, N.E. (1895), in the Maddagiri tāluka of the Tumkūr district: the place is in lat. 13° 34', long. 77° 17', about fifty-four miles N.N.W.½W. from Bêgūr; and this identification locates the scene of the battle near enough to the Nolambavāḍi province—(if not actually in it)—to account for Ayyapadêva being concerned in the matter. Iggaḷūr still exists under the same name, eight miles to the south-east from Bêgūr. Tovagūru is probably the 'D. Togur' of the map, two-and-a-half miles on the south-east of Bêgūr. Pūvina-Pullimaṅgala is doubtless the modern 'Hulimangala,' three-and-a-half miles on the south of Bêgūr.¹ And Kūḍal may be 'Kudlu,' three miles N.E. by E. from Bêgūr.

TEXT.²

- 1 Om³ Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vinūta-Gaṅga-kuḷa-gagana-ni[r⁴]mmaḷa-tārāpati-jaladhi-jala-vipuḷa-valaya-mēkha[ā]-ka[ā]p-āḷam-
- 2 kri(kṛi)ty-aiḷāḍhipatya-lakshmi-svayamvṛita-patītvādy⁵-aganita-guṇa-gaṇa-vibhūṣaṇa-vibhūṣita-vibhūti śrīmad-Ereyappa-arasar
- 3 pagevar=ellaman=ni[h⁶]kshatram-māḍi Gaṅgavāḍi-tombhattaṅu-sāsiramuman⁶=ēka-chhatra⁶-chchhāyeyo[ā]uttam-iḷḍu Bi(vi)rama-
- 4 hēndranol=kāḍal=endu Ayyapadêvaṅge sāmanta-sahitam Nāgattaranam danḍu vēḷdoḍe Tumbepāḍiyo[ā]kādi kāḷegam=imb-a-
- 5 iḷdoḍe āneyo[ā]nt=iḷḍu sattoḍ=adam kēḷḍ=Ereyapam⁷ mechchi Irugaṅge Nāgattara-vattam-gaṭṭi Bempū-ppanniraḍu-

¹ The old map, sheet 60, of 1828, which I was using in 1892, does not shew 'Hulimangala.' The new map, sheet No. 60, N.E., of 1895, does not shew the 'Woolmungle,' about twenty miles towards the E.N.E. from Bêgūr, which I selected in 1892 from the old map; nor can I find in it the 'Nelloorputnam' and 'Chikka-Nalloor' which, on the authority of the old map, I then put forward as possible representatives of Kūtanidu-Nallūru and Nallūru-Komaragundu, but which now seem, under any circumstances, too distant to belong to the Bempūr twelve.

² From the ink-impression.

³ Represented by a plain symbol.

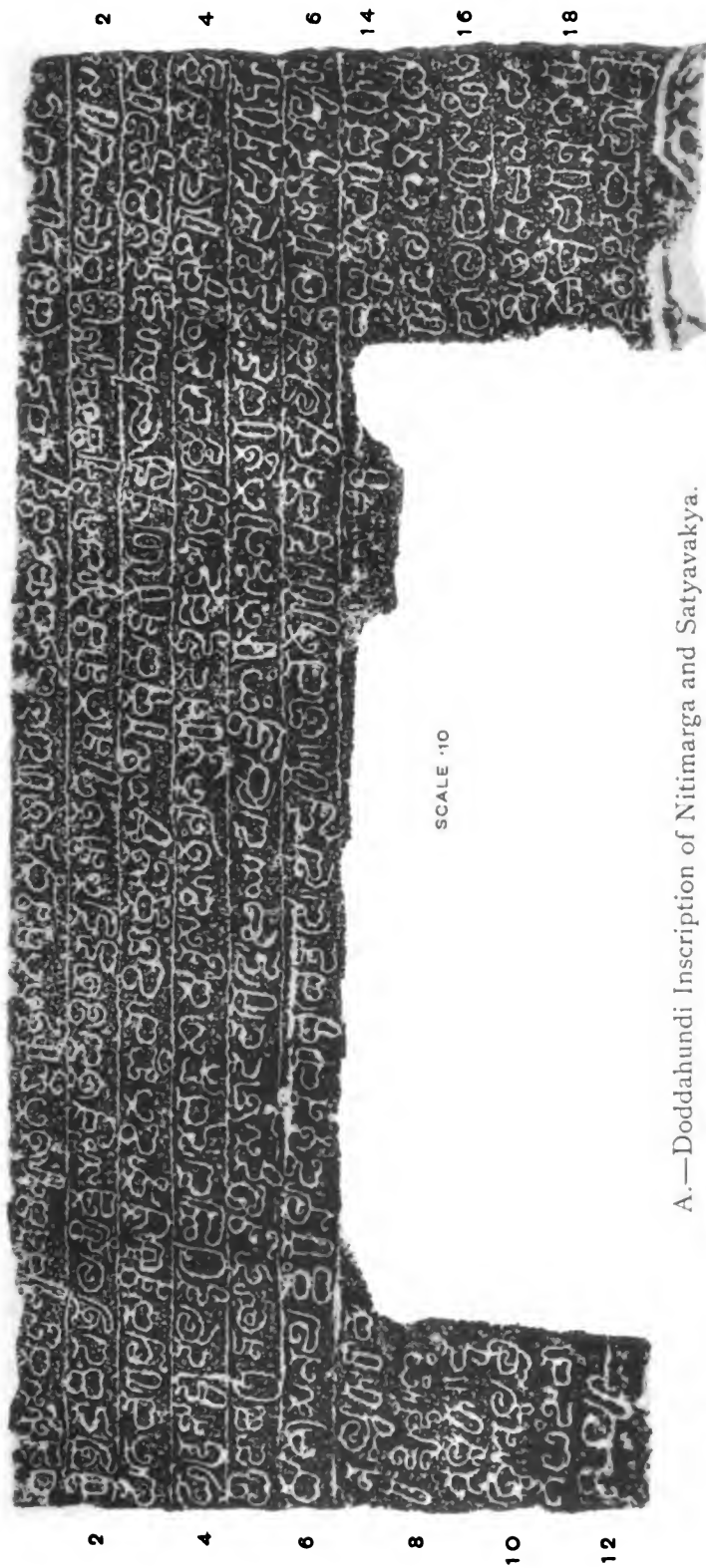
⁴ Read *lakshmi-svayamvṛita-patītvādy*. The *va* of *patītvā* is also understood after *tārāpati* in line 1.

⁵ Read *sāsiraman*. The copulative ending is not wanted, as only one province is mentioned.

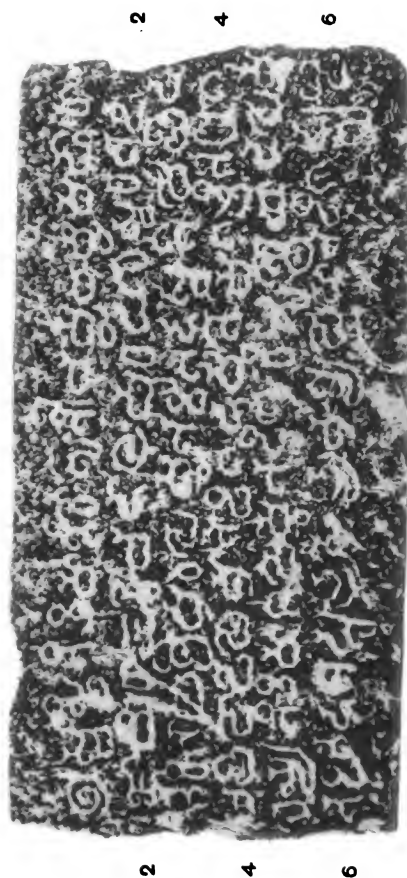
⁶ Read *chchhāṭtra*.

⁷ This name would have been written more correctly with the double *pp* in the fourth syllable, as in line 2. It occurs again with the single *p* in line 17 below, and in line 20 of C., the Ātakūṭ inscription.

B.—Begur Inscription of Ereyappa.



A.—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimarga and Satyavakya.



J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

SCALE .10

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.

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To be issued as an Appendix to an early volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* :—

The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, from the earliest historical times to the Musalman conquest of A.D. 1318. By Dr. J. F. Fleet.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

- CHAPTER I.—The Early Dynasties.—The Nalas; the Mauryas; the Kadambas; the Sendrakas; the Katchchuris or Kalachuris; the Western Gangas; the Alupas; the Latas; the Malavas; the Gurjaras; the Pallavas; some detached names.
- „ II.—The Western Chalukyas of Badami.
- „ III.—The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed.
- „ IV.—The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani.
- „ V.—The Kalachuryas of Kalyani.
- „ VI.—The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra.
- „ VII.—The Yadavas of Devagiri.
- „ VIII.—The Great Feudatory Families.—The Silaharas of the southern Konkan; the Silaharas of the northern Konkan; the Silaharas of Karad; the Rattas of Saundatti; the Kadambas of Hangal; the Kadambas of Goa; the Sindas of Yelburga; the Guttas of Guttal.
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E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

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THE *Epigraphia Indica* is the official organ for the publication of Indian inscriptions,—both such as are collected by the officers of the Archaeological Survey, and such as are contributed by others interested in the subject. Papers on inscriptions of which the Editor has no impressions at hand should be accompanied by mechanical copies (*not* tracings) of the original stone or copper-plates. The text of the inscriptions may be transcribed either in Roman or in Nāgarī characters. It is requested that all papers for the *Epigraphia Indica* be addressed to Dr. E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, who also invites the discoverers, owners, or trustees of copper-plate edicts (*tāmraśāsana*) to send him these by Railway parcel, for examination and return.

6	man ¹	śāsana-badhha(ddha)m	kalnāḍ=ittan=Av=āvuv=endoḍe ||	Bempūru ||²	
		Tovagūrū Pāvina-Pullimaṅgala Kūtanidu-Nallūru ||			
7	Nallūru-Koma-	13	Sāra[m]vu(P) ||	14	Elkuppe Paravūru
8	raṅgundu || I-			15	Kūḍal | inituma[m]
9	ggaḷūru || Du-			16	pola-mère sabila-
10	gmonelmalli			17	m=ittan=Ereyapa[m]
11	Galāmjavā-			18	śavucharan=Nāgara-
12	gilū ||			19	ṅge ³ [||*] Maṅgala-
					mahā-śrī ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When the illustrious Ereyapparasa,— whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of an uncounted number of good qualities, such as being a spotless moon in the sky which is the family of the Gaṅgas praised throughout the whole world, and such as being the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the earth, who has for an ornament round her waist a zone which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans,— having deprived all his enemies of their power, was governing the Gaṅgavāḍi ninety-six-thousand as an united whole,⁴ he ordered⁵ the Nāgattara, together with (his) tributary chiefs, (to supply) an army to Ayyapadēva for the purpose of fighting against Viramahēndra; and thereupon he (the Nāgattara) fought at Tumbepāḍi, and, when the press of battle became great,⁶ leaned upon the elephant, and was pierced and died.

(L. 5)— Thereupon, having heard that, Ereyapa was pleased, and appointed Iruga to the leadership of the Nāgattaras,⁷ and gave him, secured by a charter, the Bempūr twelve, (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land.

¹ Read *Bempūr-ppannaraduman*.

² The punctuation in this part of the record seems, at first sight, rather capricious. But it probably marks some subordinate groupings of the villages. And the copulative long & in *Tovagūrū* and *Galāmjavāgilū* points in the same direction, though, in that case, there ought to have been a more systematic use of copulative endings all through lines 6 to 15.

³ Read *śavucharan=Nāgattaraṅge*.— As regards the latter word, see the next note but one.— As regards the former word, the *śavucharan* of the original might stand for *śaucharan*, *saucharan*, or even (see Kittel's Dictionary, under *au*) *śamcharan*, or *saṃcharan*. But none of these words gives a suitable meaning, unless we can accept *saucharan*, and, taking it as equivalent to *sucharitan*, render it by 'well-conducted, well-behaved.'

⁴ *Ēka-cchchattira-cchchāyeyol*; *lit.* "in the shade of one umbrella." See the explanation given above, Vol. V. p. 164, note 6.

⁵ *Vēḷḷoḍe* might stand for *bēḷḷoḍe*, from *bēḷu*, = *bēḷu*, 'to wish, solicit, ask.' But, as indicated to me by Mr. Kittel, it is, no doubt, better taken here as standing for *pēḷḷoḍe*, from *pēḷu*, 'to utter, say, narrate, tell, command, order.'— With the infinitive in *kāḍal=endu*, compare *geyyal=endu* and *eddhisal=endu* (above, Vol. V. p. 223, note 6, and p. 225, note 2).— As regards "the Nāgattara," from a comparison of the text in lines 4, 5, and 18-19, it seems that we have in line 4 the accusative singular, and in line 18-19 the dative singular (with a careless omission of the third syllable, *tta*), of a base *Nāgattara*, as the proper name of a family or clan rather than of an individual.

⁶ *Kēḷegam-imḍ=alidoḍe*; *lit.* "when the battle space failed."— I was inclined to take *kēḷegam* as the dative singular of a proper name, *Kāḷe*, and to translate "when space failed to even *Kāḷe*, i.e. when the press of battle became too great even for him,"—thus finding here the actual name, which otherwise is not mentioned (see the preceding note), of the hero who was killed on this occasion. Mr. Kittel, however, considers that *kēḷe* is not very probable as the name of a man, and that it is better to take *kēḷegam* in the way in which it most naturally presents itself, namely, as the nominative singular of *kēḷega*, *kēḷaga*, 'fight, battle, war.'

⁷ *Lit.* "having tied to (the forehead of) Iruga the fillet of authority of the Nāgattaras." *Paṭṭam* is for *paṭṭam*; and *gaṭṭi* for *kaṭṭi*. *Paṭṭam kaṭṭu* or *gaṭṭu*, 'to tie the frontlet or fillet of dignity or authority,' is an expression of constant occurrence in respect of the crowning of kings and princes. In respect of its use in the case of lower appointments, we have instances, analogous to the present one, in the Permaḍi-*paṭṭa* which, the Kōṭūr inscription tells us, the Satyavākya of that record conferred on the son of a *Gamaṇḍa* or village-headman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 103, No. III., and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 6), and in the Mādivarma-*paṭṭa* which belonged to a certain Māchiga, a follower of Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Pg. 110). The last mentioned record

(L. 6)—Those (villages) are as follows :—Bempûru; Tovagûru, Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala, and Kûtanidu-Nallûru; Nallûru-Komaraṅgundu; Iggalûru; Dugmonelmalli and Gaḷaṅjavāgilu; Sāramvu (?); Elkuppe, Paravûru, and Kûḍal. This much, with (*a specification of*) the boundaries of the fields, gave Ereyapa to his follower, the Nāgattara. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

C.—Ātakûr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. and Bûtuga II.—A.D. 949-50.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introd. p. 19, note 10, and p. 21. A rendering of it by myself, from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, was issued in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 167. And a rendering of it by Mr. Rice, with a lithograph, was published in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Md. 41. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself; owing to the bad light in which the stone stands, it fails to shew much of the writing, though it presents the sculptures clearly enough.

Ātakûr,—or, perhaps, according to a more recent custom, Ātagûr,—is a village about fifteen miles to the N. E. by E. from Maṇḍya, the head-quarters of the Maṇḍya tāluka of the Mysore district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), as 'Atgur,' in lat. 12° 39', long. 77° 7'; and it is shewn as 'Atagur' in the map that accompanies the revised edition of Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. II.: in the old sheet No. 60 (1828), however, it is shewn as 'Atcoor,' which answers to the spelling given in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., and to what is probably still the more usual form of the name. With the slight difference of *u* for *a* in the second syllable, the record mentions it as Ātukûr. And the record shews also that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Ātukûr twelve. The inscription is on a stone tablet, measuring about 5' 1" broad towards the bottom by about 6' 8" high, which was found set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challēśaliṅga,—the Challēśvara of the record itself,—about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the writing consists of nineteen lines, covering an area about 5' 1" broad (in line 19) by 4' 0" high, which run right across the lower part of the stone. But there is a subsidiary record, lines 20 to 24, on the upper part of the stone, in the margins that were left above and on each side of the sculptures belonging to the principal part of the record: lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin, along the top, and down the proper left margin; line 22 is a short line on the proper right margin, below the beginning of line 21; and lines 23 and 24 are short lines on the proper left margin, commencing below, respectively, the *nna* of *Kannara* and the *ṅge* of *Bâtugaṅge* of line 21. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation throughout; and the whole of the record can be read with certainty, with the exception of the *akshara* before *Tri[ṇē]tran*, line 3, and perhaps of the word *āpa[ghā]ta* in line 7.—The sculptures on the stone cover an area about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high. They represent a hound and a boar fighting; and they refer to an incident mentioned in lines 10 and 11 of the record.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about 1" in the *ḷa* of *Chôḷane*, line 16, to about 1½" in the *ma* of *ā-maṇṇan*, line 13: the *m̐ba* of *em̐ba*, line 19, is 2½" high; and the *ka* of *Sûdrakam̐*, in the same line, is 2½" high vertically and 3" on the slant. The

illustrates also its higher application, in giving the date as the seventh year of the tying of the fillet of Satyavākya-(Mārasimha II.). And in this application it was synonymous with *rdjgdbhishēśa-ṅeyu*, 'to anoint to the sovereignty or rule,' which is the expression used in giving the regnal date of the Bijlūr inscription of Satyavākya-(Bûtuga I.) of A.D. 888 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. II., and *Coorg Inscri.* p. 5).—Judging from the head-dresses of the four principal figures in the sculptures on the stone, the *paṭṭa* seems to have included a kind of plume standing straight up above the head, in addition to a fillet passing round the head.

ATAKUR STONE.



E. F. H. Wiele, photo

Photo etching: Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1898.

characters include final forms, or forms with the *virāma* attached, of *ṭ* in lines 3, 6, and 9, of *ḷ* in line 13, and of *ḷ* in lines 6, 9, 11, and 12. The lingual *ḍ* can be recognised in *nāḍa*, line 10, *viṭṭode* and *oḍa*, line 11, and *eḍeg*, line 15. The palæography does not present anything calling for special comment, as the *kh* does not occur, and the other test-letters, *ṣ*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, present, naturally enough, only the later cursive forms.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type; and there are verses in lines 15 to 19. In line 11 we have *moruḍi* as a variant of *moruḍi*, 'a hill, a hillock;' and in line 12 we have *aṅgaḷoḷ*, the locative singular of *aṅgaḷ* or *aṅgaḷu* as a variant of *aṅgaḷa*, = *aṅgaṇa*, in the sense of 'an open space, an area.' And we may note the use of *v*, instead of the more customary *m*, in *erpatturaṁ*, line 21.—In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nriṭa*, line 1, *prithuṛi*, line 2, and *Krishṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in *bijayaṁ*, line 4, and *bira*, lines 16 and 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, for instance, in *Saka*, line 1, and *Sādrakaṁ*, lines 9 and 19; and (4) the use of *ś* for *ṣ*, once, in *Sōmyam*, for *Saumyam*, line 1.

The principal part of the inscription is dated, without full details, in the *Saumya saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 872 (current),¹ = A.D. 949-50. And it refers itself to the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kanneradēva-Kṛishṇa III.,² and of the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavākya-Būṭuga II.³ It tells us, in the first place, that Kṛishṇa III. had fought and killed the Chōḷa king Rājāditya, otherwise called Mūvaḍi-Chōḷa,⁴ at a place named Takkōla, and was going in triumph, or, in other words, was making a state progress through his dominions.⁵

¹ The *saṁvatsara* agrees with the given Śaka year only according to the southern luni-solar system of the cycle,—which, however, is the proper one for the period and the part of the country with which we are concerned,—and only by applying the Śaka year as a current year; see Prof. Kielhorn's references to this date, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 187, No. 79, and Vol. XXV. p. 267, note 5.

² The following *birudas* of Kṛishṇa III. are mentioned in this record,—*Aṅkatṛiṇētra*, *Āneveḍeṅga*, *Vanagajamalla*, and *Kachcheḡa*; see page 53 below, note 7, the Postscript on page 83, and page 55, notes 7, 8, 9.

³ His proper name occurs in line 9, in the *biruda* "the champion of Būṭuga," which is applied to Maṇḍalera. — The following *birudas* of Būṭuga II. himself are mentioned in this record,—*Nanniyagaṅga*, *Jayaduttaraṅga*, *Gaṅgagāṅḡeḡa*, and *Gaṅganārāyaṇa*.

⁴ The word *mūvaḍi* means 'three folds, three times,' from *mā*, = *māra*, 'three,' and *maḍi*, 'bending, folding, doubling; fold, times.' Another form of it is *mummaḍi*. In the Tamil records, the *biruda* appears sometimes as *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and sometimes as *Mummuḍi-Chōḷa*; and Dr. Hultzsch has rendered it by "the Chōḷa king (who wears) three crowns, viz. those of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms" (e.g., *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 29), finding an indication that that is its purport in a verse at the end of the Rāṅganātha inscription which describes *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* as building "three golden domes, by which (the temple of) Śrīraṅga glitters as he (the king) by the (three) crowns worn at (his) coronation" (above, Vol. III. p. 17); and so also Mr. V. Venkayya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 65, and see p. 60, note 14), where he quotes facts which would indicate, or at least justify, the existence of a similar *biruda* among the Pāṇḍyas, on the same view. There is a Tamil word *maḍi*, meaning 'a crown.' Nevertheless, my opinion is that *Mummuḍi-Chōḷa* is simply a variant of *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and that in either form the *biruda* means literally "a three-times Chōḷa." And I think, now, that the expressions *Immaḍi-Noḷambāḍhirāja*, *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and *Nūmmaḍi-Taḷla* mean, not "the second Noḷambāḍhirāja, the third Chōḷa, the hundredth Taḷla," but "the Noḷambāḍhirāja who was twice as great and powerful, or twice as famous, as any Noḷambāḍhirāja who ever preceded him," and so on. An inscription of A.D. 1168 at Baḷagāmi (*P. S. O. O. Insers.* No. 185, and see *Mysore Insers.* p. 111) describes the temple of *Dakṣiṇa-Kēdāreśvara* as (line 30 f.)—*Vārāṇḍisigāṁ-irmmaḍi Kēḍrakkāṁ nūrmmaḍi Śrīparvatakkāṁ sūirmmaḍi*,—"twice (as sacred) as even Vārāṇḍi, a hundred times (more sacred) than even Kēḍāra, a thousand times (more sacred) than even Śrīparvata." So, also, *Bēvakaniṁmaḍi* (see page 71 below, note 5) probably stands for *Immaḍi-Bēvaka* and means "a Bēvaka twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Bēvaka."

⁵ *Bijayaṁ-gṛyutt-īḷa*. From Kittel's Dictionary, it would appear that the word *bijaya*, as used in this combination, is treated by the Native grammarians as another form of *bija*, *biya*, and as coming from the Sanskrit *vi*, *vyay*, 'to go, to move, to go apart or in different directions,' and that *bijayaṁ-gey* and *biyaṁ-gey* are explained by them as meaning simply 'to walk, to go, to come.' But, as used in the inscriptions, the expression has plainly a more extended meaning than that; namely, it implies the idea of 'going in state, going in triumph.' It is evidently a shorter form of *dig-vijayaṁ-gey*, for an instance of which see above, Vol. V. p. 233, note 6. And, in view of that longer form, I think that the word *bijaya* is to be more correctly treated as simply a *tadbhāsa*

It then mentions Bûtuga II. as governing,— the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand province being understood. It then introduces a follower of Bûtuga II. named Maṇalera,¹ who belonged to the Sagaravamsa or race of the Sagaras and had the hereditary title of “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” and whose prowess in battle is described in the verses in lines 15 to 19. Bûtuga II., it tells us, being pleased with the prowess displayed by Maṇalera, gave him his favourite hound Kâḷi. The hound was pitted against a great boar at the village of Beḷatûr, in the Koḷale district.² And the hound and the boar killed each other. And, in commemoration of that, the stone was set up in front of the temple of the god Challêśvara at Âtukûr, and a grant of land was made to the temple.

The subsidiary record round the top of the stone belongs also to the time of Bûtuga II., who, it says, was governing the ninety-six-thousand province after killing Râchamalla, the son of Eṛeyappa. It discloses the fact that it was Bûtuga II. himself who actually killed the Chôḷa king Râjâditya, whom, it says, without mincing matters, he slew treacherously. And in return for this service, it tells us, Kṛishṇa III. gave to Bûtuga II. the Banavâsi twelve-thousand-province, and the districts known as the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy.³ It further tells us that, in recognition of the valour displayed in battle by Maṇalera, Bûtuga II. gave to Maṇalera the circle of villages known as the Âtukûr twelve and also a village named Kâḍiyûr or Kâḍiyûr in the Beḷvola district. This last grant is called in the record a *bâlgachchu* or “sword-washing” grant, meaning, no doubt, that it was accompanied by the ceremony of laving Maṇalera’s sword.⁴

of the Sanskrit *vijaya*, ‘victory,’ and that *biḷa* and *biys* are to be treated as corruptions of it. I would render the full expression *dig-vijayam-gey*, not by “to conquer the regions, to make the subjugation of various countries in all directions, to make universal conquest,” but by “to go in triumph, to make a state progress, through the dominions.”—[In modern Tamil, *vijayañ=jey*, if applied to princes and high officials, means “to visit” a locality.— E. H.]

¹ The same Maṇalera is probably mentioned again in the Kûlagere inscription of Nîtimârḡa-(Eṛeyappa) of A.D. 909-910 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Ml. 30; the text in Roman characters gives Maṇaleyâra, and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maṇalayâra). An earlier person of the same name seems to be mentioned in the Taggalûru inscription of Śrîpuruṣa-(Muttarasa) (*id.* Vol. IV., Gu. 87; the texts here both give Maṇaleyâra). And an Irnaḍi-Vîra-Maṇalera appears to be mentioned in an inscription of uncertain date at Hebbâḷu (*id.* Vol. III., Md. 45; here, the Roman text gives Maṇalera, and the Kanarese text gives Maṇalera).—The Sagaravamsa is mentioned again in the Jinnabâḷi inscription of the time of Nôḷambântaka-Mârasimha II. (*id.* Vol. IV., Hg. 110)—The title *Vaḷabhiḥpuravarêśvara*, “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” occurs again in a fragmentary inscription of uncertain date at Muttatti (*id.* Vol. III., TN. 102).

² In a similar manner to the present record, an inscription of the sixteenth century A.D. at Têkal or Tyâkal in Mysore (*P. S. O. C. Insors.* No. 238, and see *Mysore Insors.* p. 308) mentions a fight between a hound and a tiger, and the fight is represented on the stone. The name of the hound in that case is perhaps given as Sampire; but the word may possibly mean only a *champak*-tree.

³ The necessity for granting the Beḷvola, Purigere, Kisukâḍ, and Bâgenâḍ districts to Bûtuga II. on this occasion, is not altogether apparent; because we know from the Hebbâḷ inscription that they had already been given to him by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, the father of Kṛishṇa III., as the dowry of Rêvakaniṃmaḍi (see above, Vol. IV. p. 354). But it would seem that Bûtuga II. must have been deprived of them,—together, probably with the rightful succession to the leadership of the Western Gaṅgas,—by Eṛeyappa and Râchamalla.

⁴ *Bâlgachchu* is from *bâḷ*, *bâḷu*, ‘a knife, a sword,’ and *gachchu*, *garchu*, *kaḷchu*, ‘washing; to wash.’—The expression, in line 22-23, is *bâlgachchu-goffam*, “he gave (as) a *bâlgachchu*.” Originally,—the word *bâlgachchu* not being then known,—I read *bâḷga[m]* [*me*] *gachchu-goffam*, which, as Reeve and Sanderson’s Canarese Dictionary does not shew the difference between *bâḷ*, ‘sword,’ and *bâḷ*, ‘living, life, subsisting, livelihood, etc.,’ I rendered by “gave, in token of approbation, for subsistence.” But, in giving that reading and rendering, I had to remark that I could not find the syllable *me* in the original, and that it seemed to have been omitted altogether. By a curious coincidence, Mr. Rice’s text gives the reading as *bâḷge mechchu goffa*; and his translation renders this by “gave for his sword:” and not only so, but his lithograph actually introduces the required syllable *me*, as if it really stood in the original,—making room for it chiefly by cramping the *ge* of the *Bâtugaḡe* of line 21. The syllable *me*, however, does not stand, and never did stand, in the original at all. And it is not wanted, from any point of view. The true reading, *bâlgachchu-goffam*, is quite unmistakable, and is, now, quite intelligible. The

As regards the places, in addition to *Ātukūr-Ātakūr*, mentioned in this record,—*Takkōla*, where the battle was fought between *Kṛishṇa III.* and *Rājāditya*, still exists, under the same name, in the *Wālājāpēt tāluka* of the North Arcot district, Madras; the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 78, N.E. (1893), shews it as '*Takkolam*,' six miles S.E. from *Arkōṇam* junction, in lat. 13° 1', long. 79° 48', on the *Corteliaur* river.¹ *Beḷatūr*, where the hound was matched against the boar, still exists under the same name, five miles W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. from *Ātakūr*. *Kādiyūr* or *Kāḍiyūr*, of the *Beḷvola* district, ought to be somewhere near *Hūli* in *Beḷgaum*, or *Anṇigere* in *Dhārwar*, or *Kukkanūr* in the *Nizam's Dominions*; but the maps do not seem to include any name answering to it. The *Banavase* province, and the *Beḷvola*, *Purigeṛe*, and *Kisukāḍ* districts, are already very well known. The *Bāgenāḍ* seventy was,—as I shewed when I originally edited this record,— the country round *Bāgalkōṭ*, the ancient *Bāgaḍage* and *Bāgaḍige*, the head-quarters of the *Bāgalkōṭ tāluka* of the *Bijāpur* district.

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti³ Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-sa[m]vatsara-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ-eṇṇu-nūṛ-
[e]lpatt-[e]raḍaneyā śō(sau)myam-emba
2 sa[m]vatsaram pravarttise⁴ [i*] Svasti Amôghavarisha⁵dēva-śrīprithuvī⁶
vallaḅha-paramēśvara-parama-
3 bhaṭṭ[ā]raka-pādapaṅkaja-bhramaran=a[nka]⁷-Tri[nṣ]tran=āne-veḍeṅgaṃ vana-gaja-
mallam kachchegam Kri(kṛi)shṇarājām śrīmat

expression *kḍam kachchu*, *karchu*, or *kaḷchu*, 'to lave the feet (at the time of making a donation),' is well known from many records. And for the noun *bḍḷ-gachchu*, 'sword-washing,' we have the analogy of the noun *kḍḷ-garchu*, 'foot-washing,' in lines 40 and 47 of an inscription of A.D. 1112 at *Baḷagāmi* (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 172, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 85).

¹ The word *takkōla* means 'the tree *Pimenta acris*,' and 'a particular fragrant drug.' The Madras Postal Directory gives also a '*Takkol*' about a hundred miles more to the north, in the *Siddhavaṭṭam tāluka* of the *Cuddapah* district. But we need not hesitate about accepting *Takkōlam* in the North Arcot district, as decided by Dr. Hultzsch (see above, Vol. V. p. 167, note 1). It is the more important place of the two; it contains, among other records, an inscription of *Kṛishṇa III.*; and it is only about thirteen miles distant, to the north, from *Conjeeveram*, which city, together with *Tanjore*, was reduced by *Kṛishṇa III.*—doubtless during the same campaign in which the *Chōḷa* king was killed at *Takkōla*.

² From the ink-impression.

³ This record does not seem to begin with the customary *Om* before the *Svasti*. We have the *Om* at the end of lines 14 and 19, represented by symbols respectively plain and slightly ornate. And we perhaps have it at certain other places; see the next note.

⁴ After this word, and after *Kannaradda[m]*, line 4, and after *iḷḍu*, line 4, and after *śrī*, line 24, and before the *svasti* at the beginning of lines 5, 7, and 20, there are certain marks which are perhaps intended for symbols representing the word *Om*, which would be appropriate enough at each place, except after *Kannaradda[m]* in line 4. But it cannot be said for certain that they actually are such symbols.

⁵ Read *varsha*. *Varisha* is a well established *tadbhava* of *varsha*. But it is hardly admissible in such a combination as the one that we have here.

⁶ Read *prithivī*. Here, again, in *prithivī* we have a well established *tadbhava*, which, however, is hardly admissible in such a combination.

⁷ My original reading,—*a[nri]pa-Tri[nṣ]tran*, "a very *Triṇētra* among kings,"—cannot be upheld. The *Tri[nṣ]tran* is practically certain. But I cannot satisfy myself as to what the word before it is. We should expect either *Raṭṭa*,—giving the meaning of "a very *Triṇētra* among the *Raṭṭas*,"—on the analogy of *Sagaratṛipētra* in lines 8 and 17 below and of *Chōḷatṛipētra* (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 139), or some word meaning 'king,' on the analogy of *Nṛipatitṛipētra* as a *śrīruda* of *Gōvinda IV.* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, text line 38), *Rājatṛipētra* as a *śrīruda* of *Kakka II.* (*ibid.* p. 266, text line 41), and *Maṇḍalikatṛipētra* as a *śrīruda* of *Noḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II.* (above, Vol. V. p. 177, text line 91); and we might, of course, read *bhramara[n]*, and take the *n* as the initial of some such word. I cannot, however, think of any such word, which the doubtful *akshara* will suit. The spurious *Gaṇjām* grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160) gives *Lōkatṛipētra*, "a very *Triṇētra* among mankind," as an alleged *śrīruda* of *Mārasinga-Kṛeyappa*, the alleged son of *Śivamāra II.*; but *Lōka*, again, is not admissible here. Provisionally, I accept the reading which is given in Mr. Rice's text, and is of course shewn in his lithograph, namely, *akka-Tṛipētra*, "a very *Triṇētra* in fight or war;" because I find that a *Baḷagāmi* inscription of A.D. 1181 (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 192, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117)

- 4 Kannaradēva[m] Mūvaḍi¹-Chōḷa-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu Takkōladoḷ-kādi
kondu bijayam-geyyutt-iḷdu² [i*]
5 Svasti³ Satyavākya-Koṅṅunivarmma-dharm[m]amahārājādhirāja[m] Kōḷala-
puravar-ēśvaram Nandagiri-nātham
6 śrīmat Permmānāḍigaḷ nanniya-Gaṅga[m] jaya[d=u]ttaraṅgam Gaṅga-
G[āṅgā]ya[m] Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa=ātan=āḷu[tt-i][d]u⁴
7 Svasti⁵ sakala-lōka-paritāp-āpa[ghā]ta-[pra]bhāva-avatāri[ta]-Gaṅg[ā*]-pravāh-ōdāra-
Sagara-vamśa[m*] Va-
8 labhi(bhi)-puravar-ēśvaran=udāra-Bhagīrathan=iṅiva-bedeṅgam Sag[ara]-Tripētram
sepase-mūg-arivom
9 kadan-aika-Su(śū)drakam Būtugan-aṅkakāram śrīmat Maṇal[e]raṅg[e]⁶
anuvradoḷ mechchi bēdi-koḷ=endo-
10 de dayeya meṅe-vol=emba Kāḷiyam daye-geyy=endu koṇḍan=Ā nāya[m]
Kōḷale-nāḍa Beḷatūra paḍu-
11 vaṇa deseya moḍaḍiyoḷ piri[duṁ pa]ndige viṭṭode pandiyum nāyum=
oḍa-sattuv=adarkke-
12 y=Ātukūroḷ Challēśvarada munde kallaṇ=naḍisi piriya keṅeya keḷage maḷti-
kāl=aṅgaḷol=ir-kkaṇḍuga-
13 maṇṇa[m] koṭṭar=Ā maṇṇan=okkal nāḍan=āḷvom⁷=ūran=āḷvor=i maṇṇan=
aḷidon=ā nāya geyda pāpamam koṇḍo-
14 n=ā sthānaman=āḷva goravan=ā kallaṁ pūjisad=unṭar=appode n[ā]ya geyda
pāpamam koṇḍa[m] [i*] Ōm⁸ [i*]
15 Uṇḍ⁹=idir-ānta Chōḷa-chaturāṅga-balaṅgalan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taḷt=iṅiv=eḍeg=orvvar=
appoḍam=idi[r]chchuva
16 gaṇḍaran=āmpēv=endu poṭṭaḷisuva¹⁰ bharam neṅeye kāṇeme Chōḷane¹¹
sakkiy=āge taḷt=iṅidudan=āme ka-
17 ṇḍev=ene mechchador=ār=Saagara-Tripētranam || Narapati bennoḷ=iḷdon=idir-
āntudu vairi-samūham=illi
18 machcharisuvar=ellarum seraguv=āḷdapor=inn=iren=endu siṅgad=ant-ire Hari
bhīra-Lakshmi nerav=āg-ire Chō-
19 la[nā]-kōṭey=emba sindhurada śir-āgramam biriye p[o]yidam¹² kadan-
aika-Su(śū)drakam [i*] Ōm [i*]

describes the *Dandadyaks* Kēsimaṇṇya, in line 28, as *kadana-Tripētra*, "a very Tripētra in destruction, killing, slaughter, or war." But the *akshara* before the *tri* does not seem identical with the *śka* of *paṅkaja* in the same line and elsewhere, but appears rather to include an *m*; and also the compound itself, *aṅka-Tripētra*, seems, somehow, not a satisfactory one.—Regarding this *śrūda*, now see the Postscript on page 83 below.

¹ Mr. Rice's text gives *aḷāḍade*, which is rendered in the translation by "without fear,"—being imagined, I suppose, to be a compound of *aḷku* (which, however, should be *aḷku*), 'fear,' and *ōvade*, the negative participle of *ōvu*, 'to take care of, to guard, protect, cherish.'—The real reading, *Mūvaḍi*, is quite certain. For some marks which stand before this word, and after *Kannaradēvam*, see note 4 on page 53 above.

² Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

³ Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

⁴ The *l* and the *u* are quite recognisable in the ink-impression, though not in the collotype.

⁵ Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

⁶ Originally, I read *Maṇalarata[āg=ō]anuvradoḷ*. Mr. Rice's text gives *Mandalarake anuvradoḷ*. The real name, *Maṇalera*, is quite distinct, in the present ink-impression, in line 21 below.

⁷ Read *d/von*.

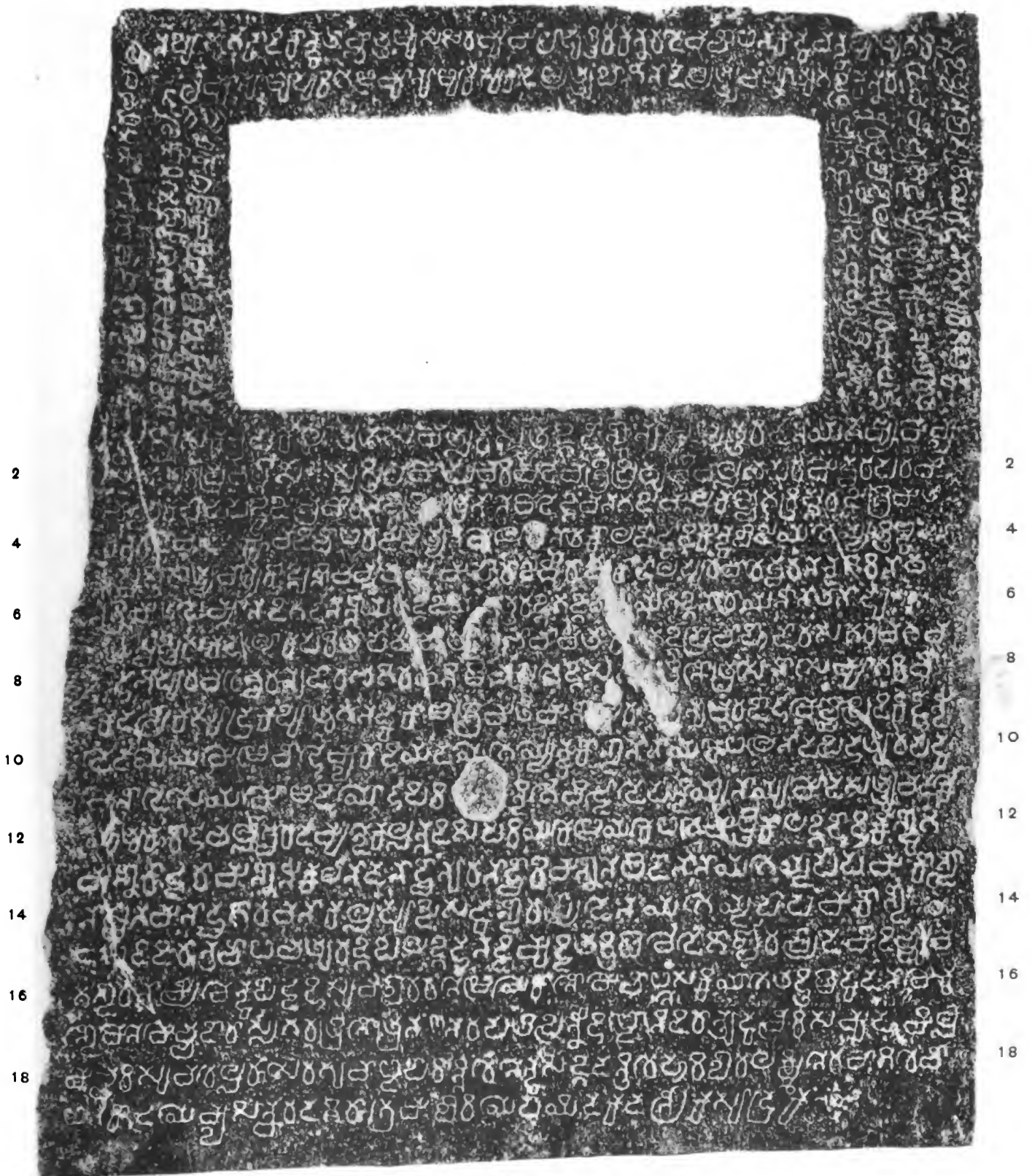
⁸ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁹ Metre, Champakamālā; and in the following verse.

¹⁰ Read *poṭṭaḷisuva*, as suggested to me by Mr. Kittel. The *poṭṭaḷisuva* of the original not only violates the *prasa* or alliteration of the second syllable of the *pada*, by giving *ḷ* instead of *r*, but also presents a word for which no authority can be found.

¹¹ The *no* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

¹² The metre is faulty here; we have *— — —*, instead of *— — —*.



J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

SCALE '11

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. MOLTZBOH.

The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magam Rāchamallanam Būtugam kādi kondu
tombhattaru-sāsiramumam¹ ālutt-ire [I*] Kannaradēvam Chōlanam
kāduv-andu Būtugam Rājādityanam bisu-geye kaḷḷan-āgi surig-iṇidu
- 21 kādi kondu Banavase-pannirchchāsiramum Beḷvola-mūnūrum Purigeṇe
mūnūrum² Kisukād-erpa(lpa)ttum Bāgenād-erpa(lpa)ttuvam Būtugaṅge
Kannaradēvam mechchu-goṭṭam [I*] Būtuganum³ Maṇaleram ta-
- 22 nna munde nind=iḍidudarkke mechchi Ātuk[ū]r-ppa-
- 23 nneraḍum Beḷvolada Kādiyūrumam⁴ bāḷ-ga-
- 24 chchu-goṭṭam [I*] Maṅgaḷa-mabā-śrī⁵ [I*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the saṁvatsara named Saumya, the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, was current:—

(Line 2)—Hail! When Krishnarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,—a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Amōghavarashadēva*-(Vaddiga); a very Tripētra (Śiva) in battle;⁶ a marvel with elephants;⁷ a wrestler against forest-elephants;⁸ he who wears the girdle (of prowess),⁹—having attacked the Mūvaḍi-Chōla¹⁰ Rājāditya, and having fought and killed him at Takṣōla, was going in triumph:¹¹—

(L. 5)—Hail! The *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarman, the lord of Kōḷāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the glorious Permānadi, the

¹ Read *sāsiramam*, or *sāsiramam*; compare page 48 above, note 5.

² Read *mūnūrum*.

³ Read *Būtugam*; the copulative ending is not required.

⁴ I read originally *Kōḷeyūrumam*. The present ink-impression, however, shews clearly *Kādiyūrumam*, as given in Mr. Rice's text,—or, of course, optionally *Kādiyūrumam*.

⁵ Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

⁶ See note 7 on page 53 above, and the Postscript on page 83 below.

⁷ *Āneveḍṅa*. This *biruda* occurs in also line 1 of the Sorāṭṭr inscription of Krishṇa III. of A.D. 851 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257).—I have previously translated it by "a very marvel of refuge," and "a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance)," taking *dne* as the infinitive, in *e*, of *dnu*, to which Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives the active meanings of 'to stay, prop, support; to oppose, resist.' I now, however, follow Mr. Rice's translation; partly because Mr. Kittel considers that more suitable, since in his opinion *dnalke* would have been used if the meaning had been such as I then thought, and partly because I have elsewhere met with the *biruda* *Turagaveḍṅa*, which can only be rendered by "a marvel with horses."

⁸ *Vanagajamalla*. This *biruda* of Krishṇa III. is used in line 8 of the Śrāvapa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II. (above, Vol. V. p. 176). In a slightly different form,—*Madagajamalla*, "a wrestler against rutting elephants,"—it occurs in also line 2 of the Sorāṭṭr inscription (see the preceding note).—For the recognition of Gaṇḍamārtanḍa as a formal *biruda*, and as denoting Krishṇa III., in line 9 of the Śrāvapa-Belgoḷa epitaph, I was indebted to Mr. V. Venkayya, who detected it from the passage in line 56 ff. of the Karbād grant of A.D. 968 (above, Vol. IV. p. 285), which describes Krishṇa III. as founding temples of Kālapriyēśvara, Gaṇḍamārtanḍēśvara, and Krishṇēśvara. I was not able to introduce an acknowledgment of this into the proofs of my paper on the Śrāvapa-Belgoḷa epitaph.

⁹ *Kachcheḡa*. Finding *kachche* given in Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary in the sense of 'quarrel, dispute, fighting,' I have previously rendered this *biruda* by "a (real) fighter (or disputant)," and a somewhat similar *biruda*, *Kachcheya-Gaṅga*, by "the quarrelsome or fighting Gaṅga" (above, Vol. III. p. 188, note 4). Mr. Rice's translation renders it by "warlike." I owe the present rendering of it to Mr. Kittel, who, in support of it, has referred me to *bīra-gachche*, 'a *kachche* fit for warriors or brave men.' *Kachche* is a *tadbhava* of *kakṣhe*, 'a girdle, a string or zone for fastening a cloth round the waist.' *Kachcheya-Gaṅga* may be rendered by "the girdled Gaṅga."

¹⁰ See page 51 above, note 4.

¹¹ See page 51 above, note 5.

truthful Gaṅga, the lintel of victory, the Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, the Nārāyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,— he, when governing,—

(L. 7)— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with the illustrious Maṇalera,— who is of the noble race of the Sagaras, which by its power brought down the stream of the river Gaṅgā in order to ward off the affliction of all mankind; (*who has the hereditary title of*) lord of Vajabhi the best of towns; who is a very Bhagīratha among noble men; who is a marvel among those who pierce; who is a very Tripētra among the Sagaras; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is the sole Śūdraka in war; who is the champion¹ of Būtuḡa (II.),— said “Make thy request!” Thereupon, he said— “Be gracious enough to give me thy favourite² (hound) Kāḷi, which is called the one that bays loudly;”³ and he obtained it.

(L. 10)— On their loosing that hound at a mighty boar on the hill in the western quarter of the village of Beḷatūr of the Kejale district, the boar and the hound killed each other.⁴ And, to (*commemorate*) that, they set up (*this*) stone in front of the temple of the god Challēśvara⁵ at Ātukūr; and they gave land (*yielding*) two *kaṇḍugas* (*of grain*) in the open space of the channel, called the channel of the *maḷti*-trees, below the large tank.

(L. 13)— Any cultivator who destroys that land, and any governor of the district or any governors of the village who destroy this land, shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by that hound !⁶ If the *Gorava* who manages the estate⁷ should fail to do worship to that stone, he shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by the hound ! Om !

(L. 15)— At the place where,— having followed and come up with the four-fold forces⁸ of the Chōḷa, which stood to confront us without wavering,— we were to come to close quarters and pierce them, we certainly saw not any (*others among our*) valiant men who strode forward⁹ saying “We will meet the heroes that oppose us;” but we did see how,— the Chōḷa himself being the witness,— he (Maṇalera) came to close quarters and pierced: who, then, could fail to be pleased with him, the Tripētra among the Sagaras? The king was at his back; a multitude of enemies faced him in front; and all those here (*on our side*), who jealously sought to excel him, met with disaster :¹⁰ then, saying “I can stand back no longer,” he, the sole Śūdraka in war, with the help of the god Hari (Viṣṇu) and the brave Lakṣmī struck, like a lion, the forehead of the elephant that was called the fortress of the Chōḷa, so that it burst open. Om !

¹ In *aṅkakāra*, we take *aṅka* in the sense of ‘fight, war.’ *Kāra* is said to be a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kāra*, ‘making, doing, causing; a maker, a doer.’— Kittel’s Dictionary gives to *aṅkakāra* the meanings of ‘an influential or a chief servant; a leading hero.’ But, in such combinations as the present one, the rendering ‘champion,’ which I fixed some time ago, seems more appropriate; especially as I find the following in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, Vol. III. p. 34, under the word *aṅkam*:— “Challenge. In Malabar, a duel, “formerly frequent among the Nayar race. These combats arose from private feuds. A preparation and “training for twelve years preceded the actual fight in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. “They were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel, generally their champions. These undertook to defend the “cause they had taken up till they were killed. Source of revenue to the local rajah, each combatant paying for “the privilege of fighting [*maryaṇḍay*].”— The last sentence, however, seems rather dubious; so, also, the twelve years’ training.

² *Dayeya*; *lit.* “of (*thy*) favour or affection.”

³ *Meṇe-volḷu*; *lit.* “the ostentatious barker,” from *meṇe*, ‘shine, lustre; ostentation,’ and *bolḷu*, = *bagaḷu*, *baguḷu*, *bogaḷu*, *boguḷu*, ‘barking; crying out.’

⁴ *Oḍa-sattuṇu*; *lit.* “died together.”

⁵ The genitive is used of *Challēśvara* as a neuter, to indicate the temple. There are many other instances of this in the ancient records.

⁶ This seems rather a severe reflection upon the hound, after it had behaved so courageously. It must be justified on the understanding that all killing is sinful, no matter what the circumstances may be.

⁷ *Śikṣa*; the temple and the property, including the present grant, belonging to it.

⁸ *Chaturanga-bala* is “an entire or complete army, comprising elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry.”

⁹ *Pochchaperiṇṇu*; *lit.* “who were (breaking forth), starting into view, becoming evident or manifest, appearing; shining.”

¹⁰ *Seragur-dīdapo*; *lit.* “sank into calamity, evil, mischief.”

The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

(L. 20)—Hail! While Bûtuga (II.), having fought and killed Râchamalla, the son of the illustrious Ereyapa, was governing the ninety-six thousand :—

(L. 20)—At the time when Kannaradêva was fighting against the Chôla, Bûtuga (II.), while embracing¹ Râjâditya, treacherously² stabbed him with a dagger, and thus fought and killed him; and Kannaradêva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase twelve-thousand, the Beļvola three-hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy.

(L. 21)—Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalera stood out in front of him and pierced (*his fess*), Bûtuga gave (*to him*), as a *bâlgachchu*-grant,³ the Âtukûr twelve and the village of Kâdiyûr⁴ of (the) Beļvola (district). May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

Further Remarks on the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâḍ.

I have spoken, on page 40 above, of certain additions, modifications, and corrections, which I should have liked to be able to make in my article in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 180, before it was published, but which, for the reason given, it was impracticable to introduce into it. I enter on that subject now. And, to accompany my remarks, I give, on page 59 below, a revised table of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâḍ,⁵ including the necessary alterations up to date.

In the way of additions, it is only necessary, at present, to state that an inscription at Kûragallu⁶ gives us the name of Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as the wife of Bûtuga I., and that an inscription at Elkûru⁷ gives us a Gaṅga prince subsequent to Râchamalla II.: the record does not disclose his proper name; but he was a Nitimârga, with the *birudas* of Jayadaṅkakâra, "the champion of victory,"⁸ and probably Komaraveḍeṅga, "a marvel among princes;"⁹ and the record furnishes for him the date of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 921 (expired), = A.D. 999-1000, without any specification of the month.¹⁰

¹ *Bisu-geye*. We have to find here the opportunity for stabbing Râjâditya treacherously. Mr. Rice's translation gives "making Râjâditya angry;" but there is no point in such a rendering. I originally translated "while they were taking the air together," on the authority of Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary giving *bisuge* in the sense of 'going abroad, taking an airing;' but it seems that *bisuge* does not really occur in that meaning. Mr. Kittel says that he has no hesitation in translating "when he made close connection (*with him*), i.e., probably, when he embraced him,"—connecting the first part of the compound with, I suppose, *bisu*, 3, 'to unite firmly, to solder; to join, to be united,' and this at once suggests a suitable meaning, namely, that pretended overtures of peace were made, and that Râjâditya was stabbed at a meeting that took place between him and Bûtuga.

² *Kaḷḷan=agi*; *lit.* "having become a thief; as a thief."

³ See page 52 above, and note 4.

⁴ The numbers before some of the names indicate the members of the family who actually ruled, or probably ruled, over the Gaṅgavâḍi province, and the order in which the succession went. When the exact relationship between two consecutive individuals is not established, dots are used instead of lines.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92; and see page 69 below, note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Ch. 10.

⁸ This *biruda* is rather exceptional and peculiar; because *aṅkakâra* is usually, and most naturally, preceded by a proper name, and *jayada*, or any word of that sort, is usually followed by *attaraṅga*. But we have an analogy for it, in the case of Tapadaṅkakâra, "the champion of penance or asceticism," which occurs as a *biruda* or epithet of a Śaiva priest named Varâśvara in line 38 of a Haḷagâmi inscription of A.D. 1096 (my *P. & O.-C. Inscr.* No. 166; and see Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscr.* p. 172, where, however, it is rendered, together with the following word *amaḷaṁ*, by "with a body purified by penance"). See also the Postscript on page 83 below.

⁹ This *biruda* is given as Komaraveḍeṅga in the text in Roman characters, but as Kôviraveḍaṅga in the text in Kanarese characters. Kôviraveḍaṅga is unintelligible. Komaraveḍeṅga is likely to be correct; in the spurious Sûḍi grant, it is attributed to the alleged Eregaṅga, who is placed next after Bûtuga I. (above, Vol. V. p. 183).

¹⁰ An inscription at Bêlûrn, in the Maṇḍya tāluka, Mysore district (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 78), purports to give us a still later Gaṅga prince,—a Gaṅga-Permanaḍi, who, it says, was governing the Karpâṭa in

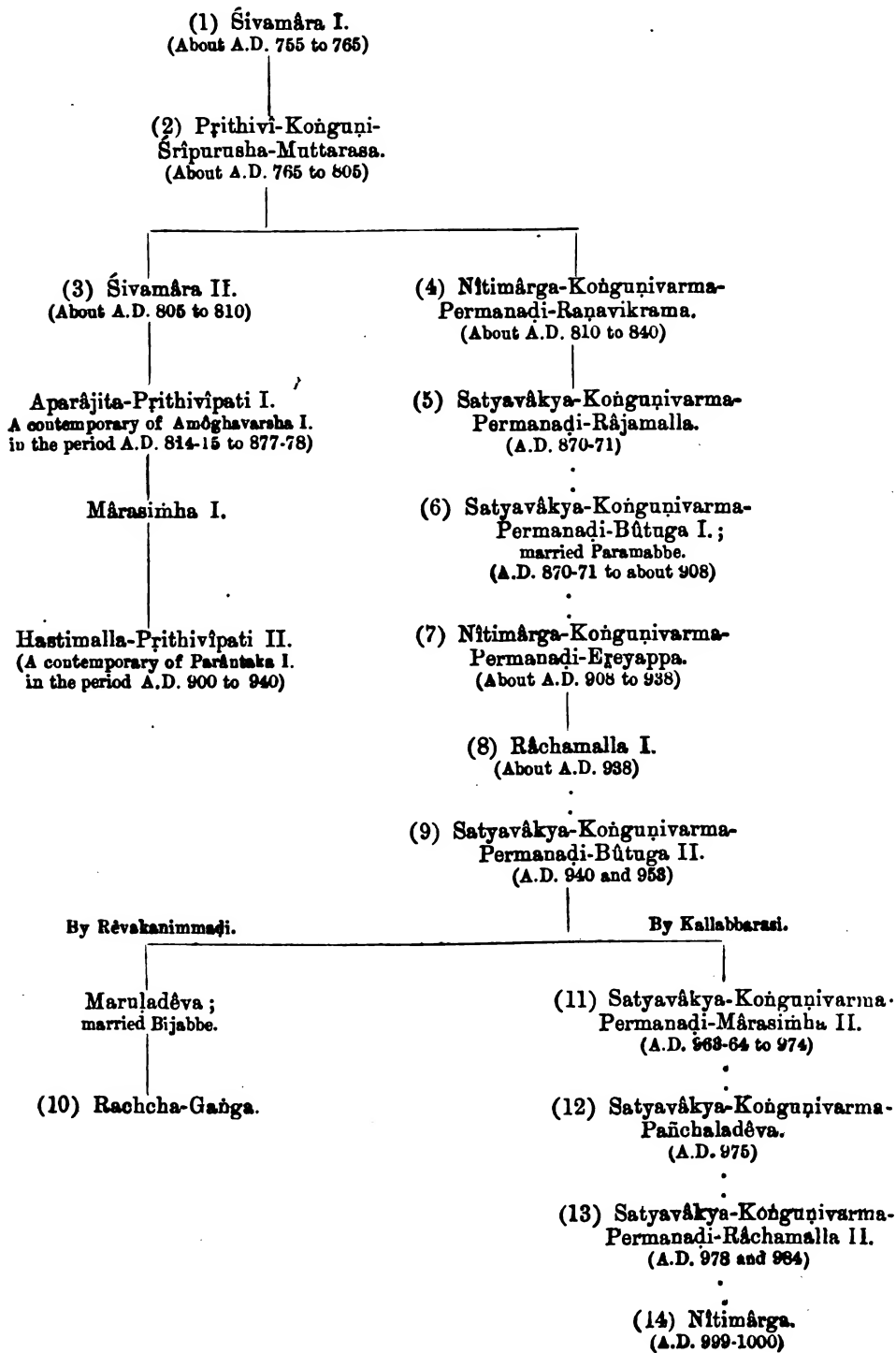
In respect of modifications and corrections, I have first to say that everything in my article that was based, directly or indirectly, on the spurious Suradhēnupura grant, must be expunged. This document appears to have been first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3, where it was put forward as furnishing a date in the Sarvajit *sarvatsara*, corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 729 (expired), = A.D. 807-808, falling in the third year of Śivamāra II., and as fixing the commencement of his rule in A.D. 804. It is, however, not even an ancient forgery. In February, 1899, I received from Mr. Rice, with a copy of the text, a statement of facts which shew that it has been fabricated within the last thirty years or so, and with just the same object as that with which the ancient spurious grants were fabricated, namely, to establish an actual right or an asserted claim to property. And, with Mr. Rice's permission, I quote, in full explanation of the matter, what he wrote to me about this document, in his letter dated the 19th January, 1899, as follows:—"The Suradhēnupura plates are of no use. The story of them is this. They are in the usual form of the Vijayanagara grants, engraved in the same Nāgarī characters generally employed in such grants, signed as usual in big Kannaḍa characters *śrī-Virūpākṣha*, and the seal on the ring is a boar. But on reading I found that, though the first words were *śrī-Gaṇēśāya namaḥ*, it went on to nearly the end of the second side with the epithets and genealogy of the Gaṅgas, as contained in the various plates that have been discovered. This was certainly puzzling, as at the time the grant was entered in my list no one except myself and the old Munshi who helped me with the Mercara and Nāgamangala plates was acquainted with this string of epithets and names. On inquiry, however, I found that this Munshi (then dead) was one of the principal shareholders in the village, which was shortly expecting the Inām inquiry. This explained everything, as he was a man with a screw loose, though a good scholar, and would often have misled me if I had not found out that he was not to be trusted. It seems evident that the village had a Vijayanagara grant and that he must have got two plates engraved with the knowledge he had acquired, and substituted them, having the whole put on a ring together. Still, I thought that he had really perhaps had access to a Gaṅga grant, from which he had taken the particulars and date. But I am now convinced that the whole thing was a hoax. The date is an impossible one, and the changes in the names of kings (Bhūri Vikrama, Nava Ohokka, Purnshōttama) are concoctions of his own, as well as the final Narasimha-dharma-varma (note the order) which he gives as another name of Śivamāra." In the face of this explanation, it is not necessary to pay any further attention to this document, or to make any further comments on it, beyond remarking that what this Munshi did is precisely what was done right and left in Mysore about seven centuries ago, and somewhat later in a neighbouring part of the country, where, Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantulu has told us,¹ forged grants of the Vijayanagara series are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, which are themselves extremely numerous; and the liberties that he took with some of the names that were available to him, illustrate exactly the liberties that the persons who fabricated ancient forgeries would take, sometimes in misrepresenting real names and sometimes in inventing imaginary names, in putting together pedigrees to serve their purposes.²

the month Phālguna, falling in A.D. 1023 (if we accept the Śaka date), Śaka-Saṃvat 944 (expired). But, with this Śaka year it wrongly couples the Duemukhin *sarvatsara*, which would be either A.D. 996-97 or A.D. 1056-57. And, with so great a discrepancy,—to say nothing of the fact that the details of the date are not correct, either for the given Śaka year (current or expired), or for A.D. 996-97 or 1056-57,—it is impossible to attach any value to the date or to the record itself. Moreover, the expression "governing the Karuṇāṭa" is foreign to the phraseology of the Gaṅga records, and suggests a much later period.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII. p. 277.

² It may be added, incidentally, that Mr. Rice speaks of the matter rather kindly, in calling the document simply a hoax. If any attempt was actually made to produce it before the Inām Commission, a criminal offence was committed, for which, on exposition of the real nature of the document, a substantial sentence of rigorous imprisonment would have been passed.

The Western Gaṅgas of Talakād.



The other corrections affect that part of the succession that lies between Satyavākya-Rājamalla, the grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and Satyavākya-Būtuga II., the father of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.; that is to say, the period between A.D. 870-71 and A.D. 940, which latter is the earliest fixed date for Būtuga II.

To understand the matter fully and settle this period finally, we must first consider exactly the way in which Mr. Rice has dealt with this period, and the steps by which he has led up to it. We will start with Śivamāra I., the founder of that branch of the Western Ganga stock with which we are dealing; for, we must at any rate go back to Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and so, while we are about it, we may as well run through the whole list of authentic names. It is not necessary to waste any time on the alleged names before Śivamāra I.; because they are all fictitious.

Mr. Rice has taken the spurious grants, and the dates put forward by them, as his guide, and has adapted the genuine records to them. And, from the two sources taken together in this way, he has arrived at the following succession and dates,¹ starting with Śivamāra I., to whom he has assigned the period "A.D. 679 to 713 +." ² Here, the initial date is based on the spurious Hallegere grant,³ which purports to give a date in the month Jyēshtha, Śaka-Samvat 635 expired, falling in A.D. 713, as being in the thirty-fourth year of Śivamāra I.

Differing from the Sūḍi grant, the spurious records from Mysore itself describe Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa as the grandson of Śivamāra I., and omit to mention his father's name. With this unnamed son of Śivamāra I., Mr. Rice apparently proposed to identify a certain Mārasimha, who was at that time supposed to be indicated as a son of Śivamāra I. by the Udayēndiram grant of Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II.; at any rate, he has proposed to place the Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, whom he has specified as "the predecessor of Śrīpurusha,"⁴ next after Śivamāra I., and he has assigned to him the period from some date after A.D. 713 "to A.D. 726,"⁵—the final date being fixed by the initial date which he has accepted for the next in succession. But the existence of this Mārasimha is based on nothing but the imperfect original rendering of the Udayēndiram grant.⁶ The revised rendering of that record⁷ has shewn us that the Mārasimha there mentioned must be placed at least a century after A.D. 726. And the Vaḷḷimalai inscription⁸ has shewn us that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was in reality the son of Śivamāra I.

Next after this Mārasimha, Mr. Rice has placed Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa. To him, he originally assigned the period "A.D. 727 to 777,"⁹—the initial date being taken from the assertion in the spurious Dēvarhalli grant¹⁰—(formerly known as the Nāgamaṅgala grant)—that the fiftieth year of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was Śaka-Samvat 698 expired, = A.D. 776-77. The final date was afterwards extended to "A.D. 804,"¹¹ which was supposed to be the initial date

¹ See, chiefly, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 2 to 6, the Table on pp. 7, 8, and the Classified List of the Inscriptions after p. 36, and Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 5, 8 to 12, and the Classified List after p. 38; also, for a few points, *Coorg Inscri.* Introd. pp. 3 to 5.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, with a lithograph.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

⁶ By Mr. Foulkes, in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 369.

⁷ By Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. II. p. 375.

⁸ Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

⁹ *Coorg Inscri.* Introd. p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 85, with a lithograph.—For a facsimile of two sides of this grant, see above, Vol. IV. p. 164, in my article on the spurious Sūḍi grant.

¹¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.—The natural inference is that the spurious Suradhēnupura document was brought to Mr. Rice's notice after 1886 (the date of the publication of his *Coorg Inscri.*) and before 1894 (the date of the publication of his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III.). In order to deal with the spurious grants in the final manner in which they should some day be disposed of, we ought to know the exact order, and the years, in which each of them came to notice. Our information on this point is at present very scanty.

established for the next in succession by the spurious Suradhēnupura document. And it must be taken to be now cut down to A.D. 797, or earlier, by the subsequent assignment of this date to the next in succession.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, Mr. Rice has placed his son, or alleged son, Śivamāra II. He originally put him at some indefinite time between A.D. 813 and 869,¹ placing him after the Chākīrāja for whom the Kaḍaba grant² purports to put forward a date in A.D. 813. He then allotted to him the date of "A.D. 804," as his initial date,—leaving the final date uncertain,—from the spurious Suradhēnupura document.³ And he has now apparently carried him back to A.D. 797, if not earlier,⁴ from the spurious Manne grant, which mentions Lōkatrīpētra-Mārasīmha as a son of Śivamāra II., describes him as administering the whole of the Gaṅga province as Yuvarāja, and gives a date in the month Āshāḍha, Śaka-Saṃvat 719 (expired), falling in A.D. 797. Mr. Rice's suggestion⁵ is that Śivamāra II. was perhaps then a prisoner in the hands of the Rāshtrakūtas, and that that is why this Mārasīmha is described as Yuvarāja in command of the whole Gaṅga country. With the additional name of Ereyappa,—Lōkatrīpētra-Mārasīṅga-Ereyappa,—this person is mentioned, again as Yuvarāja, in also another spurious grant, from Gañjām in the Seringapatam tāluka;⁶ this record does not put forward any date.

Next after Śivamāra II., Mr. Rice has placed his alleged younger brother Vijayāditya, with any date up "to A.D. 869,"⁷—this final date being necessitated by the initial date which he has proposed for the next ruler.

Next after Vijayāditya, he has placed Vijayāditya's alleged son Satyavākya-Rājamalla, with the proposed period "A.D. 869 to ? 893."⁸ Here, the initial date is based⁹ on the Bīlūr inscription,¹⁰ which specifies the month Phālguna, Śaka-Saṃvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, as being in the eighteenth year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name, however, it does not disclose; and the final date is the initial date proposed for the next in succession. And to this Satyavākya-Rājamalla he has referred, in addition to the Bīlūr record of A.D. 888, the inscription at Husukūru,¹¹ which mentions the ruling prince both as Satyavākya and as Rājamalla, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 792 (expired),= A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, etc. This Husukūru inscription mentions also Būtarasa-(Būtaga I.), who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaṇṇāḍ and Pūṇṇāḍ provinces as Yuvarāja. And Būtarasa is mentioned again in a fragmentary inscription at Chik-Kāṭi,¹² which also refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, naturally identified by Mr. Rice with Rājamalla.

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, Mr. Rice in 1894 placed a Nītimārga, whose proper name he did not then indicate, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915,"¹³ to whom we shall revert directly. Since then, however, he has introduced the name of Raṇavikramayya,—an alleged son of Rājamalla the alleged son of Vijayāditya,—with the proposed date of "about A.D. 890," and with the suggestion that this Raṇavikramayya may be the Būtarasa-(Būtaga I.) of the Husukūru and Chik-Kāṭi inscriptions, or may be someone else.¹⁴ The name of this

¹ *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 332.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 3, 7.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 9.—This Manne grant has not been published yet. But I am able to quote it from photographs which Mr. Rice was kind enough to send me.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* in note 4.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

⁹ See *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2 (Mr. Kittel's rendering), with a lithograph, and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

¹¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.—I am dealing now, as on the previous occasion, with only the really important and useful records,—mostly those which include personal names or dates, or which can by any other means be applied in a specific manner.

¹² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 94.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

¹⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, and the Classified List after p. 88.

Raṇavikramayya is taken from the Galigékere grant.¹ This is another obviously spurious record. It does not include any date, Śaka or regnal; and, so, the proposed date of "about A.D. 890" is purely conjectural.

We revert to Mr. Rice's Nītimārga, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915." Here, the initial date is based on an inscription at Honnāyakanhalli, which was understood to give "reason to suppose his reign began in Śaka 815 (A.D. 893);"² and the final date is based on an inscription at Iggali,³ which, however, is dated in the twenty-second year, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya, and therefore does not apply to the case at all. The suggestion has been thrown out, that this Nītimārga may be either Raṇavikramayya or Būtuga I., or both of them.⁴ And to this Nītimārga Mr. Rice has referred, in addition to the Iggali inscription (in reality, a record of a Satyavākya), an inscription at Gaṭṭavādi⁵ (again, in reality, a record of a Satyavākya, and not of a Nītimārga), dated in the fifth regnal year, erroneously supposed, in consequence of confusing the appellations, to be A.D. 898,— another inscription at the same place,⁶ a record of really a Nītimārga, and dated in his fifth year, and therefore referred to A.D. 898,— and an inscription at Kūlagere,⁷ also a record of really a Nītimārga, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any mention of the regnal year.

Next after this Nītimārga Mr. Rice has placed a Satyavākya, whom he has identified with Ereyappa;⁸ and to him he has assigned an inscription at Malligere,⁹ which refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, without disclosing his proper name, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 828 (expired), = A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, *etc.*, or of the regnal year. For this Satyavākya-Ereyappa, he has proposed various other dates ranging from "about A.D. 900" to "about A.D. 925."¹⁰ These are based on records which do not include any Śaka dates, and, mostly, not even regnal dates; so that the proposed dates A.D. are purely conjectural. And we need notice only one of those records here. It is an inscription at Jinnahalli,¹¹ which refers itself to the seventh year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name it does not disclose: Mr. Rice has identified this Satyavākya with Ereyappa, and has consequently placed this record "A.D. ? 900:" but the record mentions this Satyavākya by also the *biruda* of Guttiyagaṅga; Guttiyagaṅga was Satyavākya-Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.;¹² and the true date of this record is, therefore, A.D. 969-70.

Next after Ereyappa, we have the name of his son Rāchamalla I., who was killed by Būtuga II. in or before A.D. 940. In respect of Rāchamalla, Mr. Rice has said¹³ that "we must apparently understand that on the death of Ereyappa, Rāchamalla and Būtuga were rival claimants to the throne, and that the former did not actually reign, or if he did, only for "a short time." The only record, as yet brought to notice, referable actually to the life-time of this Rāchamalla, is an inscription at Hiranandi.¹⁴ It does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But Mr. Rice has proposed to place it "about A.D. 930." And he has suggested¹⁵ that, by this record, "we seem to be let into the plot by which Būtuga endeavoured to get Rāchamalla "into his power. He sent an officer to invite him to come to Maṇṇe, the royal residence, that "they might make a division of the country and the treasury. But Būtuga, as we know, was "not to be trusted. His envoy was therefore met by five feudal chiefs and the headmen with the

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yd. 60, with a lithograph.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Intro. p. 4.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139; for the attribution of this record to Nītimārga, see Intro. p. 4, as well as the Classified List after p. 36.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Intro. p. 11.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 97.

⁶ *Ibid.* Nj. 98.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Intro. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Intro. p. 11.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* the Classified List.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Hg. 110.

¹² See above, Vol. V. pp. 168, 180.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Intro. p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Intro. p. 12; see also the translation of the record.

"blunt answer — We do not wish any other than Rāchamalla to rule over the kingdom of "Bayal-nād." This, however, hardly does justice to the original, which is in much more plain and forcible terms; and I will give my own rendering of it further on.

And finally, next after Rāchamalla I. Mr. Rice has placed Satyavākya-Bātuga II., with, apparently, the period from about A.D. 930 to A.D. 963. The initial date follows from his opinion that the Hiranandi inscription, which he has placed "about A.D. 930," "brings us "to the death of Ereyappa and the beginning of Bātuga's reign;"¹ and the final date is the initial date of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., whom he has placed immediately after Bātuga II.²

In these arrangements, Mr. Rice has found himself more than once confronted with a difficulty in the shape of overlapping dates; and, in particular, he has found³ that the period A.D. 893 to 915, which he has "provisionally" assigned to Nitimārga, "seems to trench upon "the date Śaka 828 (A.D. 906) given in Kp. 38,"— (the Malligere inscription)— "for his son, "whose distinctive name was Ereyappa." He has proposed to remove any difficulty of this kind by the suggestion⁴ that "from instances like this"— (namely, an inscription at Kyātanahalli,⁵ which has been supposed to mention Ereyappa as Yuvarāja, and has been placed "about A.D. 916"),— "and similar ones among the Hoysala and other dynasties, it is evident that the heir— "apparent to the throne, when of age, was often associated with the king in the government, "and represented as himself performing all the functions of royalty. It is necessary to bear this "in mind in order to account for the frequent overlapping of dates in the reckoning of the "end of the father's reign and the beginning of his son's." We need not, however, consider what may or may not have been the custom among any other families. The overlapping of dates results only from pushing on Satyavākya-Rājamalla to too late a period, and from wrongly identifying Ereyappa as a Satyavākya instead of a Nitimārga. If the Gaṅga records are handled properly, there is no instance, as yet, of any overlapping dates at all; and we have no reason to expect to meet with any such dates.

I take the matter differently, and follow the genuine records. I have, indeed, allowed myself, in my previous article, to enter into certain speculations based on the possibility that, as the spurious grants unquestionably include most of the real historic names mixed up with the fictitious names of their own invention, they may also have preserved a few other germs of historical and chronological truth, more or less correct, or more or less distorted and in anachronistic sequence. But it seems very questionable, whether it is safe to allow them even so much credit as that. It appears more likely that we ought to set them aside as simply epigraphic curiosities, in respect of which we may consider hereafter, if it is thought worth while, how much or how little of the true history was known to the persons who fabricated them, but which we must not use in attempting to construct any of the true history. And on the present occasion, at any rate, I shall not make any use of them, except in connection with the name of Śivamāra II.

The first four generations of the family are enumerated in the Vallimalai inscription,⁶ which tells us that the son of Śivamāra (I.) was Śrīpurusha-(Muttarasa), Śrīpurusha's son was Raṇavikrama, and Raṇavikrama's son was Rājamalla. This record is not dated; and it, therefore, does not help in that way. Its great value consists in its disposing finally of the imaginary generation which the spurious grants from Mysore would set up between Śivamāra I. and Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and in its giving us the true name of the person, Raṇavikrama, whom the spurious grants call Vijayāditya, or in whose place, ignoring him altogether, they substitute a Vijayāditya.

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., Sr. 147; and see page 68 below, note 6.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

Of Śivamāra I. we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. But historical considerations require us to place him about A.D. 760. And the palæographic indications of certain genuine records which are fairly attributable to him, are fully in accordance with that view. I have proposed for him the period about A.D. 755 to 765. I may hereafter place him a very few years earlier or later. But, for the present, the period that I have proposed is a sufficiently close approximation to the truth.

Of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, again, we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. On palæographic and historical grounds, I have allotted to him the period about A.D. 765 to 805. It may be necessary hereafter to place him ten years or so earlier, or even later; and also to allow him a somewhat longer period, because there seems to be a record at Mēlāgāni or at Bissēnhalī,¹ overlooked by me, which quotes his forty-second year. But here again, for the present, the proposed period is close enough to the truth.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, I have placed Śivamāra II., with the period about A.D. 805 to 810. How far this entry can be upheld, must be a matter for future consideration, for the following reasons. In the first place, we have no genuine records fairly referable to him as a ruling prince. In the second place, we have no absolute statement anywhere, save in the spurious grants, that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa had a son named Śivamāra. In the third place, in selecting A.D. 805 as his initial date, I allowed myself to be guided by the Suradhēnupura forgery,—(not having any reason to suspect that it was so very modern and feeble a fraud),—on the chance that that document, though spurious, preserved a genuine date which, not only was not an impossible one,² but was a very possible one, and one that would fit in exactly with the fact that the paramount sovereign, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., was actually in the Kanarese country, on the Tuṅgabhadra, and apparently in Mysore itself, in A.D. 804,³ which

¹ See *Coorg Inscri.* Introd. p. 4.

² It became "impossible" only on the discovery of the spurious Maṇṇe grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 797, which would establish in connection with Śivamāra II. a date, when he either was ruling or else had ruled and passed away, eight years before the commencement of his rule according to the Suradhēnupura forgery.

³ See the record of that year, mentioned in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 379. Mr. Rice (*Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 325) has identified the Rāmēśvara *Itirtha*,—where, the record says, Gōvinda III. was then encamped,—with an island in the Tuṅgabhadra, five miles south of Honnālī in the Shimoga district, Mysore.—I take this opportunity of referring to passages in my *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 396, 403, where I have suggested that a certain place,—in respect of which the "lord of Veṅgi," i.e. the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II., is said to have assisted Gōvinda III. in fortifying it, by constructing an outer wall round it,—was Mānyakhēta, the modern Mālkheḍ in the Nizām's Dominions, and that, subsequently, Amōghavarsha I. completed the fortification of the city and made it the capital of his dynasty. The place is referred to in verse 19 of the Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71). The preceding verse tells us that Gōvinda III. had, in the course of previous events, marched with his army to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, and there "had drawn to himself the wealth of the Pallavas," or, in other words, had levied tribute or fines from them; and, with the help of the record from the Kanarese country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125), we may place that about the beginning of A.D. 804. And the use of the word *yatra*, "where," in verse 19, locates the place, round which the *edhy-dit-ṛiti* or "external circumvallation" was built for him by "the lord of Veṅgi," on, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of, the Tuṅgabhadra. The reference may be only to a fortification of some large encampment actually on the Tuṅgabhadra; and, in that case, we may locate that encampment, because of the mention of the Pallavas and the lord of Veṅgi, as far to the east as possible,—somewhere in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Tuṅgabhadra and the Kṛishṇa. But Mālkheḍ is only some eighty-five or ninety miles away, on the north, from the Tuṅgabhadra. It probably already existed, as a place of some importance. The usefulness of it, if fortified, with a view to resisting attacks from the east, would be evident. And it is very likely that Gōvinda III. then decided on making it the capital, and caused the external fortifications of it to be built for him by the king of Veṅgi. In that case, the passage in verse 12 of the Dēolī grant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, text lines 18, 19),—which Dr. Bhandarkar has interpreted as shewing that Mālkheḍ was founded by Amōghavarsha I.,—may be translated so as to mean that Amōghavarsha I. merely further embellished a city which had been selected as the capital, and had been fortified, by Gōvinda III.; just as, among the Western Chalukyas, Fulakēśin I. acquired Bādāmi (page 8 above, verse 7), but his son and successor Kirtivarman I., in whose time, we know, the large Vaishṇava cave at least was made there, is called "the first maker or creator" of it, i.e. the person who began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings (above, Vol. III. p. 52, and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 345).

would give him the convenient opportunity of doing what the spurious Manne grant asserts that he did, namely, of joining in the coronation of Śivamāra II. And in the fourth place, it is not unlikely that we shall find, hereafter, that the Gaṅga prince who was imprisoned by Dhruva, was released from long captivity and sent back to his own country by Gōvinda III., and then after no long time was imprisoned again by the latter king, was, not Śivamāra II., but Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa,—the fresh act of pride and opposition, which led to the second captivity, being the assumption by him of the paramount titles some time after his twenty-ninth year; and, if so, Śivamāra II. would have to be placed somewhat later than the period that I have proposed for him. On the other hand, some evidence in support of the existence of a Śivamāra who may be taken as a son of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, is furnished by an inscription at Sivarpatṭa,¹ which mentions a Śivamāra who was governing the village of Kadabūr, Kaḍabūr, or possibly Kadambūr or Kaḍambūr, under Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa and in perhaps his twenty-ninth year,—(this record, however, does not assert any relationship),—and by a spurious inscription, or a record into which a spurious date has been introduced in putting it on the stone, at Kalbhāvi in the Belgaum District,² which mentions a Gaṅga prince named Saigoṭṭa-Śivamāra, and preserves also the name of Kambharasa, as another variant of the name of the Raṇāvalōka-Kambayya of one of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa records³ and other documents, who was contemporaneous with Gōvinda III. And also, though for the line of descent from Śivamāra II. we are as yet dependent on only the Udayēndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Pṛithivīpati II., of A.D. 915 or thereabouts,⁴—a record the value of which has still to be examined critically,—still, items of information, tending to corroborate that line of descent, are beginning to come to light: a Tamiḷ inscription at Tiruvallam mentions a Śivamahārāja-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ and his son Pratipati-Araiyaṛ,⁵ whom Dr. Hultzsch has very reasonably proposed to identify with the Śivamāra and his son Pṛithivīpati I. who are mentioned in the grant of A.D. 915; and the Hirī-Bidanūr inscription⁶ mentions, as a contemporary of Vira-Nolamba son of Ayyapadēva, — (who would come about A.D. 940 to 950), — a certain Nanniya-Gaṅga son of a Gaṅga prince Piḷḍuvipati (which name also is evidently a form of Pṛithivīpati, as pointed out by Mr. Rice), and the synchronisms justify us in finding in this Piḷḍuvipati the Hastimalla-Pṛithivīpati II. of A.D. 909 and 915. Accordingly, this entry also,—Śivamāra II., about A.D. 805 to 810,—may be allowed to stand for the present as it is.

The son, or another son, of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was **Raṇavikrama**; and Raṇavikrama's son was **Rājamalla**. We learn this from the Vaḷḷimalai inscription,⁷ which may have omitted to mention Śivamāra II., either because there was really no such person, or because he did not rule, or because it sought to give only the actual lineal descent from father to son. **Rājamalla** may be safely identified with the ruling prince who is mentioned in the Husukūru inscription⁸ by the proper name of Rājamalla, as well as the appellation of **Satyavākya**, and with the date of Śaka-Samvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, etc. He can be carried on, without objection, to that date. But he cannot be placed any later, if only for the reason that the Biliūr inscription shews that a rule— of a Satyavākya (proper name

¹ See above, Vol. V. p. 161, and p. 155, note 7.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 309. It is obvious, now, that in line 26 we should read *Kambharasar*, instead of the *Kamcharasar* then given by me. The passage is somewhat damaged; and, when that is the case, it is always easy to introduce confusion between the Kanarese *ch* and *dh* of the period of that record.

³ Mr. Rice's *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 24; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 397, note 1.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 375. I find reason to think that in this grant, as it stands, we have, not a record that was actually written in that year, but a reproduction of some such record, made at an appreciably later time, into which some additions were introduced. This would account for the appearance in this record,—in rather a fragmentary shape,—of the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree, of which there is no hint at all in the other record of Pṛithivīpati II., the Sholinghur inscription of A.D. 909 (above, Vol. IV. p. 221).

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 98.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Intro. p. 10, and note 2.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.

not disclosed in it)—began in that same year, and, if we were to identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla, as Mr. Rice has done, with that Satyavākya, thus making the year A.D. 870-71 his initial date, then we should have to allow a rule of sixty years by his father Raṇavikrama,¹ which is not admissible after so long a rule as that of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa immediately before or almost so. And there is also another reason. Mr. Rice has brought to notice² inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmvāti which mention an intermarriage of the Gaṅgas and the Nolambas during this period. The Baragūr inscriptions tell us that Satyavākya-Rājamalla had a son Nītimārga, whose younger sister Jāyabbe³ was married to Nolambādhirāja son of Pallavādhirāja, and that Nolambādhirāja and Jāyabbe had a son Mahēndrādhirāja, who was ruling (the Nolambavāḍi province) at the time when these records were written. One of these Baragūr inscriptions is dated Ś.-S. 800 (expired), = A.D. 878-79. This date is obviously the date of Mahēndrādhirāja. And it follows that Satyavākya-Rājamalla must have come very appreciably before A.D. 878-79, for him to have a grandson who was then ruling (the Nolambavāḍi province), even if he was only an infant ruling it nominally. The date of A.D. 870-71, which is coupled with the name of Satyavākya-Rājamalla in the Husukūru inscription, can, therefore, be only taken as his final date. And, pending the discovery of dated records which may fix anything more definite, we may divide the preceding interval into the periods of A.D. 810 to 840 for Raṇavikrama and A.D. 840 to 870-71 for Satyavākya-Rājamalla. I identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla with the Satyavākya—(proper name not disclosed)—of the Doḍḍahunḍi inscription,⁴ and, consequently, his father Raṇavikrama with the Nītimārga—(proper name not disclosed)—who is named in that same record as the father of that Satyavākya. No chronological question is involved in this; because that record does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But the record can only be placed in the period A.D. 800 (or thereabouts) to 860; and it falls quite naturally into its proper place anywhere about A.D. 840. In connection with the records of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, we need only note further the fact that the Husukūru inscription mentions, as his *Yuvarāja* or chosen successor, Būtarasa, who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaṇṇāḍ and Pūnāḍ provinces. The Koṅgaṇṇāḍ was an *enohāsira* or eight-thousand province,—see, for instance, an inscription at Kūragallu,⁵ which mentions it as such,—i.e. a province that included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptance, eight thousand cities, towns, and villages.⁶ And the Pūnāḍ or Punnāḍ was an *arusaśira* or six-thousand province; see, for instance, an inscription at Dēbūr.⁷ The two provinces were

¹ Unless, of course, we place Śrīparuṣa-Muttarasa appreciably later than even the period that I have proposed for him. In favour of doing that, it might be urged that there is the Saragūru grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 4, with a lithograph), purporting to be of his time, the characters of which prove one or other of two things,—either that the grant is spurious, or that it must be placed much nearer A.D. 870 than 805. But I do not think that Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa can be carried on any later than A.D. 814-15 at the utmost.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I am quoting the Baragūr inscriptions from readings for which I am indebted to Mr. Rice.

³ Or perhaps Jālabbe, or something else; the final reading of the name seems to have not been fixed yet.

⁴ See page 43 above.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 92.

⁶ On the question of these numerical components of the names of territorial divisions, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 298, and note 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 277, note 18.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 26.—The Pūnāḍ province figures, unfortunately, as a ten-thousand province throughout Mr. Rice's writings and maps (see, notably, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 4, and the maps in *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314). But it is correctly mentioned as a six thousand in even line 18 of the spurious Merkāra grant, on which is based the erroneous assertion that it was a ten-thousand. The mistake is traceable back to Dr. Burnell, who wrote when the science of epigraphy was in its infancy, and who arrived at the conclusion that the *akṣhara* before the word *sahasra*, 'thousand,' in the passage in question, is a slight variation of the cave numerical symbol for 'ten' (*South-Ind. Palaeo.* p. 67). I pointed out, some years ago (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 363), that, according to the lithograph in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 362 (see also *Coorg Insers.* p. 4),—which undoubtedly represents the original much more correctly than does the representation of the *akṣhara* given in Dr. Burnell's book,—the *akṣhara* is distinctly the syllable *chād*. I did not venture then to decide what it might mean. But, with the Dēbūr inscription as our guide, we know now that it is a Prākṛit word meaning 'six,' and that the passage speaks of "the village

evidently contiguous. The Pūṇḍ province has been identified by Mr. Rice with the southern part of the Mysore district, below the Lakṣmīpūrṭha and the Kāvērī.¹ The Kūragallu inscription seems to tacitly place in the Kōṅgaṇḍ province Kūragallu itself, which is in the Hūṣṭr tāluka of the Mysore district; and, if it does so, then that province was immediately on the north-west of Pūṇḍ.

We come now to the period between A.D. 870-71 and 940, which is the leading subject of the present inquiry. We have to deal with a Satyavākya and a Nītimārga, whose proper names are, perhaps, not so obviously fixed, as they might have been, by any records as yet brought to notice, and with an Ereyappa, for whom, under that name, the records do not as yet furnish any specific date. And here I have, as a preliminary, to draw attention to two important corrections.

In the first place, for the initial date of Nītimarga-Ereyappa, I adopted A.D. 893-94, which Mr. Rice deduced,² from the Honnāyakanhalli inscription, as the initial date of the Nītimārga of this period. But he has now withdrawn that date. He has told us³ that he thought there was a clue in the Honnāyakanhalli inscription to Śaka-Samvat 815 (expired), = A.D. 893-94, but that this does not now seem to be the case. And we are thus free from any necessity of placing the commencement of a rule in A.D. 893-94.

In the second place, the date of an inscription at Rāmpura⁴ has been misread. This record is rightly referred by Mr. Rice to the period with which we are dealing. And it really is a record of a Satyavākya, whose proper name is not disclosed in it. Whereas, however, the published version represents it as dated in his fourth year, I find, from an ink-impression that has reached me, that it is really dated in his thirty-fourth year.⁵ And there is nothing in this to surprise us; for, not only have we an inscription at Iggali dated in his twenty-second year,⁶ but also Mr. Rice has told us⁷ that there is an inscription at Sātānūr dated in his twenty-ninth year, and the Malligere inscription, noticed just below, gives a Śaka date for him three years later still.

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, then, we have to locate a Satyavākya and a Nītimārga. And the order in which they came, namely the Satyavākya first and then the

named Badāṇeguppe in the Edeṇḍu seventy of the Pūṇḍu *chāḍṣahasra* or six-thousand." The passage is mostly in very bad Sanskrit; but it contains also the Prakṛit form *saptari*, for *saptati*, 'seventy.' The *chāḍ* that is used in it for 'six,' figures also in *Marāṭhī*, in *chāḍṭṭe*, 'thirty-six,' and *chāḍṭṭanna*, 'fifty-six,' in both of which words the following consonant is doubled, instead of lengthening the *a* of *chāḍ*. We have *chāḍ* for 'six' in Pāli also, with the short *a* sometimes lengthened in composition, for instance *chāḍ-rattam*, 'a period of six nights' (see Childers' Pāli Dictionary). And the spurious Bangalore grant which purports to be dated A.D. 445, gives us the long *ā* even with a doubling of the following consonant, in the word *chāḍṇavati*, 'ninety-six' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 95, text line 2-3 from the top, and Plate).

¹ See the maps in his *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314, and, more clearly on this point, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 84.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, note 4.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 148, with a lithograph.—The published text gives *Satyavākya-Permmānāḍi-ṛṣṭa dātta nḍikaneya varshada*, rendered in the translation by "the fourth year of the reign of Satyavākya-Permanāḍi." And the lithograph shews what is virtually the same thing, namely *Satyavākya-Permmānāḍigala dātta nḍikaneya varshada*. This, however, in the lithograph, is only the result of manipulation, either of an impression or in the course of lithography. The ink-impression shews distinctly that the real reading of the original is *Satyavākya-Permmānāḍigala mū[va]tta-nḍikaneya varshada*, "of the thirty-fourth year of Satyavākya-Permanāḍi." The *akṣhara va* is damaged and illegible, at the end of line 2. In the preceding *akṣhara*, the stroke on the right (proper left) side of the *m* is also damaged, and perhaps the stroke that makes the difference between a subscript *u* and *ā*; or, quite possibly, *u* was written by mistake for *ā*; or, even the form *muvatta* may have been used, instead of *mūvatta*, which, however, is not so likely. But it is absolutely certain that this record is dated in the thirty-fourth year of a Satyavākya.

⁵ See, fully, in the preceding note.

⁶ See page 68 below.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I assume that this is really a record of a Satyavākya, as implied.

Nitimarga, is proved by the Śaka dates given in the Biliūr, Malligere, and Kūlagere inscriptions. The Biliūr inscription¹ gives us the **Satyavākya**—(proper name not disclosed),—with a date in the month Phālguna, Śaka-Samvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year. The Malligere inscription² gives us, again, the **Satyavākya**—(proper name not disclosed),—with the date of Ś.-S. 828 (expired),=A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year. And the Kūlagere inscription³ gives us the **Nitimarga**—(proper name not disclosed),—with the date of Ś.-S. 831 (expired),=A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year.

We may safely identify the **Satyavākya** with the **Būtarasa** who is mentioned in the Husukūru inscription, of A.D. 870-71, as then governing the Koṅṇānād and Pūnād provinces as **Yuvarāja** under Rājamalla. There is every reason to believe that, being the **Yuvarāja** or chosen successor of Rājamalla, Būtarasa was also his actual successor; and there is, at any rate, no hint anywhere, as yet, that he died without succeeding. And we shall probably find hereafter that he was the eldest son of Rājamalla. Making this identification,—then, for the period of Būtarasa's own rule, we have, in the first place the Biliūr inscription,⁴ which mentions him simply as **Satyavākya**, and which gives a Śaka date with details falling in February or March, A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year, and thus fixes the commencement of his rule in A.D. 870 or 871. We may place next the Iggali inscription,⁵ dated, without any details of the month, *etc.*, in his twenty-second year, =A.D. 891-92: this record mentions a certain **Rācheya-Gaṅga**, who, it tells us, then died fighting against the **Noḷamma** or **Noḷamba**; and it introduces the first certain mention of **Ereyappa**, whom it describes as convened with **Satyavākya**-(Būtarasa) when the grant registered in it was settled. To somewhere about the same time, because it mentions **Ereyappa** in exactly the same way, we may refer the Kyātanahalli inscription:⁶ this record is not dated in any way; and it is noteworthy chiefly because it shews that certain epithets applied to **Ereyappa** in the Bēgūr inscription and supposed⁷ to belong exclusively to him, had been already used by his predecessor: it specifically applies those epithets to the **Satyavākya-Permāṇḍi** whom it mentions, not as **Ereyappa**, but along with **Ereyappa**, from whom it most distinctly separates him. The Rāmpura inscription,⁸ dated in the month Mārgaśīra of his thirty-fourth year, belongs to A.D. 903 or 904 according to the actual commencement of his rule. And the Malligere inscription,⁹ dated Śaka-Samvat 828 (expired), without any details of the regnal year, month, *etc.*, carries him on to A.D. 906-907. There are also two other records of his time, requiring to be noticed here.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2, with a lithograph (Mr. Kittel's rendering), and *Coorg. Inscr.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

⁴ See note 1 above.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sr. 147.—It seems to be the treatment of this record that led Mr. Rice into wrongly stamping **Ereyappa** as a **Satyavākya**, through the translation of it giving "**Satyavākya** . . . **Permāṇḍi**, **Ereyapparaśa**," instead of "**Satyavākya** . . . **Permāṇḍi** and **Ereyapparaśa**." The translator ignored the copulative endings in *Permāṇḍigaḷuṁ Ereyapparaśarum=ildu*, line 11. The two persons are distinctly separated by those copulative endings.—The following word, *ildu*, does not mean "halting," as rendered in the translation here, and in the case of Nj. 139 and 192 in the same volume, and of Hg. 103 in Vol. IV. It is equivalent to the more specific *oḍan=ildu* of Hg. 103, which means "being together, being in the company of each other, being convened."—It may also be noted that the Kyātanahalli inscription, Sr. 147, has been wrongly interpreted as describing **Ereyappa** as "**Yuvarāja** of the entire **Srīrājya**." The words occur as part of one of the adjectives qualifying the saints **Bhadraśāhu** and **Chandragupta**. And they can only mean something like "[reverenced] by all **Yuvarājas** of the **Srīrājya**."

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. *Intro.* p. 11.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 148; as regards the date, see page 67 above, note 4.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

One is an inscription at Kûragallu :¹ it mentions him, as the ruling prince, under the appellation of Permanadi; but it goes on to give his name in the form of Bûtuga; and it further mentions his wife Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as "governing" the village of Kurgal, and Ereyappa as "governing" the Kôṅgaṇṇāḍ eight-thousand. And the other is an inscription at Kaṭṭemanuganahalli,² which mentions Nîtimârṅga-Ereyapparasa as "governing" the Nugunāḍ and Navalēṇḍ provinces or districts, of which the former appears to be the country on the banks of the Nugu or Nûgu river, a tributary of the Kabbani, in the Heggadadēvankôte and Nañjangûḍ tâlukas of the Mysore district. These two records do not contain any dates, Śaka or regnal. But they may be placed somewhere towards the end of the rule of Bûtuga I., because of the advance that they shew in the status of Ereyappa, as compared with the Iggaḷi and Kyâtanahalli records.³ Next, then, after Satyavākya-Râjamalla, we have Satyavākya-Bûtarasa-Bûtuga I., with fixed dates ranging from A.D. 870-71 to 906-907.⁴

Next after Satyavākya-Bûtuga I. came the Nîtimârṅga, whom we may unhesitatingly identify with the Ereyappa of the Iggaḷi, Kyâtanahalli, and Kûragallu records, and the Nîtimârṅga-Ereyappa of the Kaṭṭemanuganahalli record, of the time of his predecessor. As regards the period of his own rule, we have as yet no record that actually gives a Śaka date for him under the name of Ereyappa; but the Kûlagere inscription⁵ gives for him, under the appellation of Nîtimârṅga, the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, etc., and without any specification of the regnal year; and we may provisionally fix his initial date in A.D. 908. The relationship of Ereyappa to Bûtuga I., and the circumstances under which he succeeded, have not been ascertained yet. We shall probably

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.—The name of his wife is given as Paramabbe in the text in Roman characters, and as Saramabbe in the Kanarese text. Both the texts give "Ireyappa;" but this is, no doubt, a mistake for "Ereyappa."—Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 12, and the Classified List of Inscriptions) has referred this record to the period of the rule of Ereyappa, and appears to treat Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as a wife of Bûtuga II. But it is only in his predecessor's time that Ereyappa could be "governing" simply a province; and it is impossible to find here, correctly, any reference to Bûtuga II., who came after Ereyappa.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 103.—This record is, in my opinion, sufficient in itself to shew that Ereyappa was a Nîtimârṅga, not a Satyavākya; it mentions him as Nîtimârṅga in line 1 in the first set of epithets, and as Erepperasa (according to the published texts) in line 5 in the second set of epithets. The published translation, indeed, has separated the appellation Nîtimârṅga from the name Ereyappa, and has made them two distinct persons, by introducing the words "was ruling the kingdom of the world" in line 3, after the word *Permnâṇḍigal*; and the result of this would be that the ruling prince was a Nîtimârṅga, and that Ereyappa was a governor under him. But that addition to the text is neither necessary nor justifiable. The second *Sevati*, in line 3, introduces only a second set of epithets. The ruling prince is mentioned only as *Permnâṇḍi*, in line 10, which tells us that he and Ereyappa were convened together when the grant registered in this record was made.

³ The Malligere inscription, after introducing the ruling prince as Satyavākya-*Permnâṇḍi*, perhaps goes on to introduce someone else, to whom it applies the epithets that are applied in the Kyâtanahalli inscription to Satyavākya (Bûtuga I.) and in the Bêḡûr inscription to Ereyappa; and, if so, that other person must be Ereyappa, by that time entrusted with still greater powers and invested with still higher dignities. But the rest of the record is described as out of sight or illegible.

⁴ I did not on the previous occasion, and I do not now, overlook the point that this arrangement places a Satyavākya next in succession after a Satyavākya, whereas it might perhaps be urged that we should expect a Nîtimârṅga to follow a Satyavākya, a Satyavākya to follow a Nîtimârṅga, and so on. But the Śaka dates prove conclusively that this was not the case at this point. And we have plainly three Satyavākya in succession later on in the case of Mârasimha II., Pañchaladēva, and Râchamalla II. We do not know at present exactly how the appellations Satyavākya and Nîtimârṅga were determined. But, if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is that Satyavākya was the customary appellation of the eldest son. We do not know that Mârasimha II. was not the eldest son of Bûtuga II.: it seems probable, in fact, that he was so, because it is unlikely that he should abdicate after ruling for only ten or eleven years, unless he was considerably advanced in years when he began to rule; and the fact that his half-brother Maruḷadēva was the son of a king's daughter, would easily account for the succession going first to Maruḷadēva's son Rachecha-Gaṅga. The Satyavākya of the Doddahundi inscription, i.e. Râjamalla, is distinctly specified (see page 45 above) as the eldest son of the Nîtimârṅga, i.e. Raṇavikrama, of that record. And Nîtimârṅga-Raṇavikrama was a younger son, if we accept the existence of Śivamâra II.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

find, however, that he was a younger son of Bûtuga I. And, from the fact that none of the records, that have as yet come to light, speak of him as the *Yusardja* or chosen successor of Bûtuga I.,¹ and from certain other indications, it seems likely that he took advantage of the executive authority entrusted to him by Bûtuga I., and diverted the succession from the direct and proper line. There are hints to this effect, in the description of his son Râchamalla I. as a poisonous tree which was uprooted, and of Bûtuga II. as a pure tree which was planted in its place, by Kṛishṇa III.,² and in the fact that Kṛishṇa III. gave again to Bûtuga II. the Belvola, Purigege, Kisukâd, and Bâgenâd districts,³ which had previously been given to him, as the dowry of his wife Rêvakanimmaḍi, by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. And there is also the statement in the Bêgûr inscription, that Ereyappa governed the Gaṅgavâḍi province as an united whole, after depriving all his enemies of their power.⁴ The exact application of this latter statement, indeed, is not yet certain: on the one hand, taken in connection with the mention of hostilities with the Nolambas in A.D. 891-92, in the time of Bûtuga I.,⁵ and with the existence of an intrusive Nolamba record of A.D. 895-96 at Tâyalûr in the Maṇḍya tâluka,⁶ it may mean that Ereyappa was successful against some determined effort of the Nolambas to overthrow the Gaṅga power altogether; and on the other hand, as the Bêgûr inscription shews that he was, at that time, on very friendly terms with the Nolamba Ayyapadêva, the fact may be that the enemies whom he overthrew were his own relations, and that he was assisted in doing that by the Nolambas. Still, however this may be, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II. was the eldest son of the Râcheya-Gaṅga whose death in A.D. 891-92, in battle against the Nolamma or Nolamba, is mentioned in the Iggali inscription, and that Râcheya-Gaṅga was the eldest son of Bûtuga I., and that it was the death of Râcheya-Gaṅga in A.D. 891-92 that enabled Ereyappa to secure the succession,—to the exclusion of Bûtuga II., who was eventually placed in possession of his rights by Kṛishṇa III. To the period of the rule of Ereyappa himself belongs the Bêgûr inscription,⁷ which mentions him as Ereyappa, and describes him as lending a force to Ayyapadêva, for the purpose of fighting against a certain Vîramahendra who seems to be the Eastern Chalukya king Bhîma II. This record has to be placed near the end of his rule. To an earlier period in his time belongs an inscription at Gaṭṭavâḍi,⁸ which mentions him as the ruling prince under the appellation of Nitimârğa, and is dated, without any details of the Śaka year, month, *etc.*, in his fifth year, corresponding probably to A.D. 912-13. There is, apparently, an inscription at Marûr in the Hassan district,⁹ dated in his nineteenth year, which would carry him on to about A.D. 926-27. As we shall see shortly, he must have ruled for not less than twenty-five years, up to some date after A.D. 933. And we may provisionally fix the end of his rule in A.D. 938.

Nitimârğa-Ereyappa left a son named Râchamalla I. And it was by killing Râchamalla that Bûtuga II. obtained the succession. We know this from the Âtakûr inscription.¹⁰ That the event occurred in or before A.D. 940, is shewn by the Râshtrakûṭa grant from Dêôlî, dated in that year, which mentions the fact and implies that Bûtuga II. received material assistance from the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III., who was his brother-in-law; for, it says, Kṛishṇa III. "planted in Gaṅgapâtî, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhûtârğa, having uprooted the poisonous

¹ Regarding an instance in which he has been supposed to be thus described, see page 68 above, note 6.

² See below.

³ See page 57 above.

⁴ Page 49 above.

⁵ Page 68 above.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 13; and see above, Vol. V. p. 165.

⁷ Page 49 above.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 98.—This record mentions a certain Mârğamunḍa, and a person whose name is given in the published texts as Taparekere-Basavayya. The other Gaṭṭavâḍi inscription (Nj. 97), of the fifth year of a Satyavâkya (proper name not disclosed), mentions evidently the same two persons, the first of them as Mârğavunḍa, and the second of them as Tâyûra-Parekere-Basavayya according to the published texts. This brings these two records into immediate sequence. And Nj. 97 is, therefore, to be referred either to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga I., or to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II.

⁹ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12.

¹⁰ Page 57 above.

tree Rachhyāmalla.¹ And the event must also be placed some few years after A.D. 933, because we have a date in that year for Gōvinda IV., and the reign of Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga intervened after that and before the reign of Kṛishṇa III. That Rāchamalla did actually succeed his father, is distinctly implied by the Dēōlī grant. And we have now a record which is to be referred to the period of his rule, and which probably discloses the actual outbreak of hostilities between him and Būtuga I. It is the Hiranandi inscription,² which tells us that—“When Ereyappa ascended to heaven, Bhuvanāditya came and said that Kiriya-Rāchamalla had given, at Mannebetṭa or Mannibiḍu (?), half the country and the treasury; whereupon, the five *Sāmantas*³ and the *Pergades* and the governor (?) of the Bayalnād country said—We will not allow any other than Rāchamalla to rule; then they fought at Māgunḍi (or perhaps at Bhuvanāytana-Māgunḍi) and the four sons of Nindiya-Korantiyarasa fought and died,” etc. It is, thus, plain that Rāchamalla I. did actually succeed to the leadership of the Gaṅgas. And it seems that he deliberately gave half the principality to Būtuga II., and thus paved the way to his own overthrow. At the same time, it appears tolerably certain that he ruled for only a short time. And we may probably place the death of Ereyappa, the accession of Rāchamalla I., and the killing of the latter by Būtuga II., all in A.D. 938.

In this way, Rāchamalla I. was succeeded by Satyavākya-Būtuga II., at some time between A.D. 933 and 940, and probably in A.D. 938, or very closely thereabouts. As has been intimated above, we shall probably find hereafter that Būtuga II. was a grandson of Būtuga I., and a son of the Rācheya-Gaṅga who died in A.D. 891-92. And we have, at present, nothing else to add to the account of him given on the previous occasion, except that certain inscriptions at Anpigere and Gāwarawād in the Dhārwar district, and at Hūli in Belgaum, shew that the exact name of the elder sister of Kṛishṇa III., who was one of his wives, was Rēvakanimmaḍi,⁴ and that we have now a later date for him in A.D. 953.⁵

On the present occasion, we are not concerned with the general history of the Gaṅgas after A.D. 940. But it may be conveniently noted here, in connection with Pañchaladēva, that the war between him and the Western Chālukya Āhavamalla-Taila II., in the course of which Pañchaladēva was overthrown and killed, is referred to by the Kanarese poet Ranna,⁶

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 289, and Vol. V. p. 191.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116; and see page 62 above.—I take the text, of course, as given by Mr. Rice. But there are points in it that call for comment. The text in Roman characters speaks of “Koṅgapi-Kiriya-Rāchamalla,” but the text in Kanarese characters omits the Koṅgapi, and suggests, instead, some illegible *biruda* of the usual kind ending in *vedēṅga*. For the *Manne-betṭadoḷ* of the Roman text, the Kanarese text has *Manni-biddoḷ*,—presumably for *Manni-biddinoḷ*. There is nothing in either text, implying an invitation to go to Mannebetṭa or Mannibiḍu. *Koṭṭa* means “he gave, he has (already) given,” not “he will give or would give.” *Bayal-nādaru* is certainly not the accusative singular of *Bayal-nād*, governed by *rtjyamam geyal*: if it is the real reading at all, it is the nominative singular masculine of a base *Bayal-nāda*, with the copulative ending *uḥ*, and it must denote some leading official, probably the *Nāḷḡamunḡa* of the Bayalnād country; we have the same word in the locative, and in the ordinary nominative without the copulative ending, in the Kaṭṭemanuganahalli inscription (Hg. 103), which tells us, not that on the day that “there was a fight in Bayal-nād, when Bayal-nād coming, attacked Kottamaṅgala,” but that “on the day, or at the time, when there was a quarrel with or war against the *Bayalnāda*, the *Bayalnāda* came,” etc. The *tydm* of the Roman text and *tydm* of the Kanarese text must be a mistake for *tyem*; and *tyem* means, not “we do not wish,” but “we will not give, we will not allow.”

³ The five *Sāmantas* were probably the subordinate commanders of five bodies of local troops; compare the reference to the *Sāmantas* of the Nāgattara in the Bēgūr inscription (page 49 above). The same expression, — *ay-sāmantarum*, “and the five *Sāmantas*,”—occurs in an inscription at Mūdaballi, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 130.

⁴ Accordingly, a certain correction proposed for line 5 of the Hebbāl inscription (see above, Vol. IV. p. 352, note 3) is not necessary.—The name Rēvakanimmaḍi is, I suppose, practically another form of Immaḍi-Rēvaka; and, if so, it probably means “a Rēvaka who was twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rēvaka” (see page 51 above, note 4).

⁵ See the Postscript, page 88 below.

⁶ See Mr. Rice's *Karṇāṭakabaddanūśānam*, Introd. p. 28 ff., where Āhavamalla is wrongly identified with Irivabedāṅga-Satyāśraya, and Pañchāla is evidently a mistake for Pañchala.

who mentions, in his *Ajitatīrthakapurāṇa* or *Ajitatīrthavaracharita* (finished A.D. 993-94), a defeat inflicted on the army of Pañchala by a general of Taila II. named Nāgadēva.

There is a great deal more to be said, both about the genuine history of the Gaṅgas, and about the spurious records. Both these subjects are of extreme interest to me, partly because the history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore is greatly intermingled, for a certain period, with the history of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, which has always been my special line of inquiry; and partly because the ancient history of India, as a whole, deserves, and unfortunately still in many respects remains, to be worked out critically and on sound bases, with an elimination of all the fables that have been imported into it from the spurious records of Mysore, from similar records in other parts of the country, and from various chronicles and lists of kings, some of them of early date and some of them quite modern, which have been credited with an authenticity and value which they do not really possess at all. But certain preliminary studies must be completed, before either of these subjects can be handled finally.

In connection with the genuine history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore, we must, among other things, determine more closely the date of the overthrow of the original Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī, and of the supplantation of it by a branch of the Gaṅgas in the person of, probably, Vijaya-Narasimhavarman.¹ We must clear up certain points in the relations of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. with the princes of Mysore. And we must examine more fully certain traditions of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga, on the east coast of Southern India, which have a distinct connection with Mysore. These topics will be dealt with shortly. And, for the present, it is sufficient to throw out the following few hints as to what will be established.

We can now recognise clearly one genuine early Gaṅga prince anterior to Śivamāra I. He is the Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarmaṇ of the Goa grant,² which shews him as a viceroy in charge of four provinces under the Western Chalukya kings Kirtivarman I., Maṅgalēśa, and Pulakēśin II., under an appointment running from A.D. 591-92. He was plainly a close relation, and probably a brother, of Durlabhadēvī of the Batpūra family, the wife of Pulakēśin I. He was an ancestor, and probably the grandfather, of Rājasimha-Indravarmaṇ I., the first king of the earlier Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga, who adopted the era of A.D. 591-92 as the official reckoning in his dominions. And the name of "the original great Bappūra race," to which he is allotted by the Goa grant, must be derived from a secondary appellation of some great city in Mysore,— very likely of Kōlār itself.

We have perhaps another Gaṅga name, earlier than that of Śivamāra I., and belonging to the period A.D. 680 to 696, in the case of the official named Kāṇḍarba, who was the administrative officer when the grant was made which is recorded in the Baḷagāmi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogillī.³ The emblem at the top of that record is an elephant; the elephant was not the crest of the Western Chalukyas; nor is it likely that it was the crest of the Sēndrakas;⁴ but it was the crest

¹ See above, Vol. V. pp. 157, 160.

² See the notice of this record in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 355; and cancel my suggestion (*id.* p. 349, and in the Table at p. 336; also, in the Table in Vol. III. above, p. 2) that this person may have been a son of Maṅgalēśa.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 142. For the emblem at the top of the stone, see the photograph in Col. Dixon's collection, No. 98, reproduced in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscriptions* No. 152.

⁴ It seems highly probable that the name Sēndraka is the origin of the later name Sinda. The Sinda princes are known for the period A.D. 990-91 to 1179, and chiefly in connection with the country round Paṭṭadakal and Bāgalkōṭ; in the Bijāpur district and Yelburga in the Nizām's Dominions (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 572 ff.). But there was also a branch of them in the neighbourhood of the territory held in earlier times by the Sēndrakas (*id.* p. 577);

of the Western Gaṅgas, and it is found above their records at Bīlīūr, Peggu-ūr, Kyātanahalli, and Tāyalūr.¹

It is probable that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman represented the main line of the Gaṅgas; and he was very likely a lineal descendant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman.

And it is becoming tolerably certain that Śivamāra I. and his descendants did not belong to the main line, but were the hereditary princes of the Koṅgaṇnād eight-thousand province. This would explain why Śivamāra I. and Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa called themselves "the Koṅṇi king," and why their descendants assumed the appellation Koṅgaṇivarman, Koṅṇivarman, Koṅṇivarman, or Koṅḷivarman, from which there was evolved, by the persons who fabricated the spurious grants, the name of the fictitious "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga,"² as the imaginary founder of the line.

As regards the spurious grants,—only ten, including the Sūdi grant, were known when I wrote about them in Vol. III. of this Journal, p. 159 ff.; I dealt there with only some of the features in respect of which they have to be criticised; I could not examine any of the details, except the date, of the Hosūr grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 762, because I was not aware that the text of it, with a lithograph, had been published in Mr. Rice's article on "the Gaṅga kings" in the *Madras Journ. Lit. and Science*, 1878, p. 138 ff.; and, similarly for want of a lithograph or impressions, I was not able to examine any of the details of the Bangalore Museum grant, which purports to have been issued in the third year of Durvīṇa. Since then, some more spurious copper-plate grants of the same series have been published.³ And there are others already known, the publication of which is awaited. In the final examination of them, one interesting line of inquiry will be to collate the texts, examine all the peculiarities of vocabulary and diction, discover the locality in which these curious documents, or at least the majority of them, were fabricated, and trace the order in which they were concocted, and so, perhaps, the steps by which the fictitious pedigree was built up. In connection with all this, it will be desirable to see what real equivalents can be found for the false dates recorded in some of them, and in certain other records of the same nature connected with them: on this point, my present view is that, while some of the false dates are no doubt altogether imaginary, others of them may have been arrived at by calculations more or less correct, and others, again, give the true details of the dates on which the records were fabricated, or of dates, close to those dates, taken from almanacs accessible to the forgers, falsified in respect of the years by striking off an even number of cycles of the sixty-year system, or by similar means, in order to present a semblance of antiquity; and it is an

that branch had the crest of a tiger and a deer; and one of the branches at Bāgalkōṭ had the tiger-crest. The Sindas claimed to belong to the Nāga race. And a statement referable to the eleventh century A.D., and to be accepted for what it may be worth, would allot the Sēndrakas themselves—(whom it mentions as Sēndras)—to the lineage of the Bhujagēndras or serpent kings (*id.* p. 292).

¹ See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, *Coorg Inscri.* p. 7, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147 and Md. 14.—In pointing out (above, Vol. V. p. 165, note 4) an objection to treating the Tāyalūr record (Md. 14) as "an intrusive Pallava inscription," I omitted to notice the fact that the emblem of the elephant proves conclusively that it is not such.

² This exact expression occurs in an inscription at Kāḍlāpura, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 110, which purports to be of A.D. 1148. It is extremely doubtful whether it is even a genuine record of that period. But, if we assume that it is genuine as far as it goes, then, of course, in putting forward Śaka-Samvat 25 expired, = A.D. 103-104, as the date of "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga," it simply puts forward, in good faith, a false statement successfully palmed off on the officials of the period with a view to setting up a previous grant of the village. Historically, as regards the Gaṅgas, the record is worthless; except in perhaps shewing that, by A.D. 1148, the date of A.D. 103-104 had come to be connected with the imaginary Koṅgaṇivarman.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, the Hallegere grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 713, and Nj. 122, the Tagadūru grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 267, and Vol. IV., Yd. 60, the Galigēkere grant, Sr. 160, the Gañjām grant, and probably (see page 86 above, note 1) Hg. 4, the Saragūru grant; all of them with lithographs.

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interesting fact that some of the dates do work out for precisely the period, the eleventh century A.D., which, as will be shewn, best provided all the historical conditions that necessitated the production of forged title-deeds to regain the possession of genuine endowments which had been confiscated and of which the original title-deeds had been lost, and made it possible to produce forged title-deeds to secure endowments the claims to which were false. And, before dealing with the matter finally, we shall have to consider which of the spurious records may really be accepted as ancient forgeries, worth examination, and which of them,—notably, for instance, the extraordinary Harihar grant,¹ which presents an attempt at two, if not three, alphabets, including some of the most modern Nāgarī or Bālbōdh forms,—may have to be rejected as modern forgeries, like the Suradhēnupura document, and consequently to be dismissed as not worth any further thought. All this will take time. And in this line there is no particular objection to delay: partly in order to include in the final examination as many of these documents as can be brought together; and partly because, in view of what we learn from the Suradhēnupura forgery can be attempted even in the present day, there is no particular object in compiling too quickly a manual of hints which would enable a modern forger to concoct a document that might prove not so easy to deal with as the ancient forgeries.

In connection with both lines of inquiry, there are two questions of more immediate urgency. One is the duration and extent of the Chōla occupation of Mysore, and of some of the neighbouring parts of the Western Chālukya territories, during the eleventh century A.D., which, in consequence of the destruction of temples and the confiscation of endowments, created the chief reason for the production of the forgeries of the Western Gaṅga series; and, in connection with this, I shall edit in full an interesting record at Gāwarawād in the Dhārwar district,² with extracts from others connected with it. The other is the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.: this will be of use, not only towards exposing fully the palæographic blunders of the ancient forgers, but also for arranging the proper order of genuine undated records not containing information that enables us to refer them to their exact places; and it will be illustrated, in the first instance, by a series of Rāshtrakūṭa records, collotypes of which have already been prepared.

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The two preliminary studies, indicated just above, will be published without much delay. Meanwhile, I am under the necessity of using such further space, as can be spared to me on the present occasion, chiefly in noticing, as briefly as possible, some remarks by Mr. Rice which are contained in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 6 to 8, and are by way of being a criticism of my exposé of the spurious grants in Vol. III. of this Journal, pp. 159 to 175.

We need not spend any time over Mr. Rice's opening assertion that "facts have proved" too strong, and Dr. Fleet has been compelled to admit the existence of the kings from "Śivamāra, in the 8th century, downwards, and perhaps Mushkara, two generations earlier." The assertion has been made carelessly, and without sufficient reflection. I have never made the alleged admissions. And nothing has ever yet been brought to light, that would justify me in making any such admissions.

Nor need we spend any time over the bad orthography of the grants,—over Viśvakarman, the alleged writer (not engraver) of some of the grants which purport to be centuries apart in date,—over the identity of the witnesses in two of the grants which purport to be separated by an interval of two hundred and eighteen years,—over a conjectural

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 173, with a lithograph.

² Noticed in *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 441, note 3. I find that this record contains much more information than I thought from a cursory examination, made when I was writing my *Dynasties* in the leisure moments of official life, of the transcriptions of it and the Anigere inscription in Sir Walter Elliot's collection.

alteration made by Mr. Rice, in the text of the twelfth verse of the Udayéndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II., which we now know to be, not only a rather violent liberty, but one that is altogether unsustainable,—and over the dubious title *Rāja* or *Vṛiddharāja*. In each case, the facts are as I stated them. Mr. Rice's remarks are simply an attempt to divert attention from the main issue, the spurious nature of the grants. The points themselves will be dealt with, as far as may be necessary and without reviving any contentious matter, in the ultimate full examination of the spurious grants. They involve nothing of historical importance, except in connection with the Jain teacher Simhanandin, who seems to have been undoubtedly a real person, though the legends about him in Mysore, especially in respect of connecting him with the Gaṅgas, were of a very wild kind. And the time for going usefully into his history will come, when we examine the full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history that were eventually devised in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore.

And we need not spend much time over a point, in connection with the invention of the fictitious pedigree that is presented in the spurious grants, which it would not be necessary to notice here in detail at all, but that I have, in this case, to deal with a more than usually unbecoming misrepresentation of what I said.

In 1894 I said¹—"The question may very reasonably present itself,—What was the object of the invention of the genealogy that is exhibited in these spurious records?" I remarked,—“There are plain indications that, just about the period,—the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.,—that has been established above as the earliest possible one for the fabrication of the Merkara grant, all the reigning families of Southern India were beginning to look up their pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies.” And the answer at which I arrived, was, that the Western Gaṅgas had followed, in the person of the great prince Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha II., the example that had thus been set, and that the time when their genealogy, as presented in the spurious grants, was invented, was fixed very closely by an inscription at Lakshmēshwar, which purports to be of his time and to be dated A.D. 968-69, and which then seemed to me “to represent, in a rudimentary form, the beginning of a longer genealogy which was elaborated subsequently.”

Mr. Rice has stamped as a “very remarkable statement” what I said as to there being indications that, about the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., there was a general tendency in Southern India to look up pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies. We may dismiss that observation of his summarily; partly because he has made no attempt to shew how my statement was a remarkable one, and partly because my statement was and is in accordance with facts.

But we cannot dismiss so summarily what he said next. He has said² that, “in support of this very remarkable statement,” I have given the information that “the Pallava puranic genealogy first appears in the 7th century; that of the Rāshtrakūṭas in 933; that of the Western Gaṅgas was probably devised about 950 but may have been concocted a little earlier; that of the Chōlas between 1063 and 1112; that of the Eastern Gaṅgas in 1118.” And on this he said, by way of comment,—“But it is singular that not one of these periods falls within the 9th century, the time when all the royal families were imagined to be engaged with a strange unanimity in ‘furbishing up their pedigrees.’ Another thing to be noted is that the genealogy of the Gaṅgas, with whom we are now particularly dealing, is in no sense puranic.”

Now, in the first place, it is only with a reservation that it can be said that the genealogy of the Gaṅgas is in no sense Purāṇic. We know,³ from inscriptions of the eleventh century

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 171.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 7 f.

³ See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.

at Humcha and other places in that neighbourhood, that eventually a full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the usual kind were duly invented for the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the Purāṇic element does not figure in the genealogy given in the spurious grants, with which I was dealing. And I treated that genealogy simply as what it is, namely a fictitious genealogy of a pretended historical kind; calling it specifically on one occasion¹ "the pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas." That I, naturally, treated the invention of it in connection with the invention of some of the Purāṇic genealogies, is no reason for saying that I stamped it as Purāṇic. And I did not do so.

In the second place, as regards the extraordinary sentence which Mr. Rice has put, by the use of inverted commas, into my mouth,—no such sentence has ever been written by me; nor has anything ever been written by me, that could justify my statements being represented in that form. The sentence is founded upon words which were actually used by me. But it has been made up by Mr. Rice himself, from garbled extracts from different sentences written by me on different occasions. And my reference to the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy was made in a way very different from that in which it has been presented by Mr. Rice.

In 1894, in the remarks which, in particular,² Mr. Rice was attacking in 1898, I made no mention at all of the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy; and I wrote³—"The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅglī grant of A.D. 933. The Purāṇic genealogy of the Chalukyas presents itself first in the Korumelli grant of shortly after A.D. 1022. The Chōḷa Purāṇic genealogy is, apparently, first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paranī*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I. (A.D. 1063 to 1112). And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara "is first made known by a grant of A.D. 1118-19." I plainly put forward each date as the date at which we first come across each genealogy, and not as the date of its actual invention. And it should be obvious to anyone that the genealogies must have existed for some appreciable time, before they could be actually quoted in records.

So much I wrote in 1894, adding the opinion, from the Lakshmēshwar inscription, that, in the time of Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II., the Western Gaṅgas followed the general example that had thus been set, and that their genealogy, as put forward in the spurious grants, was probably invented closely about A.D. 968-69. Subsequently, in 1895 or 1896, in my account of the Pallavas, I wrote⁴—"In their records, the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Some of the records give them a regular Purāṇic genealogy which appears first in the "seventh century A.D." And at this place I made no reference at all to any of the other genealogies. Further on in the same work, I had occasion to give a full notice of the legendary history, including the Purāṇic genealogy, of the Chalukyas, taken, in its final and most complete shape, from a record of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.⁵ And to this I attached the following note,⁶—the first part of which does little more than recapitulate what I had said in 1894,— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅglī grant of A.D. 933. The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A.D. 950. The Chōḷa Purāṇic

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342, note 1.

² See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6, para. 2, the last three lines.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 171 f.

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 316.—I say I wrote this "in 1895 or 1896," for the following reason. The date of a remark must be, ordinarily, the date of the publication of it. The last of the proof-sheets of my *Dynasties* were passed by me, for printing, in September, 1895. And the title-page was among them. It naturally was dated 1895. And that is the date that appears on the title-page of the very few separate copies that were struck off. Nevertheless, and though I expressly gave instructions that uniformity was to be observed, the date was changed, without my being consulted, to 1896, in the title-page as issued in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II., after page 276,—apparently because that volume was not issued till 1896.

⁵ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 338 ff.

⁶ *Id.* p. 342, note 1.

"genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kalīṅgattu-Parāṇi*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I., A.D. 1063 to 1112. And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara is first presented in a record of "A.D. 1118-19." Here, in this note, for the first time I mentioned the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy in connection with the others. But I did not adduce, as Mr. Rice says I did, that genealogy, which appears first in the seventh century A.D., as having been put together in the tenth century, as I then put it,—differing a little from my previous suggestion of the last quarter of the ninth century. What I said, is,— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas has been mentioned on page 316 above. This is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to light. And possibly a discovery of it, in some ancient record, set the later fashion which became so general."

These are the passages from which Mr. Rice has strung together the extraordinary sentence that he has put into my mouth. He has further, on the same occasion, quoted me as describing the reigning families of Southern India as "furbishing up their pedigrees." He has repeated this twice, as if there were something peculiar in the expression. I cannot find any passage in my writings, in which I used these words; nor can friends, who have searched for it, find it; nor can even Mr. Rice himself, to whom I have applied, give me the reference to any passage in which I have used it. I therefore cannot say whether I did use it, or not. Let it be taken for granted, however, that I did use it. It is a very appropriate expression. "To furbish" means "to polish." And "polishing up" describes exactly the process that each Purāṇic genealogy went through, at some time or another, before it was eventually settled in its final form.

We may leave here all these minor matters, with simply the additional remark that it is easy enough to apparently demolish an opponent by first attributing to him statements and admissions that he has not made, and arguments that he has not used, but that that seems hardly the proper way of carrying on even a controversy. And we may now turn our attention to a more important point, the palaeographic question, upon which something useful may be said.

In 1894¹ I noticed some of the palaeographic blunders in the spurious grants. There is a good deal more to be said in this line hereafter; for I dealt then with only two characters, the *kh* and the *b*. But these two characters themselves are letters which furnish, as I said, "a leading test in dealing with southern records;" and the later cursive forms of them are, in certain circumstances, "tell-tale letters." The later cursive forms of them cannot be carried back to much, if at all, before A.D. 804. Through the occurrence of them in the spurious grants, I was enabled to present the conclusion that the Merkāra grant, purporting to have been issued A.D. 466, and the Dēvarhalli grant (then known as the Nāgamaṅgala grant), purporting to have been issued A.D. 776-77, cannot have been written before the beginning of the ninth century A.D. And I indicated that the transitional period, when both the old square forms and the later cursive forms of the two characters in question were in use together, was somewhere about A.D. 865.

Mr. Rice has touched upon only one of these characters, the *kh*. He has asserted that of this character "both forms were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period;"² and he has told us that he "had determined the above some time ago:"³ but he has not favoured us with the reference to his examination of the question; and so we cannot consider in detail anything that he may have put forward, but can only say that he has determined a fact which, in Western India, did not exist. He has quoted the Tables of Dr. Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, as giving the cursive form of the *kh* for the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries A.D. And he has told us that "Dr. Bühler (p. 65 of his work) expressly points out that Dr. Fleet is wrong in

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 161 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6.

³ *Ibid.* p. 7, note 1.

"his dictum as to the age of the cursive form." In support of his assertion that "both forms" were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period," he has, further, specifically quoted an instance of the occurrence of the cursive *kh* in an inscription on "the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa" at Māmallapuram on the east coast, which, as remarked by myself without any suggestion of dissent, has been assigned by Dr. Hultsch to probably the sixth century A.D. He has admitted the undeniable fact that both forms occur in the Gaṅga grants that I was reviewing. And he has allowed us to understand that his conclusion is, that the preparation of those records should consequently be referred to a period in which both forms were in use, that is to say, in his opinion, to at any rate a much earlier period than A.D. 804.

Now, for the alleged instance of the fourth century A.D., Mr. Rice has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table iii. col. XX. But neither does that column, nor does any part of that Table, present a form of the *kh* approximating in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned.

For the sixth and seventh centuries, he has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table vii. cols. V. and XXIII. Here, again, the form of the *kh* in col. V. does not approximate in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned: it is a very badly formed *kh* of the old square type; and it is, moreover, from a Valabhī record not connected in any way with the territories with which we are dealing. The *kh* in col. XXIII., however, is, indeed, probably a fully developed cursive *kh* of the type of the *kh* with which we are concerned; but I shall shew directly that it has nothing to do with the matter.

As regards the remarks made by Dr. Bühler on page 65 of his work, and referred to by Mr. Rice, they occur in his examination of what he called "the middle step" or period of the Kanarese and Telugu types of the southern alphabets. Dr. Bühler has there drawn attention to "the strongly cursive, already Old-Kanarese, *kha*, Table viii., 12, cols. III. to V., which by Fleet (*Ep. Ind.* III. 162) is said to be not older than about A.D. 800, but which, in the closely cognate "Pallava inscriptions (Table vii., 9, col. XXIII.), appears already since the seventh century."¹ This, of course, is a more important matter, because Dr. Bühler was a very great authority. But, for reasons that will be indicated below, the Tables of his palæographic volume, and some of the results based on them, have to be received with great caution. And, in this case, the remark that he made is a misleading one, not by any means applicable in the way in which Mr. Rice would use it.

Finally, for the instance of the cursive *kh* in the inscription on "the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa," Mr. Rice has referred us to the lithograph in Capt. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xiv.,—(to which he might have added Plate xviii., which gives the alphabet of the record in tabulated form),—and to the seventh stanza of the text in Dr. Hultsch's *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 6, No. 19. Here, there are mistakes, which do not, indeed, involve anything of importance, beyond illustrating further the rudimentary and superficial manner in which Mr. Rice has dealt with the whole question, but which may as well be corrected in order to save perplexity and trouble to others. The intended record, the one of which Capt. Carr has given us a reproduction, is not on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa; it is at the Gaṇēśa temple; the record on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa is another copy of it, arranged differently, of which we apparently have not as yet any reproduction; the reference to Dr. Hultsch's text should have been to p. 4, No. 18; and we look in vain to the seventh stanza for the word that is quoted by Mr. Rice; it is in the ninth verse that it occurs. Now, the inscription really intended is in rather elaborate characters, from which fact Mr. Rice has made a curious deduction; in respect of the lithograph of the entire record given in Capt. Carr's Plate xiv., he has said "there is nothing to show that this is a mechanical copy, but the highly florid nature of the alphabet insures that it must have been carefully copied." There is, of course, a good deal of difference between copying carefully and copying

¹ This is as given to me from the German; the English translation is not out yet.

accurately. With characters so florid and elaborate as are those of this record, and "so faintly cut,"¹ and with the absolute certainty that the reproduction of them, though based on tracings to which "several days' labour" was devoted, was not a purely mechanical one, we have every reason to doubt the absolute trustworthiness of the lithograph. And what do we find on actual examination? The *kh* quoted by Mr. Rice occurs in the word *sumukhaḥ*, line 9; but the lithograph gives us *samakhah*, omitting twice the vowel *u*. The *kh* occurs in also the word *khydtô* in verse 5, line 5; and here the lithograph shews *tyatô*, omitting the *d* and turning the *kh* into *t*. Here are four mistakes in the reproduction, in only five syllables. But it is not necessary to criticise this reproduction any further; because I do not wish to rely on any faults in it. I grant everything that Mr. Rice wishes. I concede that we have here, in the word *sumukhaḥ*, a cursive *kh* of precisely the same type, and almost of the same form, with the cursive *kh* of Western India which, I say, cannot be carried back to before A.D. 804. And I concede that this instance, adduced by Mr. Rice, is to be referred to probably the sixth century A.D. But it has absolutely nothing to do with the matter that we have in hand. It is a Grantha character,—a character of an alphabet which, though derived from the same original stock with the alphabet of Western India, was developed on totally different lines and at a much earlier period, and which shews, in the sixth century and perhaps before that time, many characters which, while preserving the leading features of the original type, already exhibit many and wide divergencies, both in the type and in the details. To the same alphabet belong the characters of the record in which occurs the cursive *kh* given in Dr. Bühler's Table vii., col. XXIII., No. 9: it is the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājasiṃha, of which the text has been given by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. I. p. 12, No. 24, with a facsimile in a Plate issued in Vol. II.; and the *kh* in question is the *kh* of the word *pramukhaiḥ* in verse 7, near the beginning of line 11. And this record, again, has absolutely nothing to do with the development of the alphabet of Western India.

And here we may leave the details of the palæographic question, until the publication of the collotype facsimiles that I have in hand, which will shew the development of the alphabet of Western India during the ninth century A.D., and will prove everything that I have said about the letters *kh* and *b*, and a great deal more too. I have only to add the following general remarks.

In the first place, if we act on Mr. Rice's suggestion, and place the writing of those grants, which shew both forms of the *kh* and *b*, in the period when both those forms really were in use together, we must refer them to about the middle of the ninth century A.D. We must, then—(one instance will suffice),—place about A.D. 850 the Dēvarhaḷḷi grant, which purports to have been issued A.D. 776-77. And the reference of it to a period three quarters of a century (or even one quarter of a century) later than the date asserted by itself, stamps it as a forgery, just as much as the reference of it to any period later still.

In the second place, Mr. Rice has expressed surprise at my saying that the writers of this and other spurious records forgot themselves, and introduced tell-tale characters, when they used in certain words the later cursive forms. But there is no occasion for any such expression of surprise. That is exactly what the writers did. And they simply betrayed themselves in just the same way in which forgers are liable to betray themselves, and do betray themselves, all over the world. In a recent notorious case in England, the first clue to the detection of an almost unparalleled series of forgeries, for genealogical purposes, was given by the fact that the forger forgot himself, and was careless enough to introduce a numeral of quite modern form into a date that purported to be of the sixteenth century.

Finally, a few words as regards the general subject of the present position of Indian palæography. The departments of Indian research are numerous; and each one is a complete

¹ See p. 56 of Capt. Carr's book.

study in itself. My special aim has always been to edit as many records as possible, and to write up from them, and from records edited by others, such branches of the history as have engaged my interest. In the palæographic line, I have been satisfied to be able to determine for myself the age and reliability of any documents with which I might be concerned, and have been content to leave to others the systematic prosecution of that line of research. But I have also sought to help it on as far as possible, by means of the lithographs that were issued with my own articles, or that were prepared under my direction to accompany articles written by others. When, however, the science of Indian epigraphy and palæography was not very far advanced, it was thought more important to publish clear and easily legible lithographs, than to give facsimiles which an unpractised eye might find it difficult to deal with because of their including all the imperfections of the originals due to damage and decay. And that procedure necessitated a considerable amount of touching up by hand, either of the originals, or of the impressions of them, or of the proofs. The mistakes that may be made, in such a process, are well illustrated by the evolution of a cursive *kh*, from the old square *kh* of the original, in the lithograph, which was prepared in 1878 more or less under my own direction, of a record of A.D. 694,¹ and by the introduction into Mr. Rice's lithograph of the Âtakûr inscription, simply to suit a purely imaginary reading, of a syllable which does not exist in the original at all.² The mischief of that procedure was recognised about 1882; and attention was then given to obtaining better impressions, from which there might be given, without any manipulation, mechanical facsimiles which would be absolutely faithful and reliable reproductions of typical originals. But, unfortunately, sufficient prominence was not given to the change that was then made, and to the reason for it; and the palæographic inquiry went on, without those who were concerned in it being duly informed. The palæographic line of research has been brought to a climax, for the present, by the publication of Dr. Bühler's volume. And it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the way in which he sought to attain the objects aimed at in it. But it must be remarked that, great as has been the loss that we have sustained, in every line, through his sudden and premature death, it is peculiarly calamitous that he should have passed away just when so important a book had been issued by him and before it had been subjected to criticism which he himself could have attended to. The Tables of his volume are, unluckily, largely based on the manipulated reproductions that were issued in accordance with the earlier practice. And, moreover, the details of them were by no means all selected and arranged by him. For these reasons, and for others which a study of the work will disclose, we can only receive with great caution the Tables, and some of the results based on them, put forward in his book. And we must hope that someone else will be forthcoming, to carry one stage further the inquiry that he brought so far.

* * * * *

I have to add a few words, by way of correction of views previously expressed by me, on the subject of the invention of the fictitious genealogy that is presented in the spurious grants.

In 1894 I suggested³ that it was devised by the Western Gāṅgas themselves, in imitation of the Purāṇic genealogies of other families,—that it was started in the time of Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha II.,—and that the Lakshmēshwar inscription, dated A.D. 968-69 and purporting to be of his time, seemed to represent the beginning of it in a rudimentary form, and to fix very closely the time when it was invented.

I have, in the first place, to withdraw the Lakshmēshwar inscription as a basis for any such suggestion. This record⁴ is on a stone tablet which contains, after it, records that

¹ See above, Vol. V. p. 155, note 8.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 172.

³ See page 52 above, note 4.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101.

purport to be of the time of Satyāśraya-(Pulakēśin II.) and the Sēndra prince Durgasakti (not dated), and of Vikramāditya II. (dated A.D. 735). And another stone tablet at the same place¹ contains a record of Vijayāditya (dated A.D. 723), followed by other records of the same king (dated A.D. 730), of Gaṅgakandarpa-(Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.) (dated, again, A.D. 968-69), and of Vinayāditya (dated A.D. 687). These records, though bearing such very different dates, are all in characters of one and the same period, and were all put on the stones at one and the same time. When I dealt with them,—more than twenty years ago,—I believed, and said, that they are in characters of the tenth century A.D.; that is to say, I took them as having been put on the stones in the recorded year A.D. 968-69, in the time of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. And I too carelessly endorsed that belief in 1894,² without examining impressions of them again. That belief was wrong. The characters are of an appreciably later date, and are fairly referable to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. And there is no doubt that these records were put on the stones in connection with the rebuilding of the Jain temples and the restoration of their endowments under the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, after the end of the Chōla occupation, and for the purpose of what Sir Walter Elliot has called “the unification of the titles.”³ As regards the historical value of them,—it is obvious that the Chalukya records are, at the best, only copies of originals, to be taken for what they may be worth; and, for the present, we need only remark that, with the exception of the record of Satyāśraya-(Pulakēśin II.) and the Sēndra prince Durgasakti, they are plainly based, more or less directly, on original charters which were deciphered intelligently,—that they are questionable, as dishonest records, only in so far as the writers of them may have substituted names of villages and grantees, to suit their own purposes, for other names standing in the originals,—and that, apparently, the only specially important item in them is the mention of the name Pūjyapāda, as that of the teacher of the alleged grantee, in the record of A.D. 730.⁴ As regards the Gaṅga records,—they are questionable in the same way, as dishonest records, in so far as they may put forward fraudulent claims to property. The one that has been edited in full, includes the first three steps of the fictitious pedigree; and, therefore, it was based, in that portion, either on a spurious record, or on a draft of which the ultimate origin is to be traced to the spurious records. But that fact does not make it itself necessarily a dishonest record; because, by the time when it was put on the stone, the fictitious pedigree had evidently become an accepted story, liable to be quoted in even *bonâ fide* records. Even as regards the fictitious pedigree, it makes a mistake, in representing Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. as the younger brother of the imaginary Harivarman of the third generation. This, however, is a detail, of no real importance, which may be accounted for in any way that may seem appropriate. And the only item of special interest, that can be found in the record at present, is the mention of a Jain temple called Mukkaravasati.⁵ The important point, for the present, is, that this record was put on the stone about a century later than the date recorded in it, which is a date that fell during the period of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., and that, consequently, it does not place in the time of that prince the first attempt to devise the fictitious pedigree.

In the second place, when I formed the conclusions that I presented in 1894, we knew of but very few Western Gaṅga records, beyond these Lakshmēshwar inscriptions and the spurious

¹ Noticed, but not edited in full, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 111.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 172, note 4.

³ *Coins of Southern India*, p. 114.

⁴ The possible bearing of this is too complicated a matter to be gone into on the present occasion.

⁵ It is mentioned, incidentally, among the boundaries of one of the properties claimed by the record. The mention of it suggests that, at some time before the eleventh century, there was a person named Mukkara, by whom the temple was founded, or after whom it was named. All else that can be said, is, that, if there was such a person, he may have been a Gaṅga—(which, however, the record does not assert),—or he may have belonged to any other family, and that it is highly probable that he was the person from whom there was evolved the imaginary Mokkara, or Mushkara, the alleged grandfather of Sivamāra I., of the spurious grants.

copper-plate grants from Sûḍi and Mysore. Since then, Mr. Rice has given us, in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vols. III. and IV., about a hundred records on stone, from Mysore, which he has referred to the Gaṅga period, and nearly all of which are genuine and have been properly so referred. And we have further, in the way of genuine records, the Vallimalai inscription of Rājamalla grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, from the North Arcot district,—the Biliūr, Peggu-ūr, and Kōtūr inscriptions, from Coorg,—the Bēgūr inscription of Ereyappa and the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II., from Mysore,—and, from the Dhārwar district, the Adaraguñchi and Guṇḍūr inscriptions of the same prince and the Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975. Neither anywhere in the whole of this mass of genuine materials, nor in any other such record known to me, is there the slightest allusion to, or hint of, the fictitious genealogy, anterior to Śivamāra I., that is presented in the spurious records. And it is now plain that that genealogy was not claimed by Śivamāra I. and his descendants, but was simply evolved by the persons who fabricated the forged grants, in concocting the necessary pseudo-historical portions of their spurious title-deeds.

The general subject of Purāṇic genealogies will be an interesting topic for examination on some future occasion. Meanwhile, in respect of such of the great families of Southern India as can be traced back to before A.D. 1000, the position is as follows. The earliest such genealogy that we meet with, in any but a merely allusive and rudimentary form, is that of the Pallavas of Kāñchī; and it appears first in the Kūram grant of the second half of the seventh century A.D.¹ We meet next, as a matter of certainty, with that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, in the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915.² And that of the Yādavas of the Sēuṇa country, from whom sprang the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, is first found in the Saṅgamnēr grant of A.D. 1006.³ As a matter of certainty, the Purāṇic genealogy of the Chōḷas is first met with in the so-called Leiden grant of A.D. 1019 or 1020;⁴ but it would be carried back, in somewhat different forms, to the period A.D. 900 to 940, if a fragmentary grant of Vīra-Chōḷa from Udayēndiram⁵ is a genuine original record and is referable to the time of Parāntaka I.,⁶—and to the year A.D. 915, if the Udayēndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II., dated in the fifteenth year of Parāntaka I.,⁷ is, again, a genuine original record actually drawn up in that year.⁸ The full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Chalukyas are first met with in a record of the eastern branch, the Korumelli grant of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.⁹ And the Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara are first found in a grant that bears the date of A.D. 1118-19.¹⁰ These are the dates at which, as far as our information goes at present, the genealogies are first met with. But, obviously, each of the genealogies had been selected, thought over, and elaborated, at a time appreciably earlier than that at which we first come across it. The earliest of them was that of the Pallavas. It was, probably, a discovery of it, in some ancient record, that set the fashion which became so general. And all the historical considerations point to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. and to the tenth century, as the period during which the other early great families of Southern India applied themselves to putting forward, or in some cases elaborating, claims to descent from the Lunar and Solar Races, and to working up their own traditions so as to establish presentable historical connections with those races.

In the way of fictitious pedigrees of a pretended historical kind, without Purāṇic introductions, we have an instance in that of the Kādambas of Hāṅgal,—from the name of

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 144.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 261, 267.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

⁴ See, provisionally, *Archæol. Surv. South-Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 204.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 79.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 375.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48.

⁶ See Dr. Hultzsch's remarks, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

⁸ See page 65 above, note 4.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 165.

Mayûravarma I. to that of Âdityavarman,— which is put forward in the Kargudari inscription of A.D. 1108.¹ The alleged genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâḍ, as presented in the spurious records, is a genealogy of this same kind, without a Purâṇic introduction. A Purâṇic introduction was eventually prefixed to it. And, as far as is disclosed at present, in genuine records,— that is to say, in records which contain all that fabulous matter, but put it forward *bonâ fide*, as a story that had come to be really believed, and without using it fraudulently,— the fictitious historical pedigree and the Purâṇic introduction, both together, first appear in records of the eleventh century A.D. at 'Purale,' Humcha, and 'Kallur Gudda' in Mysore.² The Purâṇic introduction seems to have been invented in that century. We shall consider, on another occasion, the period to which the inception of the fictitious historical pedigree may be carried back.

POSTSCRIPT.

I subjoin a few supplementary remarks which suggested themselves after this paper had gone into pages.

Page 53, text line 3, and note 7. The reading *a[nka]-Tri[nē]tran* may be accepted; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III., in a note on the appellations of the Râshtrakûṭa king, which will be given in a subsequent article in this volume.

Page 57, note 8. Another instance of the occurrence of *aṅkakâḍa* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name, is Chaladaṅkakâḍa, "the champion of firmness of character," in the case of the Râshtrakûṭa prince Indra IV. (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57, verses 5, 6).

Page 71, line 24. The date of A.D. 953 for Bûtuga II. is supplied by an inscription at Chînchli in the Gadag tâluka; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III. in the place referred to above.

Page 72, line 2. It may be added that the killing of Pañchala in battle at the command of Nûrmaḍi-Taila II. is attributed to the *Muhâmaṇḍalêśvara* Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêva or Bhûtiga, whose descendant Barma was governing the Lôkâpura twelve and other circles, at Toragal, in A.D. 1187, in the time of Sômêśvara IV.; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 96, text lines 4 to 6 (the verse has not been well translated). I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn for drawing my attention to this reference.

No. 7.— THE DATE OF THE KOTTAYAM (SYRIAN CHRISTIANS') PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

After a careful examination of the Grantha letters in the Kôṭṭayam plate of Vîra-Râghava, above, Vol. IV. page 293, Mr. Venkayya has intimated that, on palæographical grounds, Vîra-Râghava's grant may be assigned to about the 13th or 14th century A.D. Convinced of the general correctness of Mr. Venkayya's conclusion, I have examined the date of the grant for the four hundred years from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500, and am enabled to state that during that period³ there is only a single day for which the date is absolutely correct, *viz.* Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1320.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 249; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 559, 560.

² See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.; also, his Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, which gives the date of the Humcha record as Śaka-Samvat 999 (expired), = A.D. 1077-78.

³ For the same period of years I have calculated the date of the Tiruppâvanam plates of the Pâṇḍya Jâtavarman *alias* Kulasêkharadêva, from the data furnished by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288, with the result that the only day between A.D. 1100 and 1500 which satisfies all the requirements of the date, is Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214. I may have an opportunity to treat more fully of this date on another occasion.

The *data* furnished by the original date are—"the day of (the *nakshatra*) *Rôhîṇī*, a **Saturday** on which passed¹ (the day) twenty-one (of) the month of *Mina*, (when) Jupiter (was in) **Makara**."

In Śaka-Samvat 1241 expired=A.D. 1319-20 the *Mina*-samkrānti by the Ārya-siddhānta took place 3 hours 22 minutes after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th February A.D. 1320, which therefore was the first day of the month of *Mina*. Accordingly, the 21st day of the month of *Mina* was **Saturday**, the 15th March A.D. 1320. On this day (which was the 5th of the bright half of Chaitra) the moon was in the *nakshatra* *Rôhîṇī* during the whole of the day, and the true longitude of Jupiter by the Ārya-siddhānta was $9^{\circ} 1^{\circ} 14'$, i.e. Jupiter was in the 10th sign **Makara**.

I may add that in the period from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500 there are two other Saturdays, 95 years before and 95 years² after the 15th March A.D. 1320, either of which answers two of the other requirements of the original date, but not all of them. They are:—

Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1225, which was the 21st day of the month of *Mina*, and on which the *nakshatra* was *Rôhîṇī*, while the true longitude of Jupiter was only $8^{\circ} 27^{\circ} 58'$; and—

Saturday, the 16th March A.D. 1415, when the *nakshatra* was *Rôhîṇī*, and the true longitude of Jupiter $9^{\circ} 4^{\circ} 28'$, but which was the 20th day of the month of *Mina*.

I venture to hope that the results of Mr. Venkayya's examination of the plate and of my own calculations will be considered to render it extremely probable that Vīra-Rāghava's grant was made in A.D. 1320, and not in either A.D. 775 or so strangely early a year as A.D. 230.³

No. 8.—MAYIDAVOLU PLATES OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; DRESDEN.

These copper-plates were found about the middle of 1899 by a man who was digging the soil of a field in the *pāḍu* or abandoned village north of **Mayidavôlu**. The *pāḍu* is about four acres in extent and contains the ruins of a small old temple. **Mayidavôlu**⁴ is a small village 12 miles east of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, the head-quarters of a *tāluka* of the *Kistna* district. As good luck would have it, the find of the plates came to the notice of that zealous antiquarian, Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L., to whom epigraphy is already indebted for the *Chikkulla* plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 193) and the *Tottaramūḍi* plates (*ibid.* p. 318). He forwarded the plates to Mr. Venkayya, who sent me three sets of ink-impressions and the following description of the original:—"Eight plates and fifteen sides. The length of the plates varies from $6\frac{1}{2}"$ to $7"$. As regards the breadth, the plates are slightly narrower in the middle than at the ends; the average may be taken as $2\frac{1}{4}"$. The plates were held together by a ring which is $3\frac{1}{4}"$ in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}"$ thick; it has been cut by me before taking the impressions. The ends of the ring are secured in an elliptical seal which measures very nearly $1\frac{1}{2}" \times 1\frac{1}{4}"$. The seal bears in relief an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a bull, as it has a hump on its back—and

¹ I owe a literal translation of the date to Dr. Hultzsch.

² The same number of years (or, more accurately, the number of 34699 days) intervenes between the two days in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. which would answer all the requirements of the date, viz. Saturday, the 10th March A.D. 680, and Saturday, the 11th March A.D. 775.

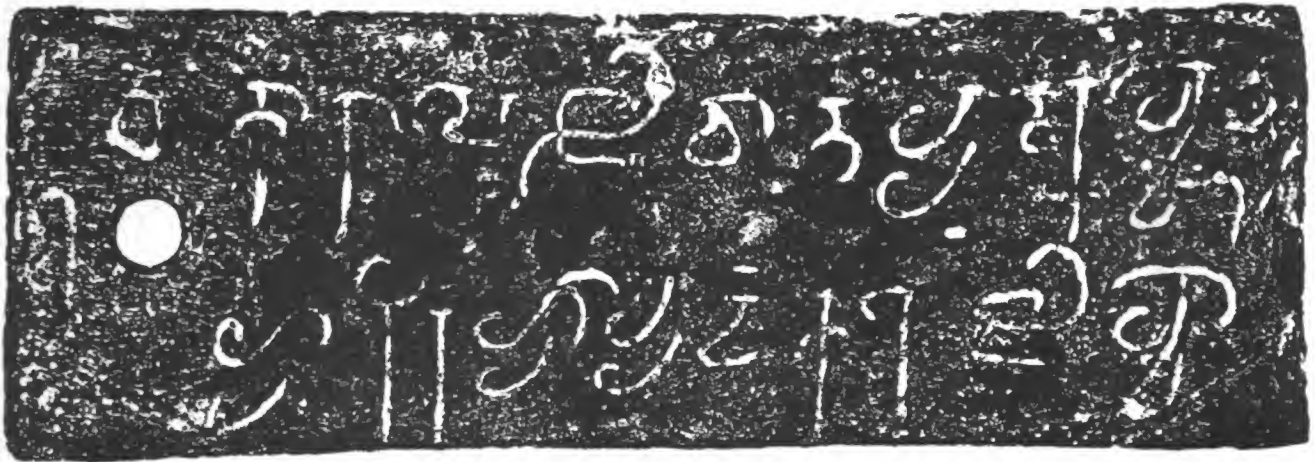
³ See above, Vol. IV. p. 292, note 7. So far as I can see, the astronomical calculations of Mr. Kookel Keloo Nair were not quite correct. Saturday, the 6th March A.D. 280, was the 21st day of *Mina* and the *nakshatra* for part of the day was *Rôhîṇī*; but Jupiter was in the sign *Kumbha*, not in *Makara*.—I do not venture to hope that we ever shall find in an inscription a date of the third century A.D. that would admit of exact verification.

⁴ See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 72.

Mayidavolu Plates of Sivaskandavarman.

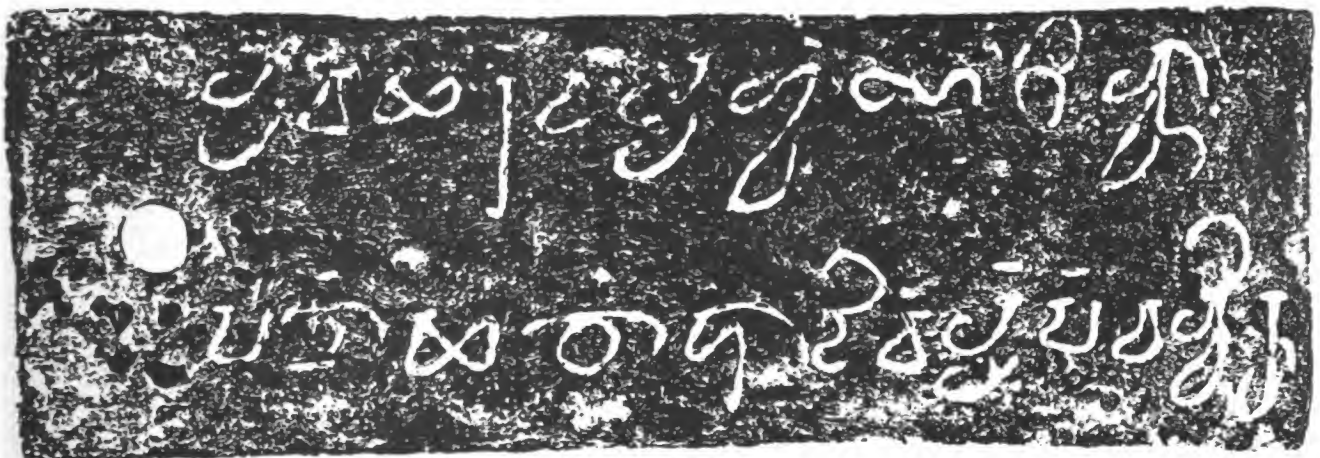
vii a.

24



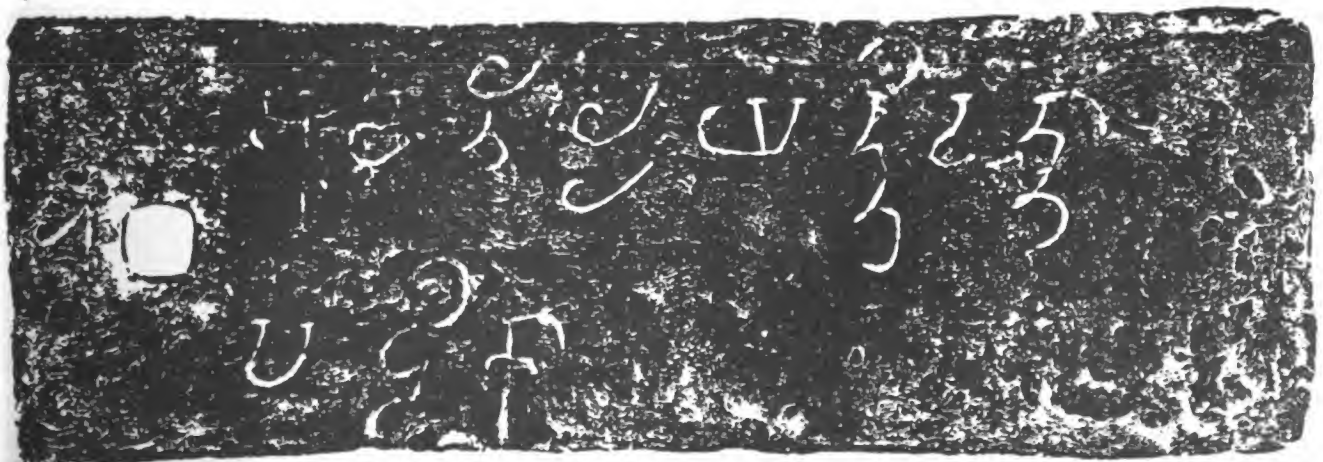
vii b.

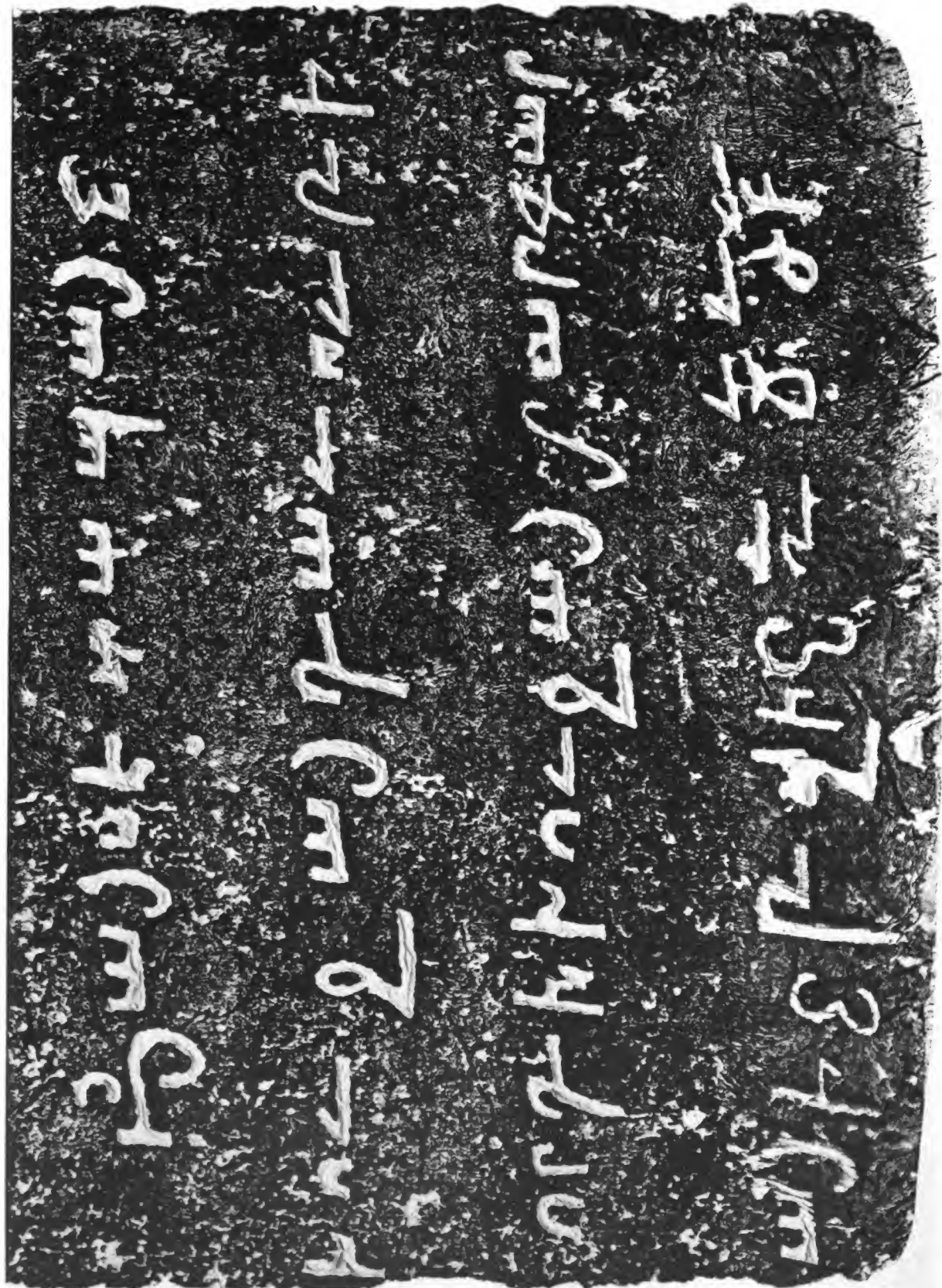
26



viii.

28





Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

SCALE · 36.

E. HULTSCH.

(L. 25.) The tenth—10th—year, the sixth—8th—fortnight of summer, the fifth—5th—lunar day.

(L. 27.) The executor (*djñapti*) (was) myself. Accordingly (*this*) set of plates (*paṭṭikā*) has been given (*to the donees*).

NO. 9.—THE ARMENIAN EPITAPH AT THE LITTLE MOUNT.

By FATHER VARTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA.

Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol. I. page 175 f.) contain a short, but excellent description of the three sites on the south of the city of Madras which are connected with the legend of St. Thomas. These are—the village of St. Thomé, which claims to possess the apostle's grave; the Little Mount, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom; and St. Thomas's Mount, the church on the top of which contains the famous inscribed cross.¹ The church at the Little Mount is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears a cross and, below it, the subjoined Armenian epitaph. The stone lately attracted the attention of His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Madras. At his instance Dr. Hultzsch sent inked estampages of the inscription to Professor H. Hübschmann, of Strassburg, who was the first to decipher it. It is dated in the year 1112 (of the Armenian patriarch Moses), i.e. A.D. 1663, and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant, named David, the son of Margaré.

TEXT.²

1 Hais³ è tapayn⁴

2 Khujay Davuthi⁵

3 ordi Khujay Margar-

4 ayin⁶ thvin⁷ r oh zh b.

TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of Khoja⁸ David, the son of Khoja Margaré.⁹ In the year 1112.

NO. 10.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF VIRABALLALA II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 1114.

By H. LÜDEES, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a stone standing up against the back wall of the temple of Trikuṭṭā-svara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag tāluka in the Dhārwar district of the Bombay

¹ See above, Vol. IV. p. 174 ff.

² As read by Professor Hübschmann from the inked estampages.

³ This is a cockneyism for Old-Armenian *ais*, 'this,' which has become *as* in New-Armenian.—H. H.

⁴ Read *tapayn*.—H. H.

⁵ In Old-Armenian this would be *Davithi*, the genitive of *Davith*. The form *Davuth* seems to be due to the influence of *Dā'id*, the Arabic form of the name 'David.'—H. H.

⁶ Dr. Karst considers *Margaray* to be the genitive of *Margaré*; and *n* is the definite article.

Instead of *thvin*, 'of the year,' we ought to have *ithvin*, with the locative prefix *i*.

⁷ This is the Persian *خواجه*, 'a lord, master,' a title generally applied to preceptors and merchants.

⁸ This name is identical with the Armenian word *margaré*, 'a prophet.'

Presidency. An abstract of its contents was given by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 321 f. The text was first published, together with a translation, by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. p. 298 ff.; and a very small photograph of it is given in P.S.O.C.I. No. 98. I now re-edit it from Dr. Fleet's excellent impression, made over to me by Prof. Kielhorn.

The inscription contains 56 lines of writing which covers a space of about 3' broad by 4' 6" high, and is throughout in an extremely good state of preservation. At the top of the stone are some sculptures:—In the centre a man worshipping a *liṅga* with a head lying on a *yōni*;¹ to the left a figure of Gaṇapati, beyond which is a figure of Śiva's bull Nandin; to the right a figure of a Śakti, beyond which are a cow with a calf and a crooked knife.—The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{8}$ ".—The alphabet is Old-Kanarese. In the first and third lines some of the letters are drawn out into ornamental flourishes.—The language is Sanskrit. In lines 6 and 32 we have the Kanarese words *hoy* and *malaparolgaṇḍa*. The main portion of the text is in verse; only lines 31-33 and 41-46, speaking generally, are in prose, and besides a few words in lines 1, 36, 37 and 39, and the introductory remarks to the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 46, 47, 48, 49 and 53.—As regards orthography, the groups *ddh* and *bbh* are generally spelt *dhdh* and *bhbh*, the only exceptions being *Vishṇuvarddhana* in l. 8 and *pātayād= dharttā* in l. 51; and *b* is written instead of *v* before a consonant in *brati* in l. 5 and *kābya* in l. 37.

The inscription, which records a grant of land by the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II., contains a number of historical references which have been dealt with already by Dr. Fleet in his account of the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. The following remarks are therefore chiefly based on Dr. Fleet's discussions.

Opening with two verses invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and praising the king, the inscription gives in verses 3-7 the well known legendary account of the origin of the Hoysalas. They claimed to belong to the lineage of Yadu; in this race there was a king called Saḷa, 'who, changing the name of the family, caused Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten.' Once there lived at Śaśakapura an ascetic who, while engaged in performing his rites, was attacked by a tiger. He called Saḷa for assistance with the words: *Hoy Saḷa*, 'Slay, O Saḷa.' Saḷa killed the tiger, and thus acquired for himself and his descendants the name of Hoysala and a tiger as emblem of their banner. Śaśakapura or Śaśapura seems to have been the seat of the first rulers of the dynasty.² In inscriptions incised in Śaka 1060 and 1106³ Vinayāditya, the first historical king, is represented as ruling at Sosavūru, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, as the passages containing it were evidently taken from older records. Mr. Rice⁴ is undoubtedly right in identifying Sosavūru with Śaśapura, but his identification of Śaśapura with the modern Aṅgaḍi in the Mūdgere tāluka of the Kaḍūr district, Mysore,⁵ does not seem to be well founded.

The inscription then turns to the historical genealogy of the family. After other kings, Vinayāditya became king (v. 8). His son was Ereyāṅga (v. 9), who again had three sons, Ballāla, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya (v. 10). Nothing beyond the name is recorded

¹ Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 298, speaks of 'three heads on an altar,' but the drawing accompanying the impression shows one only.

² Probably already in the time of Ballāla I., and certainly in the time of Viṣṇuvardhana, the capital was Vālāpura, the modern Bālūr, whence during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana the seat of government was shifted to Dōrasamudra, the modern Halēbid; compare Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 491.

³ *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 208; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329, where the name of the town is given as Sosulya. *Ibid.* p. 260, Vinayāditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura.

⁴ *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. *Introd.*, p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.* Part I. *Introd.*, p. 18; Part II. *Introd.*, p. 18.

of Udayāditya, the inscription speaking in the following verses only of the elder two brothers, of whom, after some general praise (v. 11), it is said (v. 12, 13) that, 'when the elder of them,¹ the mighty one, who attacked Jagaddēva, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold (sovereignty), had ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishṇuvardhana, reigned for a long time.' In other records the defeat of Jagaddēva is attributed to Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana. In an inscription at Bêlūr² and in another at Hosakôte³ Vishṇuvardhana is called 'a Bhairava in destroying (or conquering) the armies of Jagaddēva,' and in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa⁴ he is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālava, Jagaddēva, and others, sent by the emperor (*chakrin*). The discrepancy between these statements is removed by an inscription at Lālanakere,⁵ where it is said that at Dōrasamudra the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu and Udayāditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddēva and captured his treasury. The joint victory of the three brothers over Jagaddēva must therefore have occurred before A.D. 1118, the earliest reliable date, as far as I know, for Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana.⁶ As to Jagaddēva, the term *saptāṅga* used of his kingdom in the present inscription would seem to indicate, at first sight, that he was an independent ruler; but it is apparently only a hyperbolical phrase, as the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription leaves no doubt that he was a feudatory of some emperor who can only be the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.⁷ I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet, who looks upon Jagaddēva as identical with the Śāntara prince Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddēva of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura⁸ who, according to the Baḷagāmve inscription,⁹ was ruling as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Jagadēkamalla II. at Sêtavina-bīḍu in A.D. 1149, and who, according to an inscription at Anamkoṇḍ,¹⁰ after the defeat of Taila III., laid siege to the fortress of Anumakoṇḍa. The latter event must have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1163. There would thus lie an interval of at least 32 years, but probably a much longer time, between the Jagaddēva of the Hoysala records and that of the Chālukya and Kākatīya inscriptions, so that, if the identification should prove correct, Jagaddēva must have enjoyed a considerably long reign.

The next verses (14-17) speak of the conquests and pious gifts of Vishṇuvardhana, 'who, having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, in order to have a kingdom of his own, invaded Uchchaṅgi¹¹ and other territories belonging to his enemies; who, invading the whole country from his own abode to Belvola, bathed his horse in the Krishnavērṇa; who is again and again reminded by his servants whenever they wait upon him: 'Know the Hoysala alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for king Paramardidēva.'¹² The

¹ I take *tatra* in the sense of *tyāgh*, and the two verses as forming one sentence.

² *Mysore Inscr.* p. 263.

³ *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 36.

⁴ *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 138, p. 107. This inscription gives only the direct line of descendants, omitting Ballāla I. and Udayāditya altogether.

⁵ *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. p. 200.

⁶ *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 59, p. 57; compare *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part I. p. 120, and *Mysore Inscr.* p. 265. Mr. Rice says (*Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. *Introd.*, p. 19) that Ballāla I. died in A.D. 1104, but I do not know his authority for this statement.

⁷ Vikramāditya, it is true, did not bear the title *chakravartin*, but his three successors, Sômesvara III., Jagadēkamalla II. and Taila III., styled themselves, respectively, *Sarvajñachakravartin*, *Pratāpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin*, and it is therefore quite intelligible that in a record written in Śaka 1081 this title should have been conferred on Vikramāditya also.

⁸ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 494.

⁹ *Mysore Inscr.* p. 97 ff.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 13.

¹¹ Regarding this place see the note by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 285.

¹² Different translations have been proposed for this verse by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 497, and Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 87. The version given above differs from that of Dr. Bhandarkar especially as regards the word *pratyupachāram*.

warlike exploits of Vishnuvardhana need not be discussed here, as they have been treated at great length by Dr. Fleet, who also was the first to identify king Paramardidēva with the Western Chālukya king Permādi-Vikramāditya VI., the feudal lord of Vishnuvardhana.

Vishnuvardhana's son and successor was **Narasimha**, who married the noble **Ēchaladēvi** (vv. 18, 19). Their son was **Vira-Ballāla II.** to whom the rest of the eulogy (vv. 20-36) is devoted. He is said (v. 20) to have acquired the kingdom by worshipping Vajrēśvara. This term seems to refer to Indra; but, as *vajra* is occasionally used also with reference to the *chakra* of Vishṇu,¹ Vajrēśvara may possibly be meant here for Vishṇu. At any rate it is stated in another record² that he had gained the empire by being the favourite of Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa, and in the present inscription also he is represented as an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu (v. 24). After a series of laudatory verses (20-33) and the general statement that the Aṅgas, Kaṭṭṅas, Vaṅgas, Magadhas, Chōlas, Mālavas, Pāṇdyas, Kēraḷas and Gūrjaras were in fear of him (v. 34), the inscription gives in verses 35 and 36 a more detailed account of two of Ballāla's campaigns: 'And by force, he, the strong one,³ defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general Brahman whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless⁴ elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kaṭṭachuris. And cutting off Jaitrasimha who was, as it were, the right arm of that Bhillama, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of Kuntala.'

The general Brahman mentioned in the former verse was the councillor and general of the last Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. His name occurs in several Chālukya records from A.D. 1184-85 to 1186-87,⁵ and in one of them he is called 'a fire of death to the Kaṭṭachuryas. Like his father Kāma or Kāvaṇa, he had originally been in the service of the Kaṭṭachuryas. Kāvaṇa is mentioned as the *daṇḍanāyaka* of king Saṅkama in a Harihar inscription, and again as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of that king in a Baḷagāmve inscription of A.D. 1179, and as the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Āhavamalla in a Baḷagāmve inscription of A.D. 1181.⁶ And Brahman himself is called the *mahāpradhāna*, *sēnādhipati* and *daṇḍanāyaka* of king Sōvidēva in a record of A. D. 1175. The reason for his rebellion is given in our inscription in the words '*nyakkārēṇa pītuh.*' Dr. Fleet renders them 'in contempt of his father,' but I doubt that the words admit of such an interpretation. I can only translate them as I have done above, and, considering that the records make it highly probable that Kāvaṇa was still alive when Brahman revolted against his sovereign, I see no difficulty in assuming that the account of the motives of Brahman as given in our inscription is correct. As to Jaitrasimha, by whose conquest Ballāla is said to have acquired Kuntala or the southern Marāṭhā country, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the Jaitasimha mentioned as the minister of the Yādava king Bhillama in the Gadag inscription of Śaka 1113.⁷ On the other hand, I see no cogent reason why this Jaitrasimha should be identified with Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla.⁸ The names, it is true, are similar, but if Jaitrasimha had been Bhillama's son, one should certainly expect that

¹ See e. g. *Mysore Inscr.* p. 152.

² *Ibid.* p. 266.

³ *Bhujabhrit* seems to be an equivalent of *bhujabala*, and is apparently used here in allusion to Ballāla's *biruda* Bhujabala, just as *etra* is used in the next verse.

⁴ For *tūbara* the dictionaries give the meanings 'a bull without horns; a beardless man; a eunuch;' here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *daṇṭin*, the tusked elephant. A revised translation of the verse was given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464. I differ from him only with regard to the words *nyakkārēṇa pītuh.*

⁵ For this and the following dates see Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464.

⁶ *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. III. p. 217 ff.

⁸ See especially Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 106.

this relationship of the two had been hinted at either in the present or in the Gadag inscription referred to above.

Lines 31 ff. then record that the *Pratāpachakravartin*, the glorious **Vira-Ballāḍadeva**, who was adorned with such titles as 'the refuge of the whole world, the illustrious favourite of the earth, *Māhārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the lord of the excellent city of *Dvārāvati*, the sun in the sky of the Yādava family, who has perfection as his crest-jewel, the destroyer of the Malapas, who is fierce in war, a hero even without anybody to help him, who is brave even when alone, who has success even on a Saturday, the conqueror of hill-forts, a Rāma in war, having established his victorious camp at *Lokkiguṇḍi*,— at a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the day of the full-moon of the month *Mārgaśīrṣa* of the *Paridhāvin* year, when 1114 years¹ had elapsed of the era of the Śaka king,— after having washed the feet of the holy *āchārya* *Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitadēva*, also called *Satyavākya*, who was the disciple of *Vidyābharapadēva* and the disciple's disciple of *Sômēśvaradēva* of (the lineage of) the *āchārya* *Kālamukha*, granted out of devotion, with oblations of water, the village of *Hombāḷalu* in the *Bejvola* three-hundred, with its boundaries as known before and together with the right to hidden treasures, underground stores, water, stone, gardens, etc., together with the *tribhōga*, together with the full proprietorship of the *ashṭabhōga*, together with the right of appropriating all things such as tolls and fines, for the sake of the *aṅga*- and *raṅga-bhōga* of the Holy one, the *guru* of all moving and immoveable things, the holy god *Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara*, for the sake of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, etc., for the sake of providing for instruction, and for the sake of feeding, etc., ascetics, *Brāhmaṇas* and others, making it a *sarvanamasya* grant not to be pointed at with the finger by the king or the king's officials.

Inserted into this portion of the text are eleven verses (37-47) glorifying the god Śiva *Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara* at *Kratuka* and the chief priest (*sthānāchārya*) of his shrine, the said *Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitadēva*, called also *Satyavākya*, of the lineage of the *āchārya* *Kālamukha*. Among the verses in praise of the latter, special interest is attached to verse 39, where the *Paṇḍit* is called the living *līṅga* by whom the god who is the lord of the three peaks (*Trikūṭēśvara*) by his three stationary *līṅgas*, in the opinion of people became at the same time a lord of four peaks (*chatuṣhkūṭēśvara*). This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva in the form of a *līṅga* descended upon the three mountains *Kālēśvara*, *Śrīśaila* and *Bhīmēśvara*, and that these three *līṅgas* marked the boundaries of the country which was in consequence called the *Trilīṅga*, *Teliṅga* or *Telugu* country.²

The members of the Śaiva school of *Kālamukha* seem to have enjoyed considerable local fame. They were originally established at *Baḷagāṁve*, where a quarter of the town was called after them the *Kālamukha Brahmachārin* quarter.³ The numerous records at *Baḷagāṁve*,⁴ together with the present inscription, the Gadag inscription mentioned above, and another Gadag inscription of the time of *Vira-Ballāḍa II.*,⁵ furnish the following line of *āchāryas*,⁶ all of whom

¹ The date is expressed both in words and in figures.

² Arden, *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, p. 1, [and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 note 13].

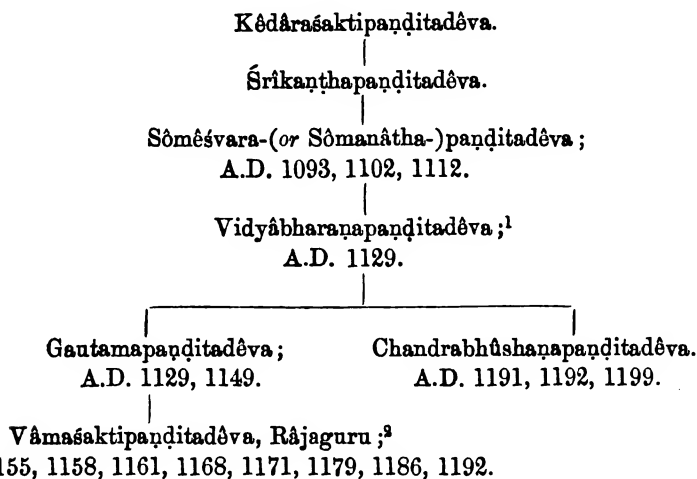
³ *Mysore Inscr.* p. 147, [and above, Vol. V. pp. 220 to 226].

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 74, 77 f., 80 f., 85 f., 87, 91, 92, 95 f., 99, 101 f., 105 f., 111, 160, 174.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 155 f. The last two inscriptions record grants in favour of the same temple as the present one.

⁶ Another branch of the lineage of *Kālamukha Chakravartimuni* at *Baḷagāṁve* is mentioned *loc. cit.* p. 172.

from Sômesvara onwards, with exception, of course, of Chandrabhûshana, were in the service of the temple of Dakshina-Kêdârêsvara at Balagâmve :



Lines 46 ff. contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with the statement that, by order of king Ballâladêva, the *śâsana* was composed by Agniśarman, an emperor among the learned.

The date of our inscription corresponds, as shown by Prof. Kielhorn, to Saturday, the 21st November A.D. 1192, when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India, commencing 0 h. 18 m. before mean sunrise.

Of the localities mentioned, Kratuka is the modern Gadag itself; Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkunḍi, 5 miles east-south-east of Gadag; and the village of Hombâḷalu, the modern Hombal, 7½ miles north-west of Gadag.

TEXT.³

- 1 Svasti ☉ Trailôkyam pâlyatê yêna sadayam sat[t*]va-vṛittinâ | sa dêvô Yandu-sârdḍûlâḥ Śrī-patiḥ śrêyasê ṣstu vaḥ || [1*]
- 2 Dêvaḥ samasta-sâmanṭa-mastaka-nyasta-śâsanah | â-chandr-ârkkam nṛipaḥ pâyâd-bhuvam=ambhōdhi-mêkhaḷâm || [2*]
- 3 Âsīt=kshitau kshatriya-puṁgavânâm⁴ śirô-maṇiḥ śrī-Yadu-nâmadhêyaḥ | yad-anvavâyê sa Harir=dhḍha(ddha)ritrī-bhâr-âvatâr-ârttham=ajô=pi jâtaḥ || [3*] Tad-anvavâyê
- 4 bahavô babhûvur=bhbhu(bbhu)j-ôdbhavâ viśruta-kīrtti-bhâjaḥ | ady=âpi lôkê charit-âdbhutâni yêshâm purâṇêshu paṭhamti samtaḥ || [4*] Kâla-kramêṇ=âtha babhûva kaśchin=mahī-
- 5 patis=tatra Saḷ-âbhidhânaḥ | kulasya kṛitvâ vyapadêśam=anyam vismâritô yêna Yadus=tad-âdyah || [5*] Kên=âpi bra(vra)ti-patinâ sva-dêvakâryyê sârdḍûlam grasitum=upâgataṁ ni-
- 6 hantum | âdishtaḥ Śâsakapurê sa hoy=Saḷ=êti prâpat=taṁ kiḷa vinihatya Hoysaḷ-âkhyâm || [6*] Tataḥ-prabhṛiti tad-vamśê pravṛittam Hoysaḷ-âkhyayâ | sârdḍûlâś=cha dhvaja-

¹ Vidyâbharana is once called the younger brother of Sômesvara; *ibid.* p. 91.

² A pupil of Vâmasakti was probably Svâmidêva or Sâvidêva, of whom in an inscription at Balagâmve dated in A.D. 1181 it is said that 'his head was marked by the lotus hands of the excellent *muni* Vâmasaktiśa, the Śiva seer;' compare *ibid.* p. 119.

³ From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

⁴ The second *anuvâda* of this word has been drawn out by the engraver into an ornamental figure.

- 7 sy=āsīd=amkaḥ śatru-bhayaṁkaraḥ || [7*] Aparēshu cha tad-rājyaṁ bhuktavatsv=atha rājasu | Vinayāditya ity=āsīt=kramaśaḥ prithivīpatiḥ || [8*] Eṇeyamg-ābhīdhānō śbhūn=nṛpati-
- 8 s=tasya ch=ātmajaḥ | guṇair=ananya-sāmānyaiḥ prakhyātaḥ prithivī-talē || [9*] Atha tasy=āpi Ballāla-Vishṇuvarddhana-nāmakau | abhūtām=ātmajanmānāv=Udayāditya-
- 9 paśchimaḥ || [10*] Tējasvinaḥ bhūta-hita-pravṛttau lōka-pūjitaḥ | yāv=abhāsayatām viśvaṁ sūryā-chaṁdrasāva=iva || [11*] Rapa-sīrasi yēna balinā gajapatim=ākramya nija-turamgēṇa [1*]
- 10 viupātya Jagaddēvaṁ sapt-ā[m*]gaṁ tasya ch=āpahṛitam || [12*] Tatr=āgrajē nijam rājyaṁ=upabhuktavati kramāt | anujō=pi chiram rājyaṁ bubhujē Vishṇuvarddhana(rddha)naḥ || [13*] Yō dēśam=agrahā-
- 11 rīkṛitya samastam nijam sva-rājy-ārttham | āchakrām=Ōchchaṁgi-prabhṛtin=anyān=dviśad-dēśān || [14*] Ārabhya nija-nivāsād=Beḷvola-paryāntam=akṣilam=api viśayaṁ | ākramya
- 12 yēna dhautam turaga-vapuḥ Kṛishṇavērṇṇāyām || [15*] Yaḥ smāryatē niyuktaiḥ pratyupachāram nṛpēshv=asādhyatayā | Paramarddidēva-nṛpatēr=Hoyśaḥ=ava-
- 13 dhāray=ēti muhuh || [16*] Yēn=āgrahārāḥ kratavō mahā-dānāni śhōḍaśa | anyāny=api cha puṇyāni paunaḥpuṇyēna chakrīrē || [17*] Narasimha iti khyātō jāta-
- 14 s=tasy=ātmajō nṛpāḥ | yasya varṇṇayitum n=aiva śakyantē mādrisair=gguṇāḥ || [18*] Tasya Śrīr=iva Daity-ārēḥ Śaṁkarasy=ēva Pārsvatī | āsīd=Ēchaladēv=iti mahā-dēvī kul-ōdgatā || [19*]
- 15 © Tēn=āpi tasyām=atula-prabhāvē Vajrēśvar-ārādhana-labdha-rājyaḥ | jātaḥ sūtō dōr-vva(bba)la-chakravartī śrī-Vira-Ballāla iti prasīdhadha(ddha)ḥ || [20*] Mādhyasthyēn=ōnnatyā kāmchana-
- 16 vibhāvēna vibudha-sēvyatayā | yō jaṁgama iva Mēru=mmahibhṛitām=agranīr=jjagati || [21*] Śim-ātikrama-bhīrōr=atigamabhīrasya vipula-sat[t*]vasya | ratnā-
- 17 karasya yasya cha na kō=pi lakshmīvatōr=bbbhē(bbhē)daḥ || [22*] Charitam Bharat-ādīnām=api bhuvanē tāvad=ēva bōdya(dhya)m=iha | lōk-ōttarā na yāvad=dṛiśyantē yasya sādhu-gu-
- 18 ṇāḥ || [23*] Vishṇau nisargga-sidhdhā(ddhā)m bhaktim¹ yasy=ādya paśyatām pumsām | Prahrād-ādī-kathā api na vismayāya prakalpantē || [24*] Tan=na tapas=tan=n=ēśhām tan=na hutam tan=na dānam=ast=iha | a-
- 19 sakṛin=na yēna vihitam dēśē kālē cha [pā]trē cha || [25*] Strīshv=arbbbha-(rbbha)kēshu sūdrēshv=anyēshv=api yēshu kēshuchij=jagati | sō ssti na janō vidhattē yaḥ pāpam yatra śāsitarī || [26*] Shaṭ-tarkka-
- 20 kāvya-nāṭaka-Vātsyāyana-Bharata-rājanītiḥ cha | anyēshu tēshu tēshu cha śāstrēshv=akṣīlēshu yaḥ kuśalāḥ || [27*] Sarvvēshu darśanēshu cha bhuvi tārkka-chakravartīnō
- 21 yasya | n=aiv=āsti pratīvādī vādi-mada-dvirada-kēsarīṇaḥ || [28*] Sarvv-āyudh-ājīva-puraḥsarēṇa samasta-vidvaj-jana-vallabhēna | śāstrāṇi śāstrāṇi cha yēna lōkē sa-
- 22 nāthātām=adya chirād=gatāni || [29*] Yan-nāmadhēyam=api viśva-[vi]śāsinuṇām lōkē vāsīkaraṇa-karmmaṇi sidhdha(ddha)mantraḥ | tasya pragalbha-vanītā-kusumāyudhasya

¹ Originally *bhaktiḥ* had been engraved, but the lower dot of the *visarga* seems to have been effaced.

- 23 saubhāgya-varaṇṇa-vidhan katamaḥ samartthaḥ || [30*] Vishvag-vāji-khura-prahāra-
dalita-kshōṇi-tāla-prōchchhaladh-dhūṇi-dhvānta-nimṇit-ākṣiḥa-diśi¹ dvamdva-
pradōsh-āgamē | dāt-i-
- 24 v=ātipatīyasi muhur=iha svas-sundaribhiḥ samam virāṇam=abhisāraṇam vitanutē
yat-khadga-yashṭir=dvishām || [31*] Śaśvad=yat-samar-āvatāra-piśunēshv=
āhanyamā-
- 25 nēshv=itas=tūryyēshu sva-pati-praṇāsa-chakitāḥ kshubhyanty-arāti-striyaḥ | apy-
ētāḥ subhata-svayamvara-kritē mamdāra-mālām=itō hastābhyām parigrihya nāka-
- 26 vanitāḥ sajjibhavanty=ambarē || [32*] Yasmin=Hoysala-bhūmipāla-dharanī-sāmrajya-
simhāsanaḍ=ārūdhē sati matta-vāranapatēr=yyudhdhā(ddhā)ya pūrvv-āsanam |
sadya[h*] sva-
- 27 sva-kula-kram-āgata-mahī-sāmrajya-simhāsanaḍ=pratyarthi-kshitipālakair=api raṇē
valmīkam=āruhyatē² || [33*] Yasmin=dig-vijay-ārttham=udyatavati prasthāna-
bhēri-ravē
- 28 gambhīrē sphuṭam=uchoharaty=avanibhritsv=anyēshu vārtt-aiva kā [i*] dūrād=
Aṅga-Kāṇṇiṅga-Vaṅga-Magadhās=Chōlās=tathā Mālavāḥ Pāṇḍyāḥ Kēraḷa-Gūṛjjara-
prabhṛitayō=py=ujjhanti sadyō dhri-
- 29 tim || [34*] Nyakkārēṇa pituḥ śriyam Kālachuri-kshatr-ānvayāt=karshatā yēn=
aikēna hi tūbarēṇa karipā shashṭir=jjitā dantinām | tam cha Brahma-
chamūpatim gaja-ghaṭ-ā-
- 30 vashtabdhā-sainyam haṭhād=yēn=āśvair=api kēvalair=bhbhu(bbhu)ja-bri(bhri)tā
nirjitya rājyam hṛitam || [35*] Uchchhidya Jaitrasimham dakṣiṇam=iva
tasya Bhillamasya bhujam | virēṇa yēna labdham Kuntala-dēs-ādhi-
- 31 patyam=api || [36*] ☉ Sa cha samastabhuvanāśraya-śriprithvivallabha-
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Dvārāvati p u r a v a r ā d h i ś v a r a -
Yādavakulāmbaradyu-
- 32 mapi-samyaktvachūḍāmani-malaparogamḍa-kadanaprachamḍa-asahāyāśūra-ēkāmga v i r a -
śanivārasidhdhi(ddhi)-gīridurggamalla-chaladamka Rāma-ity-ādi-samasta-prasasta-n ā m -
āvali-vi-
- 33 rājamāna[h*] śrīmat-pratāpachakravartti-śrī-Vira-Ballāla-dēvō Lokkigumḍi-nivēsita-
vijayaskamdhāvārāḥ || ☉ Asti Svayambhūḥ Kratuk-ābhidhānē grāmē
Trikūṭēśvara-
- 34 nāmādhēyaḥ [i*] Śivaḥ samasta-kshitipāla-manḍi-mapi-prabhā-ramjita-ramya-piṭhaḥ
|| [37*] Tasya sthān-āchāryyaḥ Kālamukh-āchāryya-samṭati-prabhavaḥ |
Sidhdhām(ddhām)tihamdrabhūshanapam-
- 35 dīta-dēv-ābhidhō s sti muniḥ || [38*] Tam Trikūṭēśvaram dēvam lingais=taiḥ
sthāvarais=tribhiḥ | jaṅgamēna samam yēna chatukūṭēśvaram³ viduḥ || [39*]
Satata-śarīr-ārdhdha(rddha)-sthita-Gauri-bhṛīsa-saṅgamā-
- 36 d=vadhūshv=adya | Śiva iva virajyamānō yō bhāti brahmacharyyasthaḥ || [40*]
Yas=cha || Kula-śailēshu chalatsv=api maryyādām=atipatatsū simdhushu cha |
satyam na Satyavākya-dvitiya-
- 37 nāmā parityajati || [41*] Anyatra kābya(vya)-nāṭaka-Vātsyāyana-Bharata-rājanīty-
ādan | [n=ai]va kathā-sidhdhā(ddhā)ntēshv=akṣiṇēshv=api yasya n=āsti samah
|| [42*] Yēna cha || Ādriśyēta kadā-

¹ Read -prōchchhalad-dhūṇi-; compare *Kathāsaritāgara*, 101, 291: *gulpha-dagha-ōchchhalad-dhūṇan* (*kārdgrīhē*).

² Compare Mr. Rice's *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 206, line 7, and, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 69, l. 18.

³ Read *chatushkē*.

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AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST.

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- 38 chid=viśrāmō vāridhau taramgāṇām | na tv=ēva kṛipā-bhājā pradiyamānē śnatām
sat[t*]rē || [43*] Annēn=aiva na kēvalam=api tu suvarṇṇ-aushadh-āmbu-
vāstr-ādyaiḥ | antō n=āsti ja-
- 39 nānām nirantaram tarpyamāṇām || [44*] Yēna ch=ātra sthānē || Udhdhri-
(ddhri)tya jīrṇam=akhilam nirmāya cha nūtana[m] puram ramyam |
dēv-āntikam=āntitā vēśyā-vithī sthitā parataḥ || [45*]
- 40 Amṛit-ōpama-pāṇiya-pūrnā pushkaraṇi¹ kṛitā | vanam cha Nandana-[sām]yam nānā-
pushpa-latā-vṛitam || [46*] Kim jalpitēna bahunā grāva-prākāra-valaya-bāhyam=i-
41 ha | yad=yat=samasti tat=tat=samastam=api tasya nirmāṇam || [47*] ☉ Tasya
bhagavataś-charācchara-gurōḥ śri-Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara-dēvasy-āṅga-raṅga-bhōga-
khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇ-ōdhdhā(dddā)-
- 42 r-ādy-arttham vidyā-dān-ārttha[m] tapōdhana-brāhmaṇ-ādi-bhōjan-ādy-arttha[m] cha
Beḷvola-trisat-āntarggata-Hombāḷalu-nāmadhēya-grāmaṁ pūrvva-prasidhha(dddā)-
sīmā-samanvitam nidhi-nikshēpa-
- 43 jaḷa-pāṣāṇ-ārām-ādi-sahitam tribhōg-ābhya[m] taram=ashtabhōga-tējah-svāmya-yuktam
śulka-damḍ-ādi-sakaḷa-dravy-ōpārjjan-ōpētām Śakanṛipakāl-ātita-samvatsara-śa-
- 44 tēshu chaturddas-ādhikēśhv-ēkādaśasu aṁkatō=pi 1114 varttamāna-
Paridhāvi-samvatsar-āntarggata-Mārggaśirsha-paurṇamāsyām Śanaishchara-
vārē sōma-grahāṇē tasya Kālamukh-ā-
- 45 chāryya-Somēśvaradēva-praśishyasya Vidyābharapadēva-śishyasya Satyavāky-āpara-
nāmadhēyasya śrimad-āchāryya-Sidhdhā(dddā)ntichāṁdrabhūṣaṇapamḍitadēvasya
pāda-prakṣhā-
- 46 lana[m] kṛitvā rājñā rājaktyair=apy=anāṁguliprēkṣhaṇiyam sarvvanamasyam kṛitvā
dhārā-pūrvvakam bhaktyā dattavān || ☉ Asya cha dharmmasya samrakṣhaṇē
phalam=ida-
- 47 m=udāharanti sma tapō-mahima-sākshāt-kṛita-dharmma-sthitayō Manv-ādayō mah-
arshayaḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya
- 48 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Gaṇyantē pāmsavō bhūmēr-
ggāyantē vṛiṣṭi-bimḍavaḥ | na gaṇyatē Vidhāt=āpi dharmma-samrakṣhaṇē
phalam || Apaha-
- 49 rataḥ samarthasy=āpy=udāsīnasya tair=ēva viparitam=api phalam=udāhṛitam || Sva-
dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharam | shashtim varsha-sahasrāpi
vishtā-
- 50 yām jāyatē kṛimiḥ || Para-dattām tu yō bhūmim=upahimsēt=kadāchana | sa
badhdhō(dddō) vārunaiḥ pāsaiḥ kshipyatē pūya-śōpitē || Kulāni tārayēt=karttā
- 51 sapta sapta cha sapta cha | adhō sdhaḥ pātayēd=dharttā sapta sapta cha
sapta cha || Api Gaṁg-ādi-tīrtthēshu hantur=ggām=atha vā dvijam | nishkṛitih
syān=na dēvasva-brahmasva-hara-
- 52 nē nṛipām || Viṁdhy-ātavishv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-śāyinaḥ [1*] kṛishṇa-sarppā
hi jāyamntē dēva-dravy-āpahārakāḥ || Karmmaṇā manasā vāchā yaḥ
- 53 samarthō=py=upēkshatē | sa syāt=tad=aiva chaṁḍālā[h*] sarvva-karmma-
bahishkṛitah || Ata ēv=āha Rāmachandraḥ || Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=
nṛipāṇām kālē kālē
- 54 pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārtti(rtthi)v-ēṁdrān=bhūyō bhūyō
yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ || Mad-vamśajāḥ para-mahipa-
- 55 ti-vamśajā vā pāpād=apēta-manasō bhuvī bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yē pālayanti mama
dharmmam=imam samagram tēshām mayā virachitō smjajir=ēsha
- 56 mūrdhni || ☉ Ballāḷadēva-nṛipatēr=ādēśād=Agnisarmmaṇā rachitā | śāsana-
padhdha(dddā)tir=ēshā sāravata-sārvvabhaumēna(ṇa) ||

¹ Read *pushkaripī*; but compare Pāli *poṭṭharaṇī*.

No. 11.—NILGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.;
A.D. 866.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. And I edit it from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887. I edit it, partly because it is interesting in itself, and partly because it is closely connected with the Sirūr inscription, of the same date, of which a version has been given by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215 ff. A revised version of the latter record will be given shortly, in the course of some papers which will illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.¹ And it is convenient to publish the Nilgund record first, because, as far as the words *Annigereyol-ire* in line 22, it was based on the same draft on which was based the same part of the Sirūr record, and, though on the one hand parts of it could hardly have been deciphered without the help of the Sirūr record, on the other hand it supplies a few *aksharas* which are illegible in the Sirūr record and could not be supplied from any other source.

Nilgund is a village about twelve miles S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag taluka of the Dhārwar district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) as 'Neelgoond.' The modern form of the name is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Dambal grant of that year, which mentions the place, in Nāgarī characters and in a Sanskrit verse, as Nilagunda.² The present record gives its name in the older form of Nirgunda;³ the purport of it places Nirgunda in a circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve, which, again, it places in the Belvola three-hundred district; and Mulgunda, from which the circle took its name, is, of course, the modern Mulgund, about two miles on the south-east of Nilgund. The inscription is on a stone tablet which was found standing in front of the house of Aṅgaḍi-Rāchappa, in the village of Nilgund.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal ones are the goddess Lakshmi, squatting and facing full-front, with an elephant, on each side, standing towards her: the tips of the trunks of the elephants, which are uplifted, meet above her head, and each of them holds something which may be either a flower or a water-pot or some sacred symbol; and above them, and perhaps supported by them, there is a smaller image, representing probably Vishnu, squatting and facing full-front. Below the figure of Lakshmi, there is a *svastika*. On the proper right of the latter, there are a cow and a calf; and on the proper left, two objects which, in the sketch submitted to me, look like a thick-set bush and a flowering plant, each in a tub or stand.—The writing covers an area about 3' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 5' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. Lines 1 to 15 are in a state of fairly good preservation. Lines 16 to 25 have suffered a great deal of damage; and there are many syllables here, in addition to those which I have placed in square brackets, which could hardly have been deciphered with any certainty, if at all, without the help of the Sirūr inscription. Lines 26 to 35, also, are considerably damaged, but not to the same extent.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. They are of a good antique square and upright style, presenting an appearance much older than that of the characters of the Sirūr inscription, of the same date, of which a collotype will be published hereafter. And the size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ya* of *traya*, line 12, to about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

¹ See a remark made on page 74 above.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 357, text line 129.

³ The dental *ṣḍ* can be recognised clearly in the impression, both in *Nirggundada*, line 26, and in *Mulgunda*, line 2; and it is, of course, exactly what we should expect. The Nilgund inscription of A. D. 982, however, for some reason or other gives the name as Nirgunda, with the lingual *ṣḍ* (above, Vol. IV. p. 206, text line 30).

in the *la* of *Kulappayam*, line 22. Only the first part of the ink-impression, containing lines 1 to 13, is suitable for reproduction; and here the largest *akshara* seems to be the *kā* of *kānt-ēndu*, line 3, which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The record uses final forms of *t* in line 16, of *n* in lines 28 and 33, of *r* in line 27, and of *l* in lines 25 and 27 (twice). And it marks, in the usual way, the difference between the lingual *ḍ* and the dental *ḍ*; this can be recognised in the *ḍā* of *Gauḍān*, line 6, though the *akshara* is somewhat damaged. As regards palæography, the record, which belongs to the transitional period, favours the older rather than the later types, not only in general style, but also in details. The *kh* occurs twice: in *likhitam*, line 35, it is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to decide whether we have there an old square *kh* rather loosely formed, or a later cursive *kh*; but in the *kha* of *śamkha*, line 12, No. 14, we have clearly the later cursive character. The *j* is damaged and undeterminable in *vijaya*, line 19, and *rājyābhivṛiddhi*, line 20; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *j*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 19 and 20: in the lithograph, the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *ja* of *dhīrāja*, line 9, No. 22. The *ṣ* occurs three times, in *ōttuṅga*, line 13 (the last *akshara* but one), and *Nripatuṅga*, line 17, and *samvatsaraṅgaḷ*, line 19-20: in each instance, it is damaged and not determinable with certainty; but such marks as are recognisable, indicate that in each case it follows the usual rule which connects it with the *j*, and is of the old square type, with the closed form. The *b* is damaged and undeterminable in *barām*, line 17, and *bbrāhmaṇarumam*, line 29; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *b*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 17 and 29: the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *bdha* of *labdha*, line 3, No. 24. The *l* is damaged and undeterminable in *Lattalūra*, line 16, *Lakshmivallabhendra*, line 17, *salutt-ire* and *kālātīta*, line 18, *salutt-ire*, line 20, *Kulappayam*, line 24, *kālam*, line 26, and *kālē-kālē pālaniyāḍ*, line 34: in the *li* of *maṇḍalikarkkaḷāḍ*, line 10, No. 23, and in the *lā* of *lāṅchanam*, line 16, we have the later cursive *l*, and so also in the upper *l* in *vallabhāḍ*, line 5, *ella*, line 12, and *kallam*, line 35; but in every other instance we have unmistakably the old square *l*, and the intended form of it is illustrated very well by the *la* of *alamkritam*, line 3, No. 20; the formation of it here exhibits, though not to a very marked extent, the prolongation, with a sweep to the right, of the downstroke that makes the end of the letter, which (as will be shewn more clearly hereafter) had been the first step in the development of the later cursive type from the old square type.—As regards the language, we have Sanskrit ordinary verses in lines 1 to 8, and Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 30 to 35, with, among them, a verse in praise of the god Viṣṇu which seems rather out of place there; the remainder of the record is in Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record uses two words which are not included in dictionaries; namely, in line 10, *prātīrāja*, employed in the sense of *pratirāja*, 'a hostile king';¹ and in line 24, *rājāśrāvita*, for which the best translation seems to be 'a royal decree.'² In *Vāraṇḍasiyul*, line 27, we have the locative ending *ul*, which, in genuine records, is of sufficiently rare occurrence, as compared with the endings *oḷ* and *al*, to be

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 104. I owe this reference to Prof. Kielhorn.

² The word *rāja-śrāvita*,—or *rājā-śrāvita*, as sometimes written, and perhaps in the present record, but wrongly,—means, literally, 'caused to be heard by the king, spoken by the king.' It has been met with before, in an inscription of the period A.D. 680 to 696 at Baḷagāmi, where we have *rāja-śrāvitam-āga*, "on a royal decree being (issued)," i.e. "under or in accordance with a royal decree" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, text line 11-12), and in an inscription of the period A.D. 738 to 747 at Aihole, where we have *rājā(ja)-śrāvitam mahājanamum naka(ga)ra-śrāvitam*, "a decree by the king, a decree by the *Mahājanas* and (the people of) the city" (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 4-5; it may be noted here that, at the end of line 5 of this record, the correct reading is *Vāraṇḍasiol*, for *Vāraṇḍasiyol*).—The Āḍur inscription helps to illustrate the term, by giving us [*u*]śrāvita, "having caused to be heard everywhere, having made proclamation" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 69, text line 7-8).—We have the same erroneous lengthening of the *a* of *rāja* in *rājā(ja)-rakshitam dharmma*, "a religious grant protected by the king," in the Belūr inscription of A.D. 1021 or 1022 (*id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 274, text line 37).

worth noting.¹—As regards orthography, the only points that present themselves are (1) the use of *ri* for *ri* in the word *śriṣṭi*, lines 12 and 33, though everywhere else the vowel seems to be used correctly; and (2) the occasional omission to double a consonant after *r*, in the second *jayati*, line 1, in *Gārjarāśi*, line 6, in *ārtham*, line 25, in *brahma-svaṁ*, line 31, and in *nṛipānām*, line 34.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I., who was on the throne from A.D. 814 or 815 to A.D. 877 or 878. It mentions him by also the *birudas* of Atiśayadhavala, Lakshmivallabhendra,² and Nripatunḡa. His proper name is not yet known. But, from the way in which his sovereignty is likened to the sovereignty of the god Viṣṇu, and from the attribution to him, in that passage, of the *biruda* Lakshmivallabhendra or “chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakṣmī or Fortune,” and of the epithet *surāsuramardana* or “subduer of gods and demons,” which would hardly be appropriate in any ordinary description of a king, it seems likely that his name either was Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, or else was a name beginning with the word Viṣṇu. It mentions an officer of his, named Dēvaṇṇayya, who,—residing at Annigere,³ which is the modern Anṇigere

¹ The following other instances, the dates of which are known or can be fixed approximately, may usefully be put together here, from genuine records, and from others for questioning which there are no *prima-facie* grounds. *Vāraṇasivaduḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, line 13; at Balagāmi; of the period A.D. 680 to 696; and, in line 15 of the same record, *elpattaruḥam*, in which we have the copulative or emphatic ending *am* after the *uḥ*. *Timgaḥuḥ*, *pūṇṇamśaduḥ*, *viṣṇupaduḥ*, *gāṇaduḥ*, and *Vāraṇasīyūḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, lines 2 to 5; at Aihole; A.D. 708. *Ūruḥ* and *okkaluḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., My. 55; at Varuṇa; A.D. 765 to 805. *Okkaluḥ* again; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93; at Maṭakere; about A.D. 783. *Ma(?)vindilaruḥ* and *adyakarūḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 39, No. 2, lines 6, 8; at Gūlgānpode; A.D. 850 to 900, or somewhere thereabouts. *Pathaduḥ*, *hesaduḥ*, and *kōṭeyuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75; at Husukūru; A.D. 870-71. *Nāḍinuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 108; at Kaṭṭemaṇṇaṇṇaḥalli; A.D. 870-71 to about A.D. 903. *Nāḍuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 134; at Nandigūṇḍa; A.D. 1021; and further on in this record we seem to have a very exceptional locative, *baḍagalaḥu* or *budagalaḥ*.—We can now recognise *uḥ*, as a development of the *uḥ*-ending, in *Maṅgaluḥ*, “at (the village of) Maṅgul,” in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 103, line 8; at Mahākūṭa; A.D. 696 to 733-34. And we have the same ending presented in *saṅghaduḥ* and *Kaṭṭappinuḥ*, in *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* Nos. 31, 34; date not yet fixed.

² See page 106 below, note 2.

³ This name occurs in line 22 of the text. In other ancient records, as far as they have come under my notice, it is always written with the lingual *ṇṇ*,—Anṇigere, and the vowel is sometimes marked long,—Anṇigēre. A half-Sanskritised form, in which *taṭṭaka* is substituted for *kere*, occurs in a verse in a record of not long after A.D. 1176 (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 42): the transcription gives there, also, the lingual *ṇṇ*; and the metre marks the vowel as short,—Anṇitaṭṭaka. Whatever may be the explanation of the use of the dental *nn* in the present record and in the Sirūr inscription, we may take it as tolerably certain that the more correct form of the name was always that with the lingual *ṇṇ*. The vowel, no doubt, was liable to be used either short or long.—As regards the etymology, the first component of the name may be a proper name; or it may be a variant of *anne* (1), ‘excellence, purity,’ or of *anne* (3), = *āṇi* (3), which occurs in *āṇikallu*, ‘a hailstone,’ and (see, particularly under *dlī*, 1) may perhaps mean ‘water, cloud, or rain;’ or it may quite possibly stand for *laṇṇi*, ‘the sunflower,’ which we have in the name Haṇṇikeri (see further on in this note), on the analogy of *ōgu* for *hōgu* (above, Vol. V. p. 262). With the dental *nn*, there does not seem to be any word *anni*; and the words *anne* (1), (2), and (3), do not give any suitable meaning.—As regards the modern form, the compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, certifies it as ‘Anṇigēri,’ with the lingual *ṇṇ* and the long *ē*: but I feel tolerably certain that, in giving *gēri*, = *kēri*, ‘a street,’ instead of *gere*, = *kere*, ‘a tank,’ it does not even represent any correct modern custom outside official circles; for, to the best of my remembrance, the inhabitants of the town always pronounce the name as Anṇigere. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) has ‘Anigere,’ which rather suggests that the writer was thinking of *giri*, ‘a hill.’ The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) has ‘Annehgeres,’ which suggests that the person who then took down the name, heard, correctly, *gere*. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) has ‘Annigeri.’ And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* uses that same form; e.g. pp. 389, 440, 650, 651.—In connection with the official certification of the modern name as ‘Anṇigēri,’ I may add the following remarks, which will be of use in respect of some other names also. In the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, there is a constant tendency to substitute *i* for the final *e* of nominal bases and verbal roots,—for instance, *mane*, ‘a house,’ will just as often, if not more frequently, be written *mani*, and *kare*, ‘to call,’ often becomes *kari*, for conjugational purposes; also, the old character *ṛ* has passed out of use altogether; and the mark which distinguishes the long *ē*, *ḍ*, and *ō*, is rarely, if ever, used in writing. The result is that a nondescript word *kēri* is

or Annigere, about twelve miles west of Gadag,— was governing the Belvola three-hundred district. And it mentions also a relative of Dēvaṇṇayya, probably named Kulappayya, who was governing the circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve. The object of it is to record an assignment of the tax on clarified butter or ghee. The assignment was made under

used to represent, indifferently, either *kere* (*keṛe*), 'a tank,' or *kēri*, 'a street'; and it is impossible to decide which it represents, as the final of a place-name, unless one can hear the name pronounced by a resident of the village itself, or can find it in an ancient record. In cases in which I have been unable to ascertain whether the real termination is *kere* or *kēri*, I have used that nondescript word *keri*, as a reminder to myself that the name has not been determined; and it is for that reason that I have written, for instance, Kaṭṭageri, Beṇḍigeri, and Haṇṇikeri (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 448, note 1, 526, 556). There is, perhaps, more trouble with the words *kere* and *kēri* than in any other detail. But no one, who has not tried it in person, can realise how difficult it is to get at the really correct and undeniable spelling of many a place-name, unless some indication is derivable from an ancient record. My experience is that, among modern publications, the older sheets of the Indian Atlas, though by no means infallible, are in many respects the best guide, in spite of the want of any definite system in them, or rather, because no attempt was made in them to aim, in vain, at any uniformity of system on lines which, at that time, had hardly become definitely fixed even among scholars. The revised sheets are not so useful a guide, because in them (as also in the Bombay Survey sheets) the spelling is adapted to the modern official system. The chief features of this system are, the use of *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *u*, instead of *u*, *a*, *ee*, and *oo*, and the use of *d*, instead of *r*, for the lingual *ḍ*. It would be good enough, if it were in safe hands; that is to say, under the control of someone who could determine the exact correct spelling everywhere, and could enforce the uniform use of it. But it is not in such hands. It frequently gives the long *ā* where it ought to give the short *a*, and *vice versa*. It has a particularly weak point in failing to make any distinction between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, which latter usually appears as *r* in the older sheets of the Indian Atlas. It has produced such monstrosities as 'Kānara' and 'Kānarese,'—(supposed to be critical forms),—instead of the purely conventional but thoroughly well established words Kanara and Kanarese. And, as specific instances of the failure of this system in official hands, we may quote, from the Bombay Survey sheet No. 272 (1894), Kanvad and Kutvad, which are given there instead of Kanvād and Kutvād, and Shirti instead of Shirhatti, and, from sheet No. 239 (1887), Bagni, instead of Bāgni (regarding these names, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 278 and note 23, p. 276, and p. 277, note 17). The best way to determine the real name of a place, is, naturally, to make local inquiries in person. And it is, of course, the cultivators and the hereditary village-officials,— not the district officials and their clerks,— who can best furnish information as to the true names of their villages. But what they pronounce, has frequently to be written down by an ordinary clerk who takes no real interest in the matter. And that is where all the mistakes come in now, and, apparently, came in in earlier times also.— In illustration of the way in which the cultivators can help towards the identification of ancient places, we may refer to the case of Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur district. The cultivators call it Bāṅgaḍkōṭe. This name is accounted for, though the exact form of it is not absolutely justified, by the fact that the ancient name of the place was Bāgaḍageyakōṭe, Bāgaḍigeyakōṭe (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 170). This name, adduced by the cultivators, first put me in the way of identifying Bāgaḍage with Bāgalkōṭ. And, in addition to the epigraphic passage which I then quoted, I may now refer to a record of A.D. 1049 at Sirūr, eight miles on the south-east of Bāgalkōṭ, which mentions *Bāgaḍagā-rājapatha*, "the highway to Bāgaḍagā."— In illustration of the way in which the cultivators preserve the real names of places, we may take the case of a village close on the east of Gadag and incorporated with that town for municipal purposes. The name of it is certified in *Bombay Places* as 'Beṭṭēri;' and, I may add, in the Dhārwar volume of the *Gazetteer* it appears as 'Beṭṭigeri' (pp. 712, 713), which illustrates very well the vagaries of official practice. But the cultivators call it Baṭgere. And the ancient name occurs as Baṭṭakere in a record of A.D. 888. In this instance, it happens, the official mistake, of substituting *kēri* for *kere*, is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Dambaḷ grant, which mentions the place as Baṭṭagēri (*loc. cit.* in note 2 on page 98 above, text line 125), evidently as the result of an ancient official failing to catch the name correctly; and it may be remarked that the same record also mentions as Kaujagēri, in line 126, a neighbouring village, the name of which is found in a record of A.D. 933-34 as Kovujagere, or possibly Kovujāṅgere.— I would make, here, a correction in the name of a village in the Karajgi tāluka, at which some early Kadamba copper-plate grants were obtained (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33 ff.). The name of it figures in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) as 'Dewgeeres,' and in the Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) as 'Deogere,' and in the Postal Directory (1879) as 'Deogiri,' and in the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer* as 'Devigiri' (p. 665). I was told that the cultivators call the place Dēvagere and Dēgore. But I was assured that that is a mistake, and that the real name is Dēvagiri. And I, therefore, gave the name as Dēvagiri in editing the grants in question, and elsewhere (*e.g.* above, Vol. V. p. 173). Subsequently, I was led to believe that the real name is Dēvagere; and I have used that form in, for instance, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 287. But I have since then found, from records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at the place itself, that the ancient name was Dēvaṅgēri,— sometimes perhaps written Dēvagēri, without the *anusvāra* in the second syllable. I also notice that the Native gentleman, to whom I was indebted in the first instance for impressions of them, wrote the name, on the first of the impressions, as Dēvagiri in English characters (according to official custom),

the authority of a *rājaśrāvita* or royal decree¹ of Amoghavarsha I. And it was made to the hundred-and-twenty *Mahājanas* of *Nirgunda*,— doubtless in order to make the proceeds of the tax available for expenditure by them on communal purposes, instead of being credited to the royal revenues.²

The passages containing the details of the date are partly illegible. But enough can be deciphered to shew that the date of this record is the same as the date of the Sirūr record. The full details, then, are an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishtṥa of the Vyaya *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 788, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. And the corresponding English date is Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India, at 9 h. 4 min. after mean sunrise.³

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Om⁵ [||*] Jaya[t]i⁶ bhuvana-kāraṇam Svayambhur-jayati Purandara-nandanō
Murāriḥ jayati Giri-
- 2 [s]utā-niruddha-dēhō durita-bhay-āpaharō Haraś=cha dēvaḥ [||*] Sa⁷ vō=vyād=
Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nā-
- 3 [bhi]-kamala[m] kṛitam Haraś=cha yasya kānt-ēndu-kalayā kam=alamkṛitam [||*]
Labdha⁸-pratishṭham=achirāya
- 4 [Ka]li[m] su-dūrā(ra)m=utsāryya śuddha-charitō(tai)r=ddharapī-talasya kṛitvā
punah Kṛitayuga-śrī(śrī)yam=a-
- 5 [p]y=aś[ā]shām chitram katham Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhō-bhūt [||*]
Prabhūtavarshō⁹ Gōvinda-rājā(jah)¹⁰ śauryyēshu
- 6 vikramaḥ¹¹ jītvā jagat=samastam yat=Jagattumga iti¹² śrutah [||*] Kēraja-¹³
Mālava-Gaudān¹⁴-sa-¹⁵Gurjarā[m]ś-Chi-

but as *Dēvagēri* in the *Mōḍi* or current *Marāṭhi* characters. And I entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call it, is, not *Dēvagere* (as reported to me), but *Dēvagēri*, and that this is the form that ought to be used for the future.

¹ See page 99 above, and note 2.

² See note 4 on page 107 below.

³ See Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 123, No. 59, and Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 198, No. 4939, and Plate 99.—The week-day is specified in the Sirūr record, but not here.—The Śaka year 788 has to be taken as the expired year: for, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, by the mean-sign system the Vyaya *samvatsara* lasted from the 23rd September, A.D. 865 (in S.-S. 788 current) to the 19th September, A.D. 866 (in S.-S. 788 expired), and by the southern lunar-solar system Vyaya was S.-S. 789 current (789 expired), = A.D. 866-67,—(as also by the northern system of the same kind).

⁴ From the ink-impression.

⁵ Represented by a plain symbol; and so also in lines 9 and 30.

⁶ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh).

⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh).

¹⁰ The Sirūr inscription, line 3, has precisely the same reading, *Prabhūtavarshō Gōvinda-rājā*. The run of the metre would have been better suited by *Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindo rājā*.

¹¹ Sirūr, line 3, has the same, *śauryyēshu vikramaḥ*; but the *ś* of the *ryyē* was omitted at first and then was added by way of correction. It would be difficult to make any sense of *śauryy-ēshu-vikramaḥ* 'having heroism-arrow-prowess'; and it can hardly be thought that *śauryyēshu Vikramaḥ*, 'a very Vikrama in deeds of heroism,' was intended. I can only suggest that the words are a mistake for *śauryyēṣa vikramaḥ*, or else that the text is altogether corrupt here.

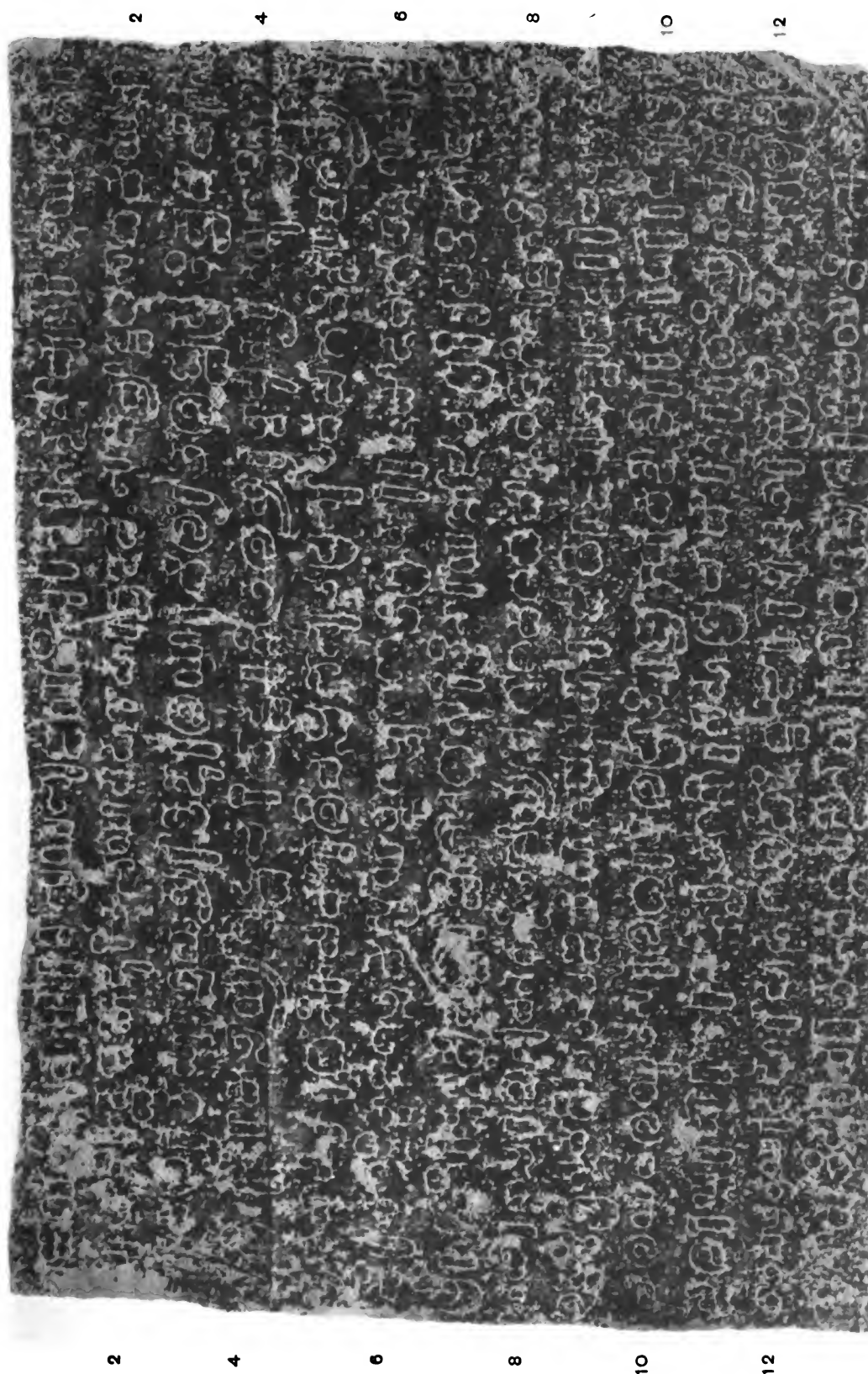
¹² Read *yaj=Jagattumga*, which, however, in view of the past participle *jītvā*, must probably be treated as a mistake for *yō Jagattumga*. In Sirūr, line 4, the pronoun was omitted altogether and the reading is [*sama*]st[ā]m *Jagat[ī]jūga*.

¹³ Metre; the first two *pādas* are *Āryāgiti*, and the last two are *Āryā*: or, we may say, the verse is an *Āryāgiti*, in the last *pāda* of which the metre of an *Āryā* has been followed. There is a mixture of metres again in the next verse.

¹⁴ Sirūr, line 4, has *Śauṭān*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct.

¹⁵ Sirūr, line 4, has *Gurjard*: it gives the short *u*, according to the undoubtedly more correct spelling of the name in the second syllable; it omits the *r*; and,—as the writer seems to have intended *Gurjard* without *samdhī* with the following word,—it omits a final *n*.

Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarsha I.—A.D. 866.



W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

SCALE .20

J. F. FLEET.

- 7 *trakûṭa-giridu[r]gga-sthân=ba[d*]dhvâ Kāñch-iśân=atha sa Kirttinārāyaṇô*
jātaḥ¹ [||] Ari²-nṛipati-makūṭa-ghaṭṭi-*
- 8 *ta-charaṇas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-sauryyaḥ Vamg-Āmga-Magadha-Mālava-Vemg-*
iśē(śai)r=archchitô-Tisayadhava[lah] [||]*
- 9 *Om Svasti Śrī³ Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka*
chatur-udadhi-
- 10 *valaya-valayu(yi)ta⁴-sakala-dharātala-prātirājy⁵-ānēka-maṇḍalikarkkaḷā kataka-kaṭi-*
sūtra-ku-
- 11 *ṇḍala-kēyūra-hārā[bha]raḥ-āḷamkṛita-gaṇika-sāhasra⁶-chāmar-āndhakār-ādhô-diryya-*
viryyamāna⁷-śvi(śvô)-
- 12 *t-ātapatra-traya-kaḷaḥa-kāhaḷa⁸-sainkha-pālidhvaj-ōru⁹kētu-patāk-āchchhādita-digantār-*
ella sri(sri)shṭi-
- 13 *sēnāpati puravara-taḷavargga-daṇḍanāyaka-sāmanta-ādy-ānēka¹⁰-vishaya-vināma[n]-¹¹*
ōttu[n]ga-[ki]-
- 14 *rīṭa-makūṭa-ghṛishta-pādāravinda-yugma nirjīta-v[ai]ri ripu-nivaha-Kāla-daṇḍa dushta-*
mada-bha[m]janan¹²=a-
- 15 *mōgha-Rāmaṁ para-chakra-pañchānanam sur-āsura-marddanam vairi-bhaya-[ka]raṁ*
badd[e]-ma[nô]haram a[bh]imāna-
- 16 *man[d]iram Raṭṭa-vamś-ōdbhava[m] Garuḍa-lāñcha(ñchha)nam¹³ tiv[i]li-*
paṇḍhōshana[m] Lattalūra-p[u]ra-paramēśvara[m] śrīmat

¹ Sirūr, line 5, has *jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*.

² Metre; the first two *pādas* are Āryā, and the last two are Udgīti; or we may say, the verse is an Āryā, in the last *pāda* of which the metre of an Udgīti has been followed.

³ Sirūr, line 6, omits the *Om* and the *Śrī*.

⁴ Sirūr, line 7, also has *guta*.—Prof. Kielhorn has given me, from the *Datākumdracharita*, the quotation *ratndkara-vēd-mēkhald-valayita-dharant*, which suggests that the original source of the draft used in this record had *chatur-udadhi-vēd-valayita*, etc. Compare, in some respects, lines 1, 2 of the Bēgūr record (page 48 above).

⁵ Sirūr, line 8, also has *prātirdjy*.

⁶ Read *gaṇikā-sahasra*.

⁷ Sirūr, line 9, has *andhakdra-ōddiyya-viyya-māna*. The words *viyya*, 'bravery, or heroism,' and *māna*, 'pride,' seem altogether inappropriate in this passage. And I can only suggest that the intended reading was *andhakdra-ōddiyyamāna*, or else that there may have been meant *dōdhāyamāna*, "being waved to and fro like fans," which we have in line 47 of the Kadaba grant (above, Vol. IV. p. 342), applied, however, to *chauris*, not to white umbrellas.

⁸ Sirūr, line 9, omits this word, *kāhaḷa*.

⁹ The reading is quite distinct here. And it can be recognised, now, that in Sirūr, line 7, the writer or engraver first formed, instead of *ru*, the *k* of *kētu*, and then, before attaching the *ē*, corrected the *k* into *r*, and then added the *u*. This disposes of the *ōkakētu*, the "banner of a bird, or bird-ensign," which I thought was indicated by the Sirūr inscription.

¹⁰ Sirūr, line 10, has the same reading, *ādy-andka*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct. *Ādy-andka* would be more in accordance with custom. But the use of *ādya* instead of *ādī* in such a combination, though somewhat unusual, is hardly to be treated as a mistake.

¹¹ In Sirūr, line 10-11, the reading is very clear,—*vishaya-vindmā-ōttuṅga*, except that the *vi* of *vindmā* is rather intermediate between *vi* and *dhi*. And the reading is equally certain here, though the subscript *n* of *vindmā* is a good deal damaged. We might accept *vindmā* as a mistake for the usual Sanskrit word *vinamra*, 'bent down,' etc., or for a word *vinamna* which might be justified by the use of *namna* by Kanarese authors as an equivalent of *namra*, 'bowing, bent,' etc. (see Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, under *namna* and *namn-kṛita*; and I think that I have met with either *namna*, *adma*, *vinamna*, or *vindmā* in Kanarese records, though I cannot at present find the passages). But, as has been pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, no such word would give any suitable meaning here, and what is needed after *ādy-andka* is some expression meaning 'chief or ruler of a district.' I am inclined to think, therefore, that what was really intended was *vishay-dhindh-ōttuṅga*.

¹² From this point, the present record,—and the Sirūr inscription also,—pays more attention to the case-endings of the nominatives in *a*, which are disregarded altogether in the preceding part of this passage. Sirūr, line 11-12, has here a reading which indicates that there was intended there *dhāñjanan amōgha*, without *samdhī*.

¹³ Sirūr, line 13, has the same mistake, *ñcha* for *ñchha*.

- 17 Amôghavarsha¹-Nripatu[n]ga-nâm-â[m]kita-[La]kshmiya[lla]bhêndra² chandr-
âditya-kâlam-[baram]³ [ma]hâ-Vishu[u]va rājya-m-bol=uttar-ôttaram⁴
- 18 rājy-âbhi[vri]ddhi sa[l]utt-ire Śaka-nripa-kâ[l-â]tita-samvatsara-śata[m]ga[-ê]-n[ûr]-
epbhatt-ep̄ta⁵neya Vyaya-[samva]tsara[m] pra-
- 19 [va]rttise [śri]ma[d-A]môghava[rsha]-Nri[pa]tu[m]ga-[nâm-âm]kitanâ vijaya-
râjya-pravarddhamâna-samvatsa[ra]-
- 20 [n]ga[-ayva]tt-erāḍum-uttar-ô⁶ttaram [rājy-âbhi v̄ r i d d h i⁷ s a l] u [t t - i] r e
A[ti]śa[yadha]vaḷa-narê[n]d[ra]-dê[va]⁸-prasâda[dind=A]-
- 21 môgha[varsha]-dêva-p[â]dapa[m]kaja-[bhra]mara[m] viśiṣṭa-ja[n-âśra y a n = a] p p a
śrīmad-Dêvaṇṇayyaṁ Beḷvo[la]-
- 22 mûnûḡuman=âuttum Anni⁹gerēyo[-ire] â[ta]na ma[y]du[nam] Kulappayya[m]¹⁰
Muḷgunda-pa-
- 23 nnerāḍuman=âutt-ire ta[d-a]ntarggata¹¹-Jyêṣṭha¹²-mâsada kṛish[n]a-pakshad-
amâseyu[m]¹³ sūryya-graha-
- 24 pamum-âgi¹⁴ Ku[lappa]yya[m]-binnapa[m]-g[e]yye Dêvaṇṇayya[m] Amôgha-
varshadêvaroḷ rāja(Pjâ)-śrâ-
- 25 vitam-mâḍi tad-anuma[ta]dind=irvvorum mâtâ[pi]t̄ri¹⁶m-â[r]tham
[p]unyam-âg[iy-â] grahaṇado[li]
- 26 Nirggundada nûr-irppadiṁbarum mahâjanada kâ[la]m kaḷchi t̄uppa-dereya[m]
sa-bhōga-sâda(dha)-
- 27 kam-âgi biṭṭo[r] [l*] Ī dharmmama[m] k]âdom Vâraṇâsiyul sūryya-grahaṇadoḷ
sâsira kavile-
- 28 yam vêda-vidarkka[-appa] brâhmaṇarkkaḷge koṭṭa puṇya-phalaman=a(?e)yduvon idan=
aḷid-unt[-â]vam
- 29 sâsira kavileyum¹⁶ sâsi[r]vvar=[bbr]âhmaṇarumam Vâraṇâ[s]iyuman=aḷida pañcha-
mahâpâka-

¹ Read *śrīmad-Amôghavarsha*. Sirûr, line 13, omits the *Amôghavarsha* here, and has *śrī-Nripatunga*.

² Sirûr, line 14, has the same reading, *vallabhêndra*. But the construction requires the genitive, *valla-bhêndrana* or *vallabhêndrand*.

³ Sirûr, line 14, has *chandr-dditya kâlam-varegaṁ*. In the present record, there are only two *akṣaras* after *kâlam*, both much damaged. The first of them seems to be *ba*, rather than *va*. The second of them may be *raṁ*, in which case *baram* was written, quite correctly; or it may be *gaṁ* in which case *bagam* was written by mistake for *baregaṁ*.

⁴ Sirûr, line 14, divides the words, and has *rājya-m-bol uttar-ôttaram*.

⁵ The *akṣaras* given here in square brackets are supplied entirely from Sirûr, line 15. But there is no doubt about the correctness of them, as the name of the *samvatsara* is quite recognisable, and so also are the other details in line 23.

⁶ The preceding note applies here also.

⁷ Sirûr, line 17, gives *rājy-dbhiv̄riddhi*; and the same seems to have been the reading here also. But we require in this place the instrumental *rājy-dbhiv̄riddhiȳm*. The nominative seems to have been carelessly repeated from line 18 above, where it is quite correct.

⁸ Sirûr, line 17, omits the *dêva*.

⁹ Sirûr, line 19, makes *sam̄dhi*, and has *âuttum=Anni*. As regards the *sai*, which is quite distinct here as well as in the Sirûr inscription, but is probably a mistake for *sri*, see page 100 above, note 3.

¹⁰ Both here, and in line 24, there seems to be the vowel *a* attached to the *k*. But the name may perhaps be *Kalappayya*, or even *Kâlappayya*.

¹¹ Read *tad-varsh-antarggata*.

¹² Read *Jyêṣṭha*; or, more correctly, *Jyâishṭha*.

¹³ Sirûr, line 19, has *amaseyūm*, with the short *a* in the second syllable. Either form is admissible. The week-day, which is specified in the Sirûr inscription, is omitted here.

¹⁴ Sirûr, line 19, has the infinitive form *âge*, instead of the past participle which we have here.

¹⁵ Three *akṣaras* are quite illegible in the ink-impression here. We should expect something like *śrīyô-dharm-dr̄tham*, *puṇy-âpyâyan-dr̄tham*, *puṇy-dbhiv̄riddhiȳ-dr̄tham*, etc.; but none of these expressions adapts itself to such traces as are discernible.

¹⁶ Read *kavileyuman*, since we have *brâhmaṇarumam* instead of *brâhmaṇarum*.

- 30 takan¹=akkuṁ Ōm [||*] Vyāsa-vākyam [||*] Sva²-da[ttām] para-dattā[m] vā
yō harēti³ vasundharām shashtim varsha-sahasrā-
31 pi viśhṭhāyām j[ā]yatē kṛimih [||*] [Dē]va-s[v]am viśham=ity=[ā]hur=brahma-
svarū viśham=[u]chyatē viśham=ēk[ā]kinam hanti bra-
32 hma-sva[m] putra-pautrika[m] [||*] Brahma-svam prapayād=bhuktvā dahaty=
ā-saptamam kulam v[i]kramēna [yē] bhōjyantē⁴ daśa pū-
33 rrvān=daś=āvarān [||*] Jayati [s]thiti-sa[m]hāra-sri(sri)shtikāra[pa]-kāra[m]
Harir=dditiya-kānt-āśya-kuśē[śaya]-himāgama[h] [||*]
34 Sāmānyō⁵=yam dharmma-s[ēt]ur=nṛpā[nām] kālē]-kā[lē] pālani]yō bhavadbhīh
sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinah pārtthivēndrān=[bhūyō]-
35 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha[drah] [||*]⁶ bhaṭṭara
likhitam i kallam Nāgamuḍḍa(?)na(?)⁷ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm !— (Verse 1; line 1). Victorious is Svayambhu (Brahman), the cause of the world; victorious is Murāri (Viśhṇu), the son of Purāṇḍara (Indra);⁸ and victorious is the god Hara (Śiva), whose body is imprisoned by (*the embraces of*) (Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya), and who removes sin and fear !— (V. 2; l. 2). May he (Viśhṇu) protect you, the water-lily (*growing*) in whose navel is made a habitation by Vēdhas (Brahman); and Hara, whose head is adorned by a lovely digit of the moon !

(V. 3; l. 3). Since, with his pure actions, he in no long time drove far away from the surface of the earth Kali who had secured a footing there, and made again complete even the splendour of the Kṛita age, it is wonderful how Nirupama-(Dhruva) became (*also known as*) Kalivallabha.⁹

(V. 4; l. 5). (*There was his son*)¹⁰ Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindarāja (III.), who, having conquered the whole world by his heroism and deeds of prowess (?),¹¹ was known as Jagattuṅga. — (V. 5; l. 6). Having fettered the people of Kēraḷa and Mālava and Gauḍa, and, together

¹ Read *pātāka*. The *ta* stands in the margin, before the *ka*. There are some indications that an attempt was first made to supply the *ta* below the *pa* of the preceding line.

² Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next three verses.

³ Read *harēti*; or *harati*.

⁴ Read *bhōkshyantē*; or *bhūñjātē*.

⁵ Metre, Śālīni.

⁶ Eight or nine *akṣaras* are illegible here.

⁷ Four or five *akṣaras* are illegible here.

⁸ The reading *Purāṇḍara-nandano* is quite clear and unmistakable in the present record, and in line 1 of an inscription of A.D. 897-98 at Chifichli in the Gadag tāluka, and evidently in also the impressions of an inscription at Kālāñjar, referred to "about the eighth century," from which the verse has already been brought to notice by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. V. p. 210, note 3). And it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by "son of Purāṇḍara." But, Viśhṇu was one of the *svayambhū* or self-existing gods; the later mythology represents him as the younger brother of Indra; and, as yet, we know of no other statement that would make him a son of Indra, and we know the expression "son of Indra" only as an epithet of the monkey-king Vālin, of Arjuna, and of Jayanta.

⁹ This verse is met with, earlier, in lines 13, 14 of the Wanī grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157), in the description of Dhōra, i.e. Dhruva; and we know from that record that Nirupama and Kalivallabha were *birudas* of Dhruva. The *primæ-faciæ* meaning of the *biruda* Kalivallabha would be "favourite of Kali,"—Kali being the personification of the present age. But the verse points out that it would be curious that an enemy of Kali should be called the favourite of Kali. And, either the *biruda* means "the favourite of brave men," or else, as has been suggested to me by Dr. Hultzsch, we must explain it by taking *kali* in its meaning of 'dissension, war, battle,' in which case we may render the appellation by "fond of war."

¹⁰ In this and the following two verses, there are no verbs except past participles. I supply, in such terms as seem appropriate, that which appears necessary to complete the construction. It seems likely that these three verses are detached excerpts from some longer composition, which has not yet come to notice in the records of the dynasty; just as the preceding verse about Nirupama-Kalivallabha is an excerpt from the full description of Dhruva given in the Wanī grant (see the preceding note).

¹¹ See page 102 above, note 11.

with the Gûrjaras, those who dwell in the hill-fort of Chitrakûṭa, and then the lords of Kāñchī, he became (*known as*) Kirtinārāyaṇa.¹

(V. 6; 1. 7). (*And then there came his son*) Atisāyadhavaḷa-(Amôghavarsha I.), whose feet are rubbed by the diadems of hostile kings (*bowing down before him*), and whose heroism is praised throughout the whole world, and who is worshipped by the lords of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava, and Veṅgi.

(Line 9)—Ôm! Hail! Fortune! While, to an extent ever greater and greater, the increase of the sovereignty of him, Lakshmivallabhendra,² who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nṛpatuṅga,—the Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka who has attained the pañchamahāśabda;³ he who has covered all the territories of the numerous chieftains⁴ of the hostile kings, over the whole surface of the earth which is girdled by the belt of the four oceans, with his thousands of courtesans decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings and armlets and necklaces, and with the darkness (*caused by the multitude*) of his *chauris*, and with his very brightly shining (?) three white umbrellas, and with his battle-horns and conches, and with his broad standard of the pālidhvaja-banner and his (*other*) flags; he who is a born leader of armies; he whose feet, resembling water-lilies, are rubbed by the lofty tiaras and diadems (*bowed down before him*) of Daṇḍānyakas (*in charge*) of capitals and groups of places,⁵ and of chieftains and other lords of districts (?); he who has conquered his foes; he who is a very staff of Death to the host of his enemies; he who breaks down the pride of wicked people; he who is a very unfailing Rāma; he who is a very lion to the army of his enemies; he who subdues gods and demons; he who causes fear to his foes; he who captivates the minds of truthful women;⁶ he who is the habitation of haughtiness; he who has been born in the race of the Raṭṭas; he who has the Garuda-crest; he who is heralded in public with the sounds of the musical instrument called ṭivīḷi; (*he who has the hereditary title of*) supreme lord of the town of Lattalûra,—was continuing, like the sovereignty of the great Vishṇu, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun might last:—

(L. 18)—While the Vyaya saṁvatsara, the seven [hundred and eighty-eighth] of the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings, was current; and while the

¹ I.e. "a very Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) in fame." A verse in the description of Gōvinda III. in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 presents this *biruda* in the form of Kirtipurusha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 24). I then translated it by "the personification of fame." But there is no real authority for that. And, on the other hand, Purusha was Vishṇu, who, again, was Nārāyaṇa; and the composer of that verse evidently used Kirtipurusha instead of Kirtinārāyaṇa, simply to suit his convenience in framing his lines.—The Sirūr version of the verse has, instead of *jātaḥ, jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*,—"he (*became known as*) Kirtinārāyaṇa on the earth." The Chifchli inscription of A.D. 897-98 (mentioned in note 8 on page 105 above), however, presents clearly *jātaḥ*, again. And *jāta*, which means ordinarily 'born,' seems to be used here in the meaning of 'happened, become, present, apparent, manifest.'

² We might take this as simply an epithet, and translate it by "the chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmi or Fortune." But various analogies justify us in finding in this word a formal *vallabha*-appellation of Amôghavarsha I., which in its simplest form would be Lakshmivallabha.

³ The present passage is one of a limited number in which this epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns. Two other instances have been given by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9; and a few others will be adduced on some more convenient occasion.

⁴ The genitive *maṇḍalikarkalā* seems to be governed by *digantar-ella*, the last member of the following compound, rather than by any of the preceding members of it.

⁵ From *taḷavarga*, which we have here and in Sirūr, line 10, we have *Talavargis*, which occurs as an official title in Vol. IV. above, p. 258, text line 14.

⁶ Kittel's Dictionary gives *badde*, 'a truthful woman,' and indicates that it is a feminine form of *badda*, 'firm, true,' which is a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *baddha*. The whole word *badde-manôhara*,—half Kanarese, half Sanskrit,—is a *viruddha-samāsa* (more popularly known as an *arisamāsa*), "an incongruous or improper compound, a compound of heterogeneous words or words dissimilar in kind," which, according to the *Śabdamanidarpaṇa*, sūtra 174, is allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*.

fifty-[second] of the augmenting years of the victorious reign of him who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga was continuing (with) an increase of sovereignty to an extent ever greater and greater:—

(L. 20)—While, by the favour of his majesty the king Atiśayadhavaḷa, the illustrious Dēvaṇṇayya, a very bee on the water-lilies that are the feet of Amôghavarshadēva and a very asylum for excellent people, was dwelling at Annigere,¹ governing the Belvola three-hundred; and while his [brother-in-law]² Kulappayya was governing the Muḷgunda twelve:—

(L. 23)—When it was the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha in that [year*], and when there was an eclipse of the sun,—on Kulappayya making a request, Dēvaṇṇayya obtained a royal decree from Amôghavarshadēva,³ and, with his (Amôghavarsha's) approval, the two of them, for the . . . of their parents, in a meritorious manner, at the time of that eclipse, laved the feet of the hundred-and-twenty Mahājanas of Nirgunda, and relinquished⁴ (to them) the tax on clarified butter, with a conveyance of the usufruct of it.

(L. 27)—He who protects this act of religion shall attain the reward of the merit of giving at Vāraṇāsi, at the time of an eclipse of the sun, a thousand tawny-coloured cows to Brāhmanas who know the Vēdas; whosoever destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the five great sins of destroying a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brāhmanas and Vāraṇāsi!⁵ Om! And there is the saying of Vyāsa:—(V. 7; 1. 30). He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty

¹ Regarding the second syllable of this name, as written here, see page 100 above, note 3.

² The meanings given to *maydama* in Kittel's Dictionary, which seem to mark clearly the relationship that is ordinarily intended, are 'a sister's husband, a husband's brother, a wife's brother;' and other meanings are 'a connection, friend, or husband,' and 'a brother's son in his relation to a sister's son.' Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives (under *maidana*, which is the same word) 'the son of a mother's brother, or of a father's sister, or a man's brother-in-law, if younger than one's self;' and on this authority I have, I think, sometimes translated it by 'cousin.'

³ *Lit.*, "Dēvaṇṇayya having made a *rdjairdrita* on Amôghavarshadēva." For *rdjairdrita*, 'a royal decree,' see page 99 above, note 2.

⁴ *Biḍu* means 'to let loose, to quit hold, to let go, to leave, to abandon, to give up,' etc., etc. We might perhaps understand it to mean here that the tax in question was abolished. But the verb is often used, in the ancient records, in the place of *koḍu*, 'to give;' that is to say, in the sense of 'to relinquish, to assign;' see, for instance, Vol. IV. above, p. 65, text line 23, and p. 353, lines 21, 34, and Vol. V. p. 25, lines 25, 26, 28, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, line 12, and Vol. XII. p. 225, line 19, p. 256, line 18, and p. 271, line 17-18; and the causal *biḍiṣu* occurs in the sense of 'causing to relinquish, assign, or allot,' in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 225, line 10. The expression *sa-bhōga-saddhakam-dgi*, "in a manner accomplishing or effecting the enjoyment, with a conveyance of the usufruct," seems to shew clearly that it must be taken in that sense here. And there are three other references to the same matter, of the same period, one of which distinctly specifies a grant of the tax in question. The Sirūr inscription, of precisely the same date (see page 98 above), records that Dēvaṇṇayya, while governing the Belvola three-hundred, laved the feet of the two-hundred Mahājanas of Śrīvāra and relinquished (to them) (*biṭṭom*) the *tuppaders*. An inscription at Soratūr, dated, without full details, in the same year, the Vyaya *samvatara*, Śaka-Samvats 789 (expired), = A.D. 866-67, records that, while he was governing the Purigere *add*, the Mahādanta Kuppeyasa "graciously abandoned (*uḷidom*) the *tuppaders* to the fifty (Mahājanas) of Saratavura." And an inscription at Gāwarawād, dated in Ś-S. 791 (expired), in A.D. 869, records that, while he was still governing the Belvola three-hundred, Dēvaṇṇayya, under a royal decree (*rdjairdrita*), "laved the feet of the Mahājanas and . . . of Gavadiṇḍa, and gave (to them) (*dānam-goḷṭa*) the *tuppada tere*, to continue as long as the moon and sun should last." — It seems probable, now, that *biḍu* should be taken in the same sense of 'assigning' in line 6 of the Balagāmi inscription of the time of Viṇayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 144). And the purport of that record, accordingly, will be that Kāndarba, under a royal decree, conferred a favour on the specified establishments, etc., by assigning to them the specified fees and duties.

⁵ One might, perhaps, rather expect "at Vāraṇāsi." But plenty of other cases might be quoted, in which the accusative is used just as it is here. We may quote, in particular, lines 13, 14 of the Doḍḍabunḍi inscription (page 44 above), where the destruction of only Vāraṇāsi is mentioned.

thousand years!—(V. 8; l. 31). They say that the property of a god is poison;¹ and the property of a Brāhmaṇ is said to be poison: but poison kills only one person; whereas the property of a Brāhmaṇ kills one's sons and grandsons!—(V. 9; l. 32). If a man enjoys the property of a Brāhmaṇ through (*breach of*) trust, he burns his family to the seventh generation; and those who enjoy it by force (*burn*) ten ancestors and ten descendants!—(V. 10; l. 33). Victorious is the god Hari (Viṣṇu),² the cause of continuance and destruction and creation, who is a very winter to the water-lilies that are the faces of the wives of the demons!³—(V. 11; l. 34). "This general bridge of religion of kings should at all times be preserved by you;" thus does Rāmabhadra make his earnest request to all future princes!

(L. 35)—Written by bhaṭṭa. Nāgamuḍḍa (?) [set up] this stone.

No. 12.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

By H. LÜDERS, PH. D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of these two inscriptions were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn. The first⁴ is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying on the ground near the steps leading to the temple on the hill at Maṅgalagiri, 12 miles north-east of Guṇṭūr in the Kistna district.

It contains 257 lines of writing.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". At the top of the fourth face is a representation of the sun and the moon.—The alphabet is Telugu. The chief points in which it differs from the modern script are the following. The *talakaṭṭu* is a flattened semi-circle. The *dīrghamu* goes right down to the bottom of the line, except in *ā*, *ṇā* and *hā*, where it is represented by the curve above the line which in the modern alphabet appears in *hā* only. The *guḍi* is like the upper half of a circle, and to denote *ī*, the tip is sometimes slightly curved inwards; see e.g. *śi* in l. 241. But in most cases it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the long and the short vowel, except in *mī*, which appears in the modern form (l. 25). Medial *ē* has the form of a sickle or a semi-circle open to the left. In *mau* (ll. 54, 107), *yau* (l. 63), and *ryau* (l. 224) the diphthong is expressed by attaching the ordinary sign for *au* to the right of the letter and the sign for *ē* to the middle bar or to the *r*. Initial *a*, *ē*, *ga*, *gha*, *chha*, *ṭa*, *ṇa*, *da*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *va*, *śa*, *sha* and *ha* show still the ancient forms. In the case of *sha* this is all the more remarkable as already in the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1300,⁵ occasionally a form of *sha* appears which on account of the division of the middle horizontal line comes nearer to the modern form (see e.g. ll. 2, 18, 30). *Ka*, on the other hand, shows, except in *ka* in ll. 22, 177 and *kē* in l. 23, an advanced form which in its characteristic lines already resembles the modern form. *La* has a peculiar form, differing from the sign used e.g. in the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṃgama II. (Śaka-Saṃvat 1278)⁶ and the Vānapalli plates as well as from the modern sign. The *ottu*, the small vertical stroke underneath the letter, which in the modern alphabet is the sign of aspiration, is never found in *kha*, *chha* and *tha*, but, as a rule, it is used in *gha*, *ḍha*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha*, when no other sign stands below

¹ With the first, second, and fourth clauses, supply "if confiscated, or misappropriated."

² This verse seems rather out of place in the middle of the benedictive and imprecatory verses.

³ Compare the expression in the Tuśām inscription, which describes Viṣṇu as "a very frost to (*cause the withering of*) the beauty of the water-lilies which are the faces of the women of the demons" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 270).

⁴ No. 257 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 59 ff., Plates.

⁶ Above, Vol. III. p. 21 ff., Plates.

the letter, as in *ghna*, *dhva*, *bhri*, *bhya*, etc.¹ Occasionally, however, the *ottu* is missing without any reason; examples for *gha* are found in l. 18; for *ḍha* in l. 48; for *dha* in ll. 153, 228; 214 (*dāḍ*); 39, 180, 178 (*dāḍi*); 180, 218 (*ṛdḍi*); 93, 116, 198 (*dhu*); 27, 82, 163 (*dhdha*); for *bha* in ll. 33, 39, 231; 170, 187, 230 (*bhu*); 15, 85 (*bhā*); 233 (*bhā*); 141, 233, 244 (*bhō*). As in the latter cases the *talakattu* disappears, it is, of course, impossible to distinguish *bhā* and *bhō* from *bā* and *bō*. In the groups *chchha* and *rchchha* the *chha* is written above the *cha* (see ll. 15, 102, 160), the subscript *chha* apparently being found impracticable on account of the loop in the middle of the letter. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *rchā* (ll. 220, 224, 236), and before *y* and *v* with the exception of *rva* in l. 177, *rvā* in l. 24, and *rvi* in ll. 21, 33. Here, as in all other cases, the secondary sign has been used.—The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse, with the exception of the introductory phrase *subham=astu* in l. 1, the concluding Telugu words *śrī śrī śrīm jēyumu* in l. 257, and a few explanatory remarks in Telugu in ll. 46 f., 49 f. and 121.—As regards orthography, it will suffice to state that the doubling of consonants after *r* occurs only in *Rompicharlla* (l. 149) and *vargga* (l. 240). After *anusvāra* a consonant is doubled in *vēdāntta* (l. 10), *Kṛṣṇamāmbbayā* (l. 61), *saṁttāna* (l. 90), *ākṛāntta* (l. 140), *anāntta* (ll. 149, 225), *saṁdhādhāntam* (l. 163), *Romppicharla* (l. 226), *-āṁkkitaṁ* (l. 243), and probably in *Koṁḍakāvāri* (l. 255). A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *Timma* (l. 40, 252). In *nigriṁhya* (l. 5) and *Saṁhya* (l. 246) the *anusvāra* is due to faulty pronunciation. The group *ddh* is written *dhdh* in *ānadhā* (l. 8), *pātālādḥ=dharaṇi[m*]* (l. 27), *śudhā* (l. 48), *yadh-dhāṭi* (l. 82), *yudhā* (l. 86), *saṁdhādhāntam* (l. 163), and perhaps *-ōdhādhānta* (l. 83). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are written *maṇṭapa* (ll. 155, 168, 173, 184, 204) and *prathāna* (l. 29; *pratāna* in l. 113).

The proper object of the inscription is to record a grant by *Sālva-Timma*, the prime-minister of king *Kṛṣṇarāya* of *Vijayanagara*. It opens with invocations of *Vishṇu* in his boar incarnation (vv. 1, 2), as lord of *Kākuḷa* (v. 3), and as *Rāma* (vv. 4, 5). The title of *Kākuḷēsa* seems to refer to *Vishṇu* as worshipped at *Śrīkākuḷam*, 19 miles west of *Masulipatam* in the *Kistna* district. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I. p. 55, states that there is a temple at that place dedicated to *Śrīkākuḷēśvara-svāmin* and considered to be very sacred.²

The following verses (6-8) are an eulogy of king *Kṛṣṇarāya*. They contain no historical information besides the statement that 'king *Kṛṣṇa*'s pillar of victory is shining in the court of *Kāṇḍa*,' an allusion to his conquest of the eastern coast.

The next verses (9-15) give an account of *Kṛṣṇarāya*'s prime-minister *Sālva*- (or *Sāluva*-) *Timma*. He belonged to the *gōtra*³ of *Kaṇḍinya*, and was the son of the minister *Rāoḥa* and the grandson of the minister *Vēma*,⁴ and it may be added here that vv. 43, 44 and 47 incidentally mention the name of his wife, *Lakshmi*.⁵ Two verses (13 and 14) are devoted to his conquest of *Koṇḍaviṭi*, i.e. *Koṇḍaviṭu*, the well-known hill-fort in the *Narasarāyupēṭa tāḷuka* of the

¹ But if the subscript sign stands far enough to the right, the *ottu* appears occasionally; see *rgḥya* in l. 159.

² That this temple existed long before the time of our inscription is proved by the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions ranging from the latter half of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

³ Or, as it is called here, *kula*.

⁴ I have used throughout the Sanskrit forms of these names, *Rāoḥa*, *Vēma*, *Timma*, *Appa*, etc., though in the text we find also the longer forms *Timmaya*, *Appaya* (ll. 56, 148, 150, 153, 199, 227). Except in *Timmāḥya* in l. 42, the longer forms are invariably used in compounds before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *Appayādmīya*, *Gōpayādmīya*, *Timmayādmīya*, *Vēmayādmīya*, *Rāoḥayādmīya*, *Gōpayādrya*, *Appayādrya*.

⁵ Perhaps the praise bestowed on *Sālva-Timma* in vv. 11 and 12 for his literary attainments was not quite unfounded. In his *Index to the Sanskrit Mss. at Tanjore*, p. 159, Burnell mentions an 'exceedingly diffuse' commentary (*vyākhyāna*) on *Agastya's Bālābhadrata* by *Timmaya*, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work apparently is the same as the *Bālābhadratavyākhyāna* described by Taylor in his *Catalogue of Oriental Mss.*, Vol. I. p. 168, where the name of the author is given as *Sāluva-Timmanṇa daṇḍandītha*. The date, the title and the surname of the author make it highly probable that he is identical with the minister of *Kṛṣṇarāya*.

Kistna district. From verse 13, where it is said that he captured 'the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Koṇḍaviṭi,' it appears that Koṇḍaviṭu was governed at that time by some chieftains subordinate to the Gajapatis of Orissa. This agrees very well with what we can gather from other records. Until the beginning of the 15th century A.D. Koṇḍaviṭu was ruled by the Redḍis,—the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭa-Vēma, the latest record of the dynasty hitherto published, being dated in Śaka 1333.¹ Not long afterwards the country must have been occupied by the Gajapatis. In Śaka 1377, the cyclic year Yavan,² we find as ruler of Koṇḍaviṭu a certain Gāṇadēva Rautarāya, whose family was connected with that of the Gajapatis, and who apparently was a tributary of the Gajapati king Kapila.

The capture of Koṇḍaviṭu formed part of Kṛṣṇarāya's victorious campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. A detailed account of it is given in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara* written about 1525 and 1535 by two Portuguese horse-dealers, Domingos Paes and Fernão Nunes.³ There⁴ we are told that after the conquest of Odigair or Digary (Udayagiri)⁵ king Crisnarao (Kṛṣṇarāya) laid siege to Comdovy (Koṇḍaviṭu) which was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Orya (Orissa). The king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country. When Kṛṣṇarāya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Koṇḍaviṭu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*legoas*). On the banks of 'a great river with salt-water,' which apparently is the Kṛṣṇā, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa.⁶ After this victory the king told his 'regedor' Salvatinea (Sālva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Koṇḍaviṭu. After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sālva-Timma was appointed governor of Koṇḍaviṭu. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of Comdepallyr (Koṇḍapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdary,⁷ Kṛṣṇarāya made peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters. The 'river,' apparently the Kṛṣṇā, marked henceforth the boundary between the two kingdoms. After another expedition against Catuir⁸ on the coast of Charamāodel (Coromandel) the whole country was pacified, and Sālva-Timma was sent by the king to Koṇḍaviṭu to organize the administration of the newly acquired territory. On his way to Koṇḍaviṭu, Sālva-Timma defeated a general of the king of Daquem (Dekkan), called Madarmeluquo. A few months Sālva-Timma stayed at Koṇḍaviṭu, organizing the civil and judicial administration of the province. Then he returned to Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), where he was received by the king as the principal person of the kingdom. The narrative of the chronicle has the appearance of being, on the whole, perfectly reliable.⁹ If the inscription differs from it in ascribing the capture of Koṇḍaviṭu to Sālva-Timma alone, it is apparently only because he was the general in command of the Vijayanagara forces.

As a counterpart it may be quoted here what local tradition has to tell about the capture of the fort. According to Mr. Boswell,¹⁰ the story goes that about the beginning of the 16th century the last king of the Redḍi dynasty of Koṇḍaviṭu died childless, and his seventy-two

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 318 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 390 ff. The date is irregular.

³ *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. Manuscrito inédito do século XVI publicado por David Lopes.* Lisboa, 1897, p. lxxxvi f.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 19-24.

⁵ The conquest of Udayagiri and its dependencies took place in 1513; compare Sewell, *Liste of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 107, and *Sketch of the Southern Dynasties*, p. 109.

⁶ This seems to be the battle referred to in an inscription at Mēdūru; see Sewell, *Liste of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 51.

⁷ Symamdary is described as 'a very large town.' I therefore consider it to be Rājamahēndri (Rajahmundry), Symamdary being probably an error for Raamamdary or a similar form.

⁸ I cannot identify this place.

⁹ One very slight mistake will be noticed hereafter.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 193.

chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor. Kṛishṇarāya resolved to make use of this state of things, and to acquire for himself the kingdom. To accomplish his designs, he sent a wily and unscrupulous Brāhmaṇ to Koṇḍaviṭṭu. This Brāhmaṇ was directed to set up and consecrate a new image in the temple of Gōpināthasvāmin at the foot of the fort, and to invite the seventy-two chiefs to the celebration of these rites. They descended from their hill-fortress and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new image. As they stepped into the inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. When all had thus found their death, Kṛishṇarāya had no difficulty in seizing the fort. In a Telugu chronicle extracted by Mr. Sewell¹ the name of the wicked Brāhmaṇ is given as Rāmāyā Bhāskarudu. It is hardly necessary to point out that the story, as it stands, is incompatible with the historical facts. Whether it is purely fictitious or based on events which occurred at a different time, cannot be decided at present. At any rate it shows once more that local traditions and local chronicles, by themselves, have no historical value, even when they refer to events of comparatively modern times.²

The date of the capture of Koṇḍaviṭṭu is given several times, expressed in words, letters and figures.³ It took place on Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha in the Śaka year 1437. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1437 expired, this corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1515, when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha ended 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.⁴

Vv. 16-19 give a short genealogy of the two ministers Appa and Gōpa. They were the sons of the minister Timma, who belonged to a family from Nādiṇḍla⁵ and to the *gōtra*⁶ of Kauśika, and his wife Kṛishṇāmbā or Kṛishṇamāmbā who was the sister of Sāḷva-Timma, as appears from vv. 19 and 23, where Appa and Gōpa are called Sāḷva-Timma's sister's sons (*bhāginēya*). Later on, however, in v. 30 Gōpa is incidentally spoken of as his son-in-law (*jāmātri*), and in v. 27 as his younger son-in-law (*jāmātary=avarā*), which term, if used in its strict sense, would imply that both brothers were married to daughters of Sāḷva-Timma, their cousins. Of the following verses, vv. 20-23 are in praise of Nādiṇḍla-Appa, vv. 24-28 are glorifying Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, and vv. 29-34 give a description of the latter's pious gifts. With v. 35 the text returns to Nādiṇḍla-Appa, the list of whose donations fills vv. 36-59. Of

¹ *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48.

² Of course, this does not exclude that some of their statements may be correct. The account of the Telugu chronicle, for instance, is partly confirmed by the inscriptions and the Portuguese chronicle.

³ For details I refer to the translation.

⁴ My thanks for the calculation of this and the following dates are due to Prof. Kielhorn who has also favoured me with the following additional remarks regarding the term *Harivāsara*. According to Molesworth's *Mardāhi Dictionary*, *Harivāsara* is a term for the first quarter of the 12th lunar day, and a common term for the 12th lunar days of the light fortnight of the months Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, and Kārttika, upon which, respectively, occur the *nakṣatras* Anurādhā, Śravaṇa, and Rēvatī. In accordance with the latter meaning we find e.g. in two Bombay *Pañchāṅgas* for Śaka 1789 and 1814 *Harivāsara* written opposite to *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12, with, in either case, the Anurādhā-*nakṣatra*, but not in a Bombay *Pañchāṅga* for Śaka 1812, where the *nakṣatra* on *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12 was Viśākhā. That in the inscription also *Harivāsara* is used with the same meaning, is proved by the fact that on the day in question the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Anurādhā by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. With regard to the origin of the name, it may be pointed out here that the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha was considered to be pre-eminently auspicious for the worship of Viṣṇu. The *Dharmasindhu* says '*Āshāḍha-śukla-dvādāśyām Vāmana-pājanīna naramādhā-phalam*.' It is therefore also called *Vaiṣṇava-tithi* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 833, No. 17) and described as *mahātithi* (*ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 131, Plate IV. A, l. 16). *Harivāsara* must not be confounded with *Haridina* which, according to Molesworth, is simply a term for the *śuddhā* or 11th day of the waxing or waning moon, and in this sense occurs e.g. in *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 63 (*Harā-dina*).

⁵ On Nādiṇḍla, the modern Nādenḍla, see below, p. 115 and note 4.

⁶ Here called *avayā*.

historical value are verses 21, 27, 28 and 35. V. 21 states that Nādiṇḍa-Appa obtained from king Kṛishṇa and the minister Sāḷva-Timma the right to use a palanquin, two *chauris*, and a parasol, and the posts of commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati, and of sole governor (*śkadhuraṁdhara*) of that kingdom. Vinikoṇḍa is apparently the modern Vinukoṇḍa, a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 37 miles west-south-west of Koṇḍaviḍu.¹ Gutti (Gooty) is the well-known hill-fort in the Anantapur district, and Amarāvati is the equally well-known Buddhist site in the Kistna district. Vv. 27 and 28 state in very similar words that Sāḷva-Timma gave to Nādiṇḍa-Gōpa the right to use a palanquin and two *chauris*, and the posts of general of an army and sole governor (*śkadhuraṁdhara*, *dhaurēya*) of the town and country of Koṇḍaviṭi. But in v. 35 we are told that in the year Yuvan, marked as Sālivāhana-Śaka (*Sālivāhana-Śak-āṅka*), Nādiṇḍa-Appa obtained the regentship of Koṇḍaviṭi from Sāḷva-Timma.

The apparent discrepancy between these statements may be solved, I think, with the help of the data furnished by the Portuguese chronicle. We have only to assume that Nādiṇḍa-Appa was temporarily appointed after the capture of Koṇḍaviḍu, when Sāḷva-Timma left the country in order to accompany the king on his expedition against Orissa, and that afterwards, when Sāḷva-Timma had settled the administration of the country and intended to return to Vijayanagara, he installed Appa's younger brother Gōpa as governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati. That Appa was appointed immediately after the capture of the fort, is shown by the date. There can be no doubt that it was Śaka-Saṁvat 1437 expired, which corresponds to Yuvan, although the chronogram does not work out quite correctly. The first three letters present no difficulty, *s(ā)* being 7, *l(i)* 3, and *v(ā)* 4, but, according to Burnell, *h(a)* has the value of 8, whereas here it would have to be taken as 1.² Secondly, the above assumption agrees with the fact that five years afterwards, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1442, Gōpa was ruling as governor of Koṇḍaviḍu.³ And from v. 45, where Appa, 'the lord of Vinikoṇḍa etc.,' is said to have made a grant in Śaka-Saṁvat 1439, we may perhaps even conclude that the new arrangement was made in or before that year. The chronicle, it is true, does not mention the second appointment of a substitute, and the first substitute is called there the brother of Sāḷva-Timma, which certainly is a mistake. On the other hand, the statement that the real governor of Koṇḍaviḍu was Sāḷva-Timma, and that he, on his hand, appointed a regent, is fully borne out by the terms used in v. 35, and the fact that he granted a village situated in the territory of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The list of Nādiṇḍa-Gōpa's gifts comprises only three items.

1. (V. 29.) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya (i.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1442) he erected some new buildings (*harmya*) adorned with a wall (*vapra*) and a gate-tower (*gōpura*) in honour of the god Rāghava in Achalapuri. This is the Sanskrit equivalent of Koṇḍaviḍu, as we learn from the following verses that the temple of Rāghava or Raghunāyaka was situated in that town.

2. (Vv. 30-32.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the towns (3), the Vēdas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vṛisha, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Phālguna, he set up an image of Raghunāyaka in the town of Koṇḍaviṭi. This image was surrounded by statues of Rāma's followers.⁴ For Śaka-Saṁvat 1443 expired, the date corresponds to Monday, the 10th February A.D. 1522, when the full-moon *tīthi* of Phālguna ended 18 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ The older form of the name seems to have been *Viśṇukunḍa*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 1.

² The chronogram is altogether a very poor one; it has three letters, or, if *śaka* is to be considered part of it as in *Sālivāhana* in v. 14, even four letters too many.

³ See the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription which will be published at an early date in this volume.

⁴ For details I refer to the translation.

3. (V. 34.) In order to do the performance of *niyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,¹ he presented to the temple of the holy Śāṭuva-Rāghava the fertile village of Unnuva, defined by its four boundaries and completely furnished with all necessary things, together with the eight powers and enjoyments. The temple of Śāṭuva-Rāghava seems to be identical with the temple of Rāma at Koṇḍaviḍu referred to in the preceding verses. The village of Unnuva is the Vunnava of the map, 5 miles south-south-east of Koṇḍaviḍu.

Of the nineteen grants of Nādiṇḍa-Appa enumerated in vv. 36-59 one is undated, six were made in Śaka 1438, ten in Śaka 1439, one in Śaka 1440, whereas one (v. 38) lies as far back as Śaka 1414. This last date seems to me open to grave doubts;² at any rate, it is difficult to see how Appa could have granted a village in the principality of Koṇḍaviḍu 23 years before the occupation of the country. The localities mentioned are situated in the modern tālukas of Vinukonda, Narasārvupēṭa, Guṇṭūr, Bāpaṭla, Bezvāḍa, Oṅḡḡlu, and Palnāḍ (?). As we do not know the exact date of Appa's installation as governor of Vinukonda *etc.*, we cannot say with certainty whether he made these grants in the latter capacity or at the time when he was still governor of Koṇḍaviḍu. And even from those cases where the granted villages are expressly stated to have been in the *siman* of Vinukonda, no conclusions can be drawn in this respect, as there is no reason to believe that Vinukonda formed a separate province before the country was divided between Appa and Gōpa.

1. (V. 36.) In the Śaka year to be counted by 9, the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year *īśvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having founded an excellent village³ bearing the name of Appāpura, which was supplied with a tank and with some⁴ good arable land between Vinukonda and the river Kunti, he gave it to the temple of Aṅgaḍi-Gōpinātha-Hari. From v. 47 we learn that this temple was in the town of Vinukonda. The river Kunti may be the Guṇḍlakamma, or, more probably, one of its tributaries.⁵ 4 miles south-west of Vinukonda, on the left bank of the Guṇḍlakamma, the map shows Sabinivinu Appavupuram, which probably is the same as the Appāpura of the inscription.

2. (V. 37.) To the temple of Ananta-Gōpinātha, situated at Rompicharla, he gave the village of Gōpavara. Rompicharla is 10 miles west of Narasārvupēṭa.⁶ Gōpavara may be the Gopapuram of the map, 8 miles south of Rompicharla.

3. (V. 38.) In the Śaka year contained in the Indras (14), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1414), he presented a wall (*vapra*) and the whole village of Paṇimarrī to the temple of Mādhaavidēvi in the town of Madderēla, to be enjoyed as long as the earth will last. Madderēla or, as it is called in v. 48, Madderāla seems to be the Madheralah of the map, 21 miles south-west of Bāpaṭla, 6 miles west of Mōtupalle.⁷ Paṇimarrī may be the hamlet of Pamidimarri, the Payidimarri of the map, 8 miles south of Narasārvupēṭa, though the distance between Pamidimarri and Madheralah amounts to 30 miles.

¹ *Dvāsapṭaty-adhikāṇḥ niyōga-kalāṇḥ kartum*. I do not know what is meant by this phrase. It occurs again in the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 8), l. 98: *dvāsapṭaty-adhikāṇḥ niyōga-rachandāḥ . . . kṛitāḥ*.

² There seems to be some confusion in the verse. The *vapra* which Appa is said to have erected in Śaka-Samvat 1414 is apparently the same which according to v. 48 he built in Śaka-Samvat 1438.

³ With *kṛitāḥ grāmasvaram* compare *avayuti-kaland-nirmit-Appāpur-dhāyaḥ . . . grāmaḥ* in v. 52, *Appāpuram . . . virachayya* in v. 54, and *grāmaḥ vidhāya* in v. 55.

⁴ With *kiyaṇḍirataḥ* compare *kiyaṭṭim-avayutya bhūmim* in v. 54, and *avayutya bhūmim-uchitāḥ* in v. 55.

⁵ The Guṇḍlakamma seems to be identical with the Ōmkāra mentioned in v. 40.

⁶ In the village is a temple dedicated to Gōpālavāmin, which probably is identical with the temple mentioned in the inscription; see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. Appendix, p. xii.

⁷ There is also a Mudderalapudoo (Madderālapāḍu) 6½ miles north by east of Oṅḡḡlu in the Nellore district on the right bank of the Guṇḍlakamma.

4. (V. 39.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the Brahman (9),¹ the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*ālaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*maṇṭapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*saudha*), to Rāmēśvara in the fort of Vinikoṇḍa.

5. (V. 40.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhātṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of Śiva at the village of Nandipāṭi near the river called Ōmkāra. Nandipāṭi seems to be the Nundee pandoo (Nandipāḍu) of the map, 8 miles north of Ōṅḡlu. It is situated on the right bank of the Guṇḍalakamma which in that case would have to be identified with the Ōmkāra river.²

6. (V. 43.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Rāmas (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, he presented a plastered hall (*maṇṭapa*) of stone to the temple of the great Virēśvara in the village called Nūntulapāṭi in the *siman* of Vinikoṇḍa, for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.³ 29 miles south-south-west of Guṇṭūr, 34 miles east-south-east of Vinukoṇḍa, the map shows Nutalupadu, which possibly is identical with the Nūntulapāṭi of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v. 46.

7. (V. 44.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Bahudhānya (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*maṇṭapa*) and presented it to the temple of Agastya-Mahēśvara at Krāñjā for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.⁴ Krāñjā is the modern Kāzā, 9 miles north-east of Guṇṭūr.

8. (V. 45.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarva-mānyas*,⁵ (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mēra*)⁶ (due) to village accountants (*karaṇika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the Vaikuṇṭha heaven.

9. (V. 46.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, he gave the *agrahāra* Mallavara, filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever,⁷ to the temple of Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha, the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.⁸ The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1489 expired=Īśvara, to the 1st August A.D. 1517, when the full-moon *tithi* of Śrāvaṇa ended

¹ *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv. 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol. IV. p. 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitamaha* is mentioned by Bêrûni among the numerical words for 1.

² There is another Nandipāḍu six miles south by east of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

³ The phrase *Lakshmi-ndyaka-Sālva-Timma-vibhakti* occurs again in v. 47, and with the addition of *punyaḍya* in v. 44 and v. 38 of the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of Sālva-Timma and his wife Lakshmi, as clearly stated in the Telugu portion of the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription, l. 153 ff. The words *Lakshmi-ndyaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

⁴ See the preceding note.

⁵ *Sarvamānya*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to Brāhmanas or some temple.

⁶ [For *mēra* and *karaṇika* see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.—E. H.]

⁷ *Achalam*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

⁸ See below, p. 129, note 5.

19 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. But this day was a **Saturday**, not a **Monday**.¹ Mallavarâgrahâra may be the Mullavarum Agra of the map, 4 miles north of Tummarakôṭa in the Palnâḍ taluka, on the right bank of the Kṛishṇâ, or Mallavaram, 10½ miles north-east of Koṇḍaviḍu, or Mullavarum, 11 miles north-north-west of Oṅgôlu. There is also a Chinna Mullavarum, 23½ miles north-north-east of Oṅgôlu.

10. (V. 47.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Vaiśākha, he presented a beautiful large hall (*maṇṭapa*) and a very high wall (*prākāra*) to the temple of Aṅgaḍi-Gôpinâtha-Hari in the town of Vini-koṇḍa for the benefit of Sâḷva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.² The same temple we have met with already in v. 36.

11. (V. 48.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438), he presented to the temple of Mâdhavi-dêvi in the town of Madderrâla the wall (*vapra*) which he had caused to be heightened. This temple was mentioned already in v. 38.

12. (Vv. 49, 50.) In the Śaka year contained in the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), having presented the whole village of Âtukûru, surnamed Nâdiṇḍla, to the Brâhmanas, he gave them a large tank, causing the growth of rice-fields and sugar-cane, for the performance of the daily ceremonies of bathing and praying at the *sandhyâs*, etc. This statement is repeated in different words in the second verse.³ Âtukûru is the Autcoor of the map, 11 miles north of Bezvâḍa.

13. (V. 51.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the Râmas (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Dhâtṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he presented a solid temple (*prâsâda*), adorned with nine golden pinnacles (*kumbha*), and a beautiful large hall (*maṇṭapa*) to the temple of Hari, the lord of Maṅgalasâila, and gave also the village of Maṅgalasâila to the temple of Nṛisimha. Maṅgalasâila is, of course, identical with Maṅgalagiri, where the inscription was found.

14. (V. 52.) In the Śaka year counted by the Brahmanas (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having presented to the Brâhmanas the village of Appâpura, which he had formed by taking off a portion of the land in the *śīman* of the village of Rêtûri, he gave, in aid of them, a large tank for the cultivation of paddy fields, etc. This tank is described in the next verse. Rêtûri is the Return of the map, 7 miles north by west of Bâpaṭla. One mile to the north-west of it the map shows Appapuram.

15. (V. 54.) In the Śaka year marked by the Brahmanas (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the *śīman* of Nâdiṇḍla and having founded Appâpura, which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brâhmanas. Nâdiṇḍla, which apparently is connected with the name of the donor's family, is the modern Nâdeṇḍla,⁴ 9½ miles east-south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa. 3½ miles south-west of Nâdeṇḍla, 8 miles south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa, the map shows Appapuram.

16. (V. 55.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having taken off a suitable portion of land in the territory of Yêrohûri and having founded a village

¹ Prof. Kielhorn adds that in Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 current = Dhâtṛi the full-moon *tithi* of the second (*aijā*) Śrâvapa commenced 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 11th August 1616, but he thinks it not at all probable that this day is intended.

² See above, p. 114, note 3.

³ See the translation.

⁴ For inscriptions at this village see above, Vol. IV. p. 37 f.

adorned with a tank and containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭis*,¹ he gave it to the temple of *Aubhaḷa-Nārasimha-Hari* at *Yērchūri*. This is the *Vēlchūru*, *Yēlohūru*, or *Ēlohūr*, 12½ miles south-west of *Narasarāvupēṭi*, 4 miles north of *Kommālapāḍu* Bungalow, mentioned by Mr. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 73. On the map the name of the village is missing, though its site is indicated.

16a. (V. 56.) To the temple of *Ananta-Gōpinātha* at *Rompicharla* he gave the village of *Gōpavara*. This is merely a repetition of v. 37.

17. (V. 57.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the *Vasus* (8), the fires (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Dhātri* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Vaiśākha*, he gave the whole village of *Bhartapūṇḍi* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*, which he had marked with his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments, to the learned *Rāyaṇa-Bhāskara* who belonged to the *gōtra* of *Vasishṭha*. The map shows *Bhartapudi* 5 miles north-east of *Bāpaṭla*, but the identification must remain doubtful. As the distance between this *Bhartapudi* and *Vinukoṇḍa* is about 52 miles, it could hardly be said to be in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*.

18. (V. 58.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Dhātri* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Śrāvaṇa*, having taken off at *Yērchūri* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa* a village called *Gōpapuram*, containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭis*² and adorned with a tank, he presented it to the *Brāhmaṇas*. *Yērchūri* we have met with already in v. 55; 1½ miles north-west of it the map shows *Gopapuram*.

19. (V. 59.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the *Rāmas* (3), the aggregate of the pursuits of life³ (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īśvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Kārttika*, he gave the whole village of *Annavaṛa* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*, marked by his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments to the learned *Dēcha*⁴ of the *gōtra* of *Kaṇḍīnya*. *Annavaṛam* is a very common name, which makes a strict identification impossible. The map shows an *Annavaṛam* *Kandrike* 5 miles west of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, 20 miles north-east of *Vinukoṇḍa*, another *Annavaṛam* (*Annawarum*) 25¼ miles south by west of *Vinukoṇḍa*, and a third *Annavaṛam* 17 miles south-east of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, 35 miles east of *Vinukoṇḍa*.

The list of *Nādiṇḍa-Appa*'s donations concludes with a verse (60) in praise of *Sāḷva-Timma*, and the last verse of the inscription (61) records that *Sāḷva-Timma* assigned the village of *Koṇḍakāvūri* to the temple of *Trikūṭṣēśvara-Niṭaladriś*, i.e. *Trikūṭṣēśvara-Śiva*, the lord of the whole world, as long as the moon and the sun and the stars endure. *Koṇḍakāvūri* is the modern *Koṇḍakāvūru*, 8 miles south of *Narasarāvupēṭa*.

The second inscription,⁵ also in *Telugu* characters, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying in the temple of *Kōḍaṇḍarāmasvāmin* at *Kāzā*, 9 miles north-east of *Gupṭūr*, in the *Kistna* district. It contains 258 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is ½". With the exception of the last verse, beginning in l. 255, the whole text of the inscription is identical with that of the *Maṅgalagiri* inscription. Only the order of the verses differs, as shown by the following comparison: *Kāzā* 1—35 = *Maṅgalagiri* 1—35; *K.* 36 = *M.* 55; *K.* 37—40 = *M.* 36—39; *K.* 41, 42 = *M.* 45, 46; *K.* 43 = *M.* 40; *K.* 44 = *M.* 47; *K.* 45—47 = *M.* 41—43; *K.* 48—54 = *M.* 48—

¹ Regarding the term *puṭṭi* see above, Vol. III. p. 93, note 1. *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi* seems to mean the *puṭṭi* (used in the village) of *Kēsaripāḍu*, which cannot be traced on the map.

² See the preceding note.

³ I have not found the word *varga* in any of the published lists of numerical words. The meaning of four is, of course, due to the *chatuṛvarga*.

⁴ [He is styled *Āra-Dēcha*, 'the *Dēcha* of (this) village.'—E. H.]

⁵ No. 255 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

54; K. 55=M. 44; K. 56=M. 57; K. 57=M. 59; K. 58=M. 58; K. 59=M. 60. M. 56, which is only a repetition of v. 37, occurs in K. once only. In neither case any principle seems to have been followed in arranging the verses. Under these circumstances I have thought it unnecessary to publish in full the text of this inscription; but I have given all the various readings which it presents in the notes on the text of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

The last verse records that in the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1488), the minister Appa built a plastered hall (*maṇḍapa*) at the temple of Agastyēśa at Nallapāṭi. Nallapāṭi, the Nelapadu of the map, is 15 miles north of Guṇṭūr. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 75, there are several temples in that village. The map shows another Nallapadu 4 miles west of Guṇṭūr, but no remains of temples seem to exist at this place.

A.—Maṅgalagiri Pillar Inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Face.

- 1 शुभमस्तु ।[*] अथादादिवराहो वस्तरसासु-
- 2 इहवर्षी । निजांगसंगसंजातसांद्रस्त्रेदो-
- 3 दयामिव ।[*] कल्याणभाकलयतादयमादि-²
- 4 पोत्री धात्रीसुदरक्ष³ सरसां स रसातिरेकात् ।
- 5 संश्लेषसंभ्रमवशात्सहसा⁴ निगृह्य⁵ दंतेन
- 6 किंचिददुनोदधरं धरायाः⁶ ।[*] उरसि निहितल-
- 7 लीबाहुवलीयुगेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य केली-
- 8 विनोदे । कुवलयदळदामानध्वमंदारमा-⁷
- 9 लां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ।[*] श्रीरा-
- 10 मः[*] त्रियमातनोतु जगतां वेदांस्तवेद्यो ह-
- 11 रि⁸ । श्रीनानंतसदात्मकोपि मधवत्कार्याय मा-
- 12 यातनुः । यं दृष्ट्वा रिपवोपि रावणमुखाः का-
- 13 लावसाने दिवं याताः[*] श्रीहनुमद्विभीषणमु-
- 14 खा जाताः कृताधी⁹ भुवि ।[*] प्रह्लादिशिरोम-
- 15 पिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखाश्च भूषाश्च-
- 16 ¹¹मिदस्मिन्नस्मिलहरीभृंगाळिभृंगारितं । मंजीर-
- 17 कण्ठितैर्मराळवनितामंशुस्वनैरंचितं वंदे
- 18 रामपदारविंदमनघं वंदारकल्पद्रुमं ।[*] ५*

¹ From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

² K. °माधि°.

³ In K. the *anuvāda* of °संभ्रम° is written twice.

⁴ K. दरायाः, but perhaps corrected.

⁵ K. वेदांत°.

⁶ Read कृताधी, as correctly in K.

⁷ Read °सुदृक्ष, as correctly in K.

⁸ Read निगृह्य.

⁹ Read °नह°.

¹⁰ Read रिप्रां°, as correctly in K.

¹¹ Read मिदस्मिन्नस्मि°.

- 19 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राज-
 20 न्यचूळिकारन्ननोराजितपदांशुजः ।[। ६*] श्रीकृष्णचित्ति-
 21 पालदत्तमणिभिर्विहङ्गवीनां गृहा नानारत्न-
 22 विचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अन्दिः¹
 23 केवलनीरपूरनिलयसंभाष्यते सज्जनै । रं.²
 24 भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वां निधिर्वारिधिः ।[। ७*]
 25 आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिपशौर्यपक्षमोका-
 26 ध्वरे वैरिखांतनिखातशंकुरदितो दीपः प्रता-
 27 पांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणी³ वराहवपुषो दं-
 28 द्रा विभिद्योक्तता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजय-
 29 स्तंभः कळिंगांगणे ।[। ८*] महाप्रधान⁴ श्रीसाळ्वतिः⁵
 30 अक्षचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृपतेस्त्रास्त्राण्य-
 31 मधितिष्ठति ।[। ९*] श्रीसाळ्वतिमसचिवः⁶ कौडिन्यकुल-
 32 शेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्य-
 33 नंदनः⁷ ।[। १०*] विद्मो⁸ नैकं⁹ विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विहदग्रे-
 34 सराणां पद्मावाणीविलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः
 35 पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्रासादहर्म्यैरतुल-
 36 परिकरैरश्वहस्त्यादियानैस्त्रयस्त्रयो विशेषं
 37 समरविजयतस्त्राळ्वतिमस्य¹⁰ नूनं ।[। ११*] पंकप्रवे-
 38 शपरिमार्जनलज्जया किं पंकेरुहालयम-
 39 पास्य भवन्मुखां । पद्माधितिष्ठति सह क्षुषया
 40 च वाण्या चौहत्तमन्न चतुरानन साळ्वतिः¹¹
 41 अ ।[। १२*] ससांगोपेतशक्तिचितयचतुरपायै-
 42 कमन्त्रीशसाळ्वे तिस्राख्ये कौडवीद्यां गजप-
 43 तिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटी-
 44 माटीकमाने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासाति-
 45 खिन्नाः शाकाद्यान् मार्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधि-
 46 क्षासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ।[। १३*] १४३७ शकाब्दालु [।*] सुगू-

¹ Read अन्दिः.² Read सज्जनैरं.³ Read पातालाध्वरणी; in K. a small *anusudra* has been added afterwards.⁴ K. मनहा; read महाप्रधानः.⁵ K. श्रीसाळ्वतिमस्य.⁶ K. श्रीसाळ्वतिमस्य.⁷ K. यामा । त्यनहनः.⁸ In K. between the *d* and *m* of विद्मो the subscript sign for *t* has been inserted.⁹ The *anusudra* is very small, and has been inserted afterwards.¹⁰ K. तिमस्य.¹¹ K. तिमस्य.

- 47 ठंमलीनाः अक्ष[र*]संज्ञ¹ ।[1*] साळुवांकशकवत्सरग-
 48 ष्ठाषाढशुभहृदिवासरसौरौ² । साळुवतिम्नसचि-
 49 वेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ।[1 १४*] सा-
 50 ळुवांक अक्षरसंज्ञ । १४३७ शकवर्षालु ।[1*] पु-
 51 चारामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि का-
 52 व्यं चेह पपरच³ सौख्यजनकासंतानकास-
 53 त तान् । आहत्तान् गणनातिवर्ति कृतवानासेतु-
 54 शीताचलं श्रीकृष्णचितिपालमौळिसचिव[*] श्रीसा-
 55 ळुवतिम्नप्रभुः ।[1 १५*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो ना-
 56 दिङ्कुलशेखरः । अस्ति 'तिम्नयमन्त्रीशसम्न-⁴
 57 यात्मविवेकधीः ।[1 १६*] कृष्णांबारंधती ख्याता
 58 भर्तृवाक्ममरंधती । अनसूयेव सर्व-
 59 च सानसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७*]

Second Facs.

- 60 नादिङ्कुतिम्नयामात्यः कळची
 61 कृष्णमांब्या । तत्पुत्रावप्य-
 62 'यामात्यगोपयामात्यशेखरौ ।[1 १८*]
 63 श्रीसाळुवतिम्नसचिवभागिनेयौ कु-
 64 लोद्वहौ । नादिङ्कुयप्ययामा-
 65 त्यगोपयामात्यशेखरौ ।[1 १९*] अप्यो
 66 नादिङ्कुयप्यस्तावाप्यमूर्ति-
 67 प्रचेतसौ । पश्चिमीदन्वदीशानद-
 68 क्षिणीदन्वदीशरौ ।[1 २०*] श्रीकृष्णचितिपा-
 69 च तिम्नसचिवात्यक्षकिका' चाम-
 70 रे ।⁵ चत्रं⁶ यो विनिकोडगुत्तिकनक-
 71 क्षाभृत्युराद्यक्षतां¹⁰ । मत्तेभाख-
 72 पदातिसंकुलमहासेनाधिपत्यं
 73 महत्तद्राज्यैकधुरंधरत्वमग-
 74 मन्नादिङ्कुयप्यप्रभुः ।[1 २१*] जंभ-

¹ K. अक्षरसंज्ञ.² K. तिम्नयं.³ Read 'किका'.⁴ K. कृचं; read कृचं.⁵ Read 'गृह'; K. सौरा.⁶ Read 'चिम्न', as correctly in K.⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁸ Read 'राध्यक्षता', as correctly in K.⁹ Read पपरच, as corrected in K.¹⁰ K. यामत्यगो.

- 75 द्विष्टुंभिकुंभद्वयसचिवयची-
 76 चारुवद्वयेजकुंभव्यस्तव्याप्तानु-¹
 77 लिप्तप्रसूतमरमसूतदोदकर्पू-
 78 रपूरः । यत्कीर्तिः² कार्तिर्केदुं³ प-
 79 रिहसति निजैः 'स्नेतमाद्वैतवादे-
 80 स्नीयं नादिङ्गुयप्यप्रभुम-
 81 पिरखिलस्तुत्यकीर्तिप्रतापः ।[२२*] य-
 82 'ध्वाटीघोटकोटीखरखुरदन्तित-
 83 क्षातलोद्धूतधूळीपाळोपाता-⁴
 84 ऋकोळोक्तधरणिताले खड्गयुग्यस्य
 85 बाहुः । जिह्वालाभोलभूष-
 86 झुजगपतिरिव प्रेक्षते युध्वर-⁵
 87 गे स्नीयं नादिङ्गुयप्यप्रभु-
 88 रवनिभराक्रांतबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ।[२३*]
 89 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपस्य तुल्यवि-
 90 ति कथं स्तुमः । एकसंतानवा-⁶
 91 न्पूर्वस्मसंतानवान् परः ।[२४*] ए-
 92 के चाद्याविता⁷ ये वितरणनिगमा-
 93 न् वेधसा सिंधुचंद्रप्राया जा-
 94 ष्यं प्रपन्नाः कति च पश्यदृषद्वाह-
 95 जात्यातिमूढाः । धत्ते चाद्याप-⁸
 96 यंस्तान्वितरणनिगमान् गोप-
 97 यार्यः⁹ करेभ्यं कल्पद्रुं कामधे-
 98 नुं हृदि वदनदृशोचंद्रचिंता-
 99 मणो च ।[२५*] ¹²यद्देरिचोषिपालप्रकर-
 100 पुरमहाचंद्रशालाग्रहांतः[*]-¹³

¹ Read 'वचीज', as correctly in K.

² K. यत्कीर्ति.

³ Read कार्तिर्केदुं.

⁴ Read चेतितमा.

⁵ Read बाटी.

⁶ Perhaps the actual reading is 'चोषित', as in K.

⁷ Read युद्ध⁰; the *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ K. 'संतान'.

⁹ Read चाद्यापिता, as correctly in K.

¹⁰ Read चाद्याप⁰, as correctly in K.

¹¹ Originally च had been engraved instead of चं, but it seems to have been corrected.

¹² The रि has possibly been corrected out of डि.

¹³ K. 'ग्रहांत'.

- 101 ओखंडस्तंभकुंभद्वजगपतिह-¹
 102 ढालोढदेहार्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छ-
 103 न्नोहा[.*] खलंतः² सपदि गतविषा
 104 वैनतेयेन सद्यो द्योमार्गं यां³
 105 ति सोयं दिनमणिवितुतो भा-
 106 ति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२६*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपा-
 107 लमौळिसचिव[.*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मप्रभु-
 108 र्जामातर्यवरं धुरंधरवहे⁴ श्री-
 109 गोपमंचोश्चरे । 'प्राधत्ताखिलकीं'⁵
 110 डवोटिनगरीमाम्नाज्यरौरय-⁷
 111 कां⁸ मत्तेभाष्यपदातिसेन्यकलितां⁹
 112 पक्षिकिकां चामरे ।[। २७*] श्रीकृष्णरा-
 113 यनरनाथशिरःप्रतानश्रीसाळ्व-¹⁰
 114 तिम्रसचिवेश्वरभागिनेयः । ना-
 115 दिङ्गुगोपसचिवी नयतत्ववे-¹¹
 116 दी श्रीकोडवोटिनगरैकधुरंधरो-
 117 [भू]त् ।[। २८*] राघवायगणिते शकव-
 118 [र्वे] राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्यां ।¹²
 119 वप्रगोपुरमयेर्नव[ह*]म्यैर्गो-¹³
 120 पमंचितिलकेन सपर्याः¹⁴ ॥ [२९*]

Third Face.

- 121 राघवाय १४४२ अक्षरमंज ॥[।*] शाकाब्दे पु-
 122 रवेद्वार्धिशशभिर्गण्ये⁵ वृषे वत्सरे फाल्गुन्यां
 123 विधुवासरे शुभदिने श्रीकोडवोटोपुरे । नादि-
 124 ड्वान्वयगोपमंचितिलक[.*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मप्रभोजी-

¹ Read 'मशुभजगपरिह', as correctly in K.

² The subscript sign which I have read *kh* is rather indistinct, and may be meant for something else ; in K., however, the reading ख is quite certain.

³ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ Read धुरंधरवरे.

⁵ Read प्रादत्ता°.

⁶ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ Read 'ज्यधौरय', as correctly in K.

⁸ Read तां, as in K., where तां seems to have been corrected out of कां.

⁹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁰ K. 'प्रधान°'; read 'प्रधान°'.

¹¹ Read 'तत्त्ववे-'.
¹² The *anusvāra* and the sign of punctuation stand at the beginning of the next line ; K. 'ताचपुर्यां'.

¹³ K. 'वहस्ये°'.

¹⁴ Read सपर्या, as correctly in K.

¹⁵ K. 'वार्दिश°'.

- 125 माता रघुनायकस्य कृतवान् सम्यक्प्रतिष्ठावि-
 126 धिं ।[। ३०*] सुयोवलाक्ष्मणविभोषणजांबवद्विश्व-
 127 युक्तभरतेन हनूमता च । सीतापतिं सप-
 128 रिषारकमंगदेन रामं च गोपसचिवोक्तत सु-
 129 प्रतिष्ठं ।[। ३१*] सीतारामसमन्विता सभरता चैषा
 130 ह्ययोध्या तता^१ शत्रुघ्नाधिकलक्ष्मणा विजय-
 131 ते श्रीकोडवोटोपुरी । सुग्रीवो हनुमान्विभीष-^२
 132 ण इह श्रीजांबवत्संगदो^३ रामं सावरणं प्र-
 133 तिष्ठितमताम्नादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः^४ ।[। ३२*] श्रीकोडवोटि-
 134 पुरिनायक रामचंद्रः^५ किं चंद्रका^६ समधि-
 135 गत्य शशः कर्ककः । आयाति यावदिति साकुव-
 136 केतनत्वं धत्ते न चेत्कुत इदं गरुडध्वजस्य ।[। ३३*] द्वा-
 137 सप्तत्यधिकां नियोगकलनां कर्तुं बुधया-
 138 मिणीः^७ । श्रीमत्साकुवराधवाय महितो ना-
 139 दिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः । प्रादादुत्तुवनामकं सु-
 140 फलितं सोमाचतुष्कान्वितं ।^८ सर्वाक्रांततया^९
 141 समस्तमासमाष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं^{१०} ।[। ३४*] सालिवा-
 142 हनशकांकयुवादे सालिवाहनसमोप्य-
 143 यमंत्रो । साकुवतिभ्यसचिवादुदवापत्की-
 144 डवोटिनगराधिपलक्ष्मी ।[। ३५*] शाकादे नववज्रिवा-
 145 धिवसुधागण्येक्षरे वत्सरे सुचेत्रं विनिकीड-
 146 कुंतिसरितोर्मध्ये^{११} कियन्मात्रतः । कृत्वा ग्राम-
 147 वरं तटाककक्षितं चाप्यापुरास्थान्वितं ।^{१२} प्रा-
 148 दादंगडिगोपिनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयप्य-
 149 प्रभुः ।[। ३६*] अनंतगोपिनाथाय^{१३} रौपिचर्जनवा-
 150 सिने । प्रादाद्दीपवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुयप्य-

^१ Read तथा, as correctly in K.

^२ K. हनुमाचि°.

^३ Read श्रीजांबवासंगदो or श्रीजांबवत्संगदो or श्रीजांबवासंगदो.

^४ Read °सघाता°, as probably corrected in K.

^५ K. पुरना°; read °चंद्र.

^६ Read चंद्रता°, as correctly in K.

^७ Read मणीः, as correctly in K; the following sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

^८ This sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

^९ K. °क्रांततया.

^{१०} Read °समसमा°, as correctly in K.

^{११} Read °र्मध्ये°, as correctly in K.

^{१२} This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

^{१३} K. अनंत°.

- 151 मंचिराट् ।[। ३७*] महेरैलपुरमाधविदेई वप्रमिं.¹
 152 द्रजलदींदुगयाके² । पैणिमळ्ळिमदिशत्तंपू.³
 153 र्ण ग्राममावसुधमप्यमंथो ।[। ३८*] मञ्जा-
 154 म्निवेदशग्निगच्छशकेश्वरेन्दे नादिङ्गुयप्पसच्चिवो वि-
 155 निकोडदुर्गे । रामेश्वराय चममंटपवप्र-
 156 सौधारम्यालय⁴ समतनोत्तमतारसन्नः ।[। ३९*]
 157 'शाकेश्वरिनिगमैदुगदातृवर्षे' नादिङ्गुति-⁵
 158 म्मसच्चिवात्मभवाप्ययार्थः । श्रीकारनामस-
 159 रिदंतिकनंदिपाटिग्रामे शिवालयमनर्घ-
 160 मसावकार्णीत् ॥ [४०*] स्वच्छस्वच्छनखावळिच्छविशिखाके-
 161 ळोमराळोवृतं भूषोद्गासिभुजंगपुंगवल-
 162 लन्नाळामृणाशान्वितं⁶ । वैरिवातशिरोमिळिंद-
 163 वनितासंदोहसंघानितं ।⁷ वंदे दक्षमखा-
 164 रिपादकमलं बृंदारबृंदार्चितं ।[। ४१*] दक्षप्र-
 165 जापतेर्मूर्धा मेघमूर्धायते क्षणात्⁸ । यद्दीरकरुणा-
 166 वेशात्त वो वीरेश्वरोवतं⁹ ।[। ४२*] शाकाब्दे निधिरामवेदध-
 167 रणीगच्छेश्वरे वत्सरे श्रावण्यां विनिकोडश्रीमनि¹⁰ सु-
 168 दालितं¹¹ शिलामंटपं । ग्रामे नूतुलपाटि-
 169 नामनि महावीरेश्वरायादिशत् लक्ष्मीनायकसा-¹²
 170 ळ्वतिम्मविभवे¹³ नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः ।[। ४३*] शाकाब्दे गग-
 171 नाद्विवेदधरणीगच्छे¹⁴ च संवत्सरे विख्याते बडु-
 172 दान्यनामनि¹⁵ महात्मादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः । क्रां-
 173 जागस्यमहेश्वराय विपुलं रम्यं महामं-
 174 टपं लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिम्मविभवे पुण्याय क्त-

¹ The *gudi* has been added afterwards; the *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line; K. indistinct.

² Read 'मलदींदु', as correctly in K.

³ K. indistinct; read 'मलरिपू'.

⁴ Read 'सौधरण्या'.

⁵ Read 'शाकेश्वर', as correctly in K.

⁶ Read 'मगधाट', as correctly in K.

⁷ K. 'तिम्म'.

⁸ Read 'मृणालान्वितं'.

⁹ Read 'संघानितं', as probably correctly in K. The sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

¹⁰ For the *aksharas* जाप to क्षणा something else seems to have been originally engraved.

¹¹ Read 'वत्', as correctly in K.

¹² Read 'डस्रीमनि', as correctly in K.

¹³ Read 'दालित', as correctly in K.

¹⁴ Read 'शङ्खसी'.

¹⁵ K. 'तिम्म', or perhaps 'तिम'.

¹⁶ Read 'नाद्विवेद'.

¹⁷ Read 'दान्य', as correctly in K.; ना has been corrected from का.

- 175 त्वादिशत् ॥ [४४*] निधिशुचिनिगमस्त्रागण्यशाकेश्वराब्दे प्रभु-
 176 वरविनिकोडादोशनादिङ्गुयप्यः । निजजनकजन-
 177 न्योर्नित्ववैकुण्ठसिद्धौ^१ करणिककरमेरान्^२ सर्वमान्या-
 178 नकार्षीत् । [४५*] शाकाब्दे निधिवज्जिवेदधरणीगण्येश्वरे वत्स-
 179 रे आवण्यां विधुवामरे शुभदिने^३ नादिङ्गुयप्यप्र-
 180 मुः । प्रादात्मन्वराग्रहारमचलं सर्वधिसंपू-^४
 181 रितं तद्गामाधिपचनकेशवरमानाथाय बो-
 182 धात्मने । [४६*] शाकाब्दे निधिवज्जिवेदधरणीगण्येश्वरे वत्स-
 183 रे वैशाख्यां विनिकोडनामनि पुरे रम्यं महा-

Fourth Face.

- 184 मंठपं । प्रादादंगडिगोपिनाथ-
 185 हरये प्राकारमत्युन्नतं लक्ष्मोना-
 186 यकसाङ्गवतिभविभवे^५ नादिङ्गुय-
 187 प्यप्रभुः । [४७*] महेरालपुरमाधवदेव्यै^६ [व*]प्र-^७
 188 सुन्नततरं प्रविधाय । नागवज्जिज-
 189 लधीदुगशाके वर्षे एनमदितोप्यय-^८
 190 मंचो । [४८*] शाकाब्दे वसुवज्जिवेदशशिगे वर्षे
 191 च दात्राह्ये^९ नादिङ्गोपपदातुक-
 192 रुमखिलं कृत्वा स्वयं विप्रसात् । सं-^{१०}
 193 ध्यास्त्रानजपाङ्गिकादिविधये तभ्य-
 194 स्मटाकं^{११} महत्^{१२} शास्त्रारामवरेक्षसा-
 195 धनमदात्रादिङ्गुयप्यप्रभुः^{१३} । [४९*] उ-
 196 त्पुष्पाक्षोलवेक्षत्मलवनमिळ्द्राजर्ह-^{१४}
 197 सावतंसं क्रौकारिकौचचक्रकम-
 198 गतिमिधुनक्रोडखिलामनोच्च^{१५} । पा-
 199 रावारांककारं तटपुटघाटतोत्ता-

^१ Read °सिद्धौ ; K. illegible.

^२ The thiru क of this word is expressed by the old sign. K. seems to read °ककर° by correction.

^३ K. सुभ°.

^४ Read सर्वधि° ; K. illegible.

^५ K. probably °तिश°.

^६ Read °साधवि°.

^७ K. वप्र°.

^८ Read वर्ष एनमदितोप्यय-; in K. probably corrected.

^९ Read दात्रा°, as correctly in K.

^{१०} The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.

^{११} Read तैभ्यस्तटाकं, as correctly in K.

^{१२} Read महत्.

^{१३} K. धनमदात्रा°.

^{१४} Read तपुष्प°.

^{१५} The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.

^{१६} Read °मिधुन°, as correctly in K.

- 200 लतालं तटाकं कृत्वा नादिङ्गुयप्प-
 201 भुरक्तततरां विप्रसादातुकूरीः¹ [॥ ५०*]
 202 शाकाब्दे गजरामवार्दिमहिगे दाचा-²
 203 ख्यवर्षे घन प्रासाद नवहेमकुं-³
 204 भर्कालितं रम्यं महामंटपं । शोमन्म-⁴
 205 गळ्ळैलनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभु-⁵
 206 ग्रामं मंगळ्ळैलनामकर्माप प्रादात्⁶
 207 नृसिंहाय च । [॥ ५१*] शाकाब्दे ब्रह्मवह्नि-
 208 तिशिशिगणिते चैश्वराख्ये वर्षे⁷ रेटूरियाम-⁸
 209 ⁹नीमन्यवयुतिकलनानिर्मिताप्यापुरा-
 210 ख्यं । दत्त्वा¹⁰ ग्रामं द्विजेभ्यस्तदुपकृतिकृते शा-
 211 सिस्त्यादिसिध्दै¹¹ प्रादात्नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुमणि-
 212 रुद्धिप्रख्यमेकं तटाकं । [॥ ५२*] अप्यापुरे वार्दिसम-
 213 स्तटाक¹² पद्माकरोयं द्विजराजवासः । यज्ञे¹³ वनं
 214 चाच्युतशालिधाम श्रीक्षे पयःपूर्णत-
 215 या नदीक¹⁴ । [॥ ५३*] नादिङ्गुसोन्नि कियतीमव-
 216 युत्य भूमिमप्यापुरं च विरचा-¹⁵
 217 य्य तटाकयुक्तं¹⁶ [॥ ५४*] नादिङ्गुयप्पस-
 218 [चि]वोदित तद्धिजेभ्यो¹⁷ ब्रह्माग्निवार्धि-
 219 शिशिशकगुणेश्वरेन्द्रे ॥ [५४*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-
 220 मवेदधरणीगणेश्वरे वत्सरे येर्चू-
 221 रादवयुत्य¹⁸ भूमिसुचितां प-
 222 द्वाकरालंकृतं । ग्रामं केसरिपाटि-
 223 ¹⁹पुटिदशकप्रायं विधायादिशब्दे-
 224 [चै]र्यौभळनारसिंहहरये ना-
 225 [दि]ङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः । [॥ ५५*] अनंतगोपिना-

¹ Read °कूरी, as correctly in K.² Read °वार्दिमहिगे दाचा-, as correctly in K.³ The *anusodra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁴ The *anusodra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁵ K. inserts a superfluous sign of punctuation after °प्रभु°.⁶ Read प्रादात्°.⁷ Read °ख्ये च वर्षे, as correctly in K.⁸ K. रेटूरि°.⁹ Read सीम°, as correctly in K.¹⁰ Read दत्त्वा.¹¹ K. °सिध्दै; read °सिध्दा.¹² Read वार्दिसमस्तटाकः, as correctly in K.¹³ Read यज्ञे.¹⁴ Read नदीकः, as correctly in K.¹⁵ Read विरच-, as correctly in K.¹⁶ K. °युक्तं।¹⁷ K. तद्धिजेभ्यो; read तद्धिजेभ्यो.¹⁸ Read रादव°.¹⁹ Read पुटि°.

- 226 [था]य रोपिचर्लनिवासिने । प्रादाज्ञी-
 227 पवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुय्यमन्त्रि-
 228 राट्¹ ।[। ५६*] शाकाब्दे वसुवङ्गिवेदधरणीग-
 229 ष्णे च दात्रन्दके² वैशाख्यां विनिकोडसो-
 230 मनि सुधो³ नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । वा-
 231 [सि]ष्ठाय च भर्तृपूडिमखिलं ग्रामं⁴
 232 खनामांकितं प्रादाद्रायण-⁵
 233 भास्कराय °निधुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं [॥ ५७*]
 234 शाकाब्दे गजवङ्गिवेदशशिगे⁷ वर्षे च दा-
 235 चाक्षय⁸ आवण्यां विनिकोडसोन्नि⁹
 236 कृतधीर्नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । येर्च-
 237 राववयुत्य गोपपुरमित्थाख्यं [दि]-
 238 जेभ्यादिश¹⁰ ग्रामं कैसरिपाटिपुटिदश[क]-¹¹
 239 प्रायं तटाकोज्ज्वलं¹² ॥ [५८*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-¹³
 240 मवर्गाधरणीगण्येश्वरे वत्सरे कार्तिक्यां¹⁴
 241 विनिकोडसोन्नि सुकती नादिङ्गुय्य-
 242 प्रभुः । प्रादाधन्नवराभिदं¹⁵ च सकलं
 243 ग्रामं खनामांकितं कौडिन्यान्व-
 244 °ययूरदेचविदुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं¹⁷
 245 ।[। ५९*] यावज्जङ्गसुतात्रियं वकसुता-¹⁸
 246 °श्रीसङ्गपुत्रीपय[:*]पूरास्ते हुनते भु-
 247 वं च सकलां श्रीकोडवीटोपुरीं । या-
 248 वत्काव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरोहेलां
 249 विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साळुवतिभ्यकोर्तिलसि-

¹ This verse is a repetition of v. 37, and occurs in K. once only.

² K. धात्रन्दके । ; read धात्रन्दके.

³ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ Read विदुषे°, as correctly in K. ⁵ K. °वधश°.

⁶ K. °कोडसोन्नि.

⁷ K. °जेभ्योदिश ; read °जेभ्योदिशङ्गान्.

⁸ Read °पुटि° ; in K. a very small ट् seems to have been added afterwards.

⁹ Read °कोज्ज्वलं.

¹⁰ K. निदिरा-.

¹¹ K. °दे । का° ; read कार्तिक्यां.

¹² K. प्रादादक° ; read प्रादाधन्नवराभिधं.

¹³ K. perb°ps °देह°.

¹⁴ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁵ In K. the ता of the first सुता appears to have been corrected from some other *akshara* ; °चियावक°, perhaps correctel.

¹⁶ In K. the *visarga* was inserted afterwards ; read श्रीसङ्ग°.

¹⁷ Read सुचीर्णा°, as correctly in K.

¹⁸ K. °दात्रा°.

¹⁹ K. धात्राय । ; read धात्राय.

- 250 का 'पुष्पत्वजसं भुवि ॥ [६०*] 'श्रीकृष्णचोणिपा-
 251 लप्रभुरतरमहाराज्यधीरियनो-
 252 तिप्रागल्यसाङ्गवर्तिमप्रभुवरति-
 253 लको राचयामात्यसुतः । पाच-³
 254 द्वादित्यतारस्त्रिरतरमदिशत्को-⁴
 255 बुकावरिनामस्यातयामं⁵ त्रि-
 256 कूटेश्वरनिटलदृशि विश्वलोकोश्वरा-
 257 य ॥ [६१*] श्री श्री श्री जेतु⁶ ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Let there be prosperity !

(Verse 1.) May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it (*were a woman that had fallen in love with him?* and) were in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body !

(V. 2.) Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious ! When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force for fear lest it should slip down,⁸ and (*thereby*) hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk (*like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth*).

(V. 3.) The lord of Kākūḷa who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own (*blue*) hands with the tender (*white*) arms of Lakshmi clinging to his chest, wears, as it were, a garland of *mandāra* flowers⁹ entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily, — may he exhibit the skill of fortune !

(V. 4.) The holy Rāma (*who is identical with*) Hari, who may be known from the Vēdānta;¹⁰ who, though his nature is knowledge, without end,¹¹ and existence, yet, in order to perform the duties of Maghavat,¹² wears an illusory body ; at whose sight even his enemies, such as Rāvaṇa and the rest, went to heaven¹³ at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhishana, felt perfect satisfaction on earth, — let him grant welfare to the worlds !

(V. 5.) I do homage to the sinless lotus-like foot of Rāma, the tree of desires to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other

¹ Read पुष्पत्वजं.

² The following verse is not in K.

³ The *anusēdra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ The *anusēdra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ The subscript sign of the first *akṣara* of this line is very indistinct.

⁶ For the reading of K. see the text.

⁷ Both here and in the next verse the boar and the earth are represented as two lovers, and the words have to be taken in a double meaning.

⁸ Literally, 'on account of the unsteadiness of the contact.'

⁹ As Lakshmi is represented as being of white or golden colour, *mandāra* seems to be used here as a name of the white variety of *Calotropis Gigantea*, not of the scarlet-flowering *Erythrina Indica*.

¹⁰ Compare *Vēdānta-tēdy-dīmanā*. . . *Vishṇavaḥ* in l. 135 of the Pithāpuram inscription of Prithvīśvara ; above, Vol. IV. p. 46.

¹¹ I have translated *ananta*, as this is the reading of both inscriptions. But I think it not unlikely that *ananta* is a mistake for *ananda*. *jñān-ananda-sad* corresponding to the well known *sach-chid-ananda* which in such texts as the *Rāmatpanīya-Upanishad* is frequently applied to Rāma-Vishṇu.

¹² I.e. Indra.

¹³ I.e. obtained salvation.

(gods) bowing (before him) as (the lotus is reddened) by the early rays of the sun; which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vṛitra¹ as (the lotus is embellished) by flights of bees; and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (the lotus is distinguished) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes.

(V. 6.) There is (a king) called the glorious **Kṛishṇarāya**, the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes.

(V. 7.) Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king **Kṛishṇa** the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (thus) become jewel-mines;² veracious people (therefor) speak of the ocean which is (now) only a receptacle of floods of water (only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such) as *ambhōdhiḥ*, *jaladhīḥ*, *payōdhiḥ*, *udadhīḥ*, *vārāṇ nidhiḥ*, *vāridhiḥ*.

(V. 8.) In the court of **Kaliṅga** is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king **Kṛishṇa**, (resembling) a stake for (tying) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (sacrificing) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust into the hearts of his enemies, a lofty radiant shoot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Vishṇu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth.

(V. 9.) The great chancellor, the glorious **Sālva-Timma**, the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king **Kṛishṇarāya**.

(V. 10.) The glorious minister **Sālva-Timma**, the best of the family of **Kauṇḍinya**, is the son of the minister **Rācha**, the son of the minister **Vēma**.

(V. 11.) We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (from **Sālva-Timma**) as to their wealth (obtained) by donations, their sports with **Padmā**³ or **Vāṇī**,⁴ the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces, their unequalled attendants or their carriages for horses, elephants, etc.; (but) verily, well we know how (in one thing) **Sālva-Timma** differs from them, for he is victorious in battle.

(V. 12.) Was it, because she was ashamed (of being obliged) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that **Padmā** gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (lotus) and abides in the water-born (lotus) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law **Vāṇī**,⁵ O **Sālva-Timma**! (who on that account art both) **Chauhattamalla** (and) **Chaturānana**?⁶

(V. 13.) When **Sālva** (or the hawk), surnamed **Timma**, the one chief minister on account of (his knowledge of) the four means and the three powers together with the seven constituents (of government),⁷ after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by **Gajapati** in **Koṇḍaviṭi**, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for the Śaka years in the mountains (7), the towns (3),⁸ the oceans (4) and the earth (1), (thus) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger

¹ I.e. Indra.

² Or, oceans, *ratnakara* being a common term for ocean.

³ I.e. the goddess of riches.

⁴ I.e. the goddess of learning.

⁵ **Vāṇī** (*Saravati*) is called here the daughter-in-law of **Padmā** (*Lakshmi*), because, as a rule, learning and wealth agree as little with each other as, according to Indian ideas, a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law.

⁶ **Saravati** is generally supposed to dwell in the mouth of **Chaturānana** (*Brahman*), while *Lakshmi* is the consort of *Vishṇu*. **Chauhattamalla**, therefore, seems to be used here as a name of *Vishṇu*, though I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. *Chauhatta* seems to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Chaturhasta*; compare *Chaturbhujā*, a common name of *Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa*.

⁷ The four means (*upāya*) are *śama*, *dāna*, *bhēda*, and *danḍa*; the three powers (*śakti*) are *prabhāva*, *utsāha*, and *mantra*; the seven constituents of government (*aṅga*) are *soḍamin*, *amātya*, *suhṛid*, *kōśa*, *rāshṭra*, *durga*, and *bala*; compare *Amarakōśa*, II. 8, 17; 19; 20. The four numbers give the date 1437.

⁸ I have found *pura* with the value of 3 only in the list of numerical words given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. It occurs in the same meaning in v. 30 below. *Pura* in this sense refers to the three cities built by *Maya* and destroyed by *Siva*.

and thirst, are looking for herbs and (rain-giving) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth.¹

(V. 14.) On Saturday, the Harivársara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha, to be counted in the Śaka year marked by Śāluva (Śāluvañka), the town of Koṇḍaviṭi, the excellent hill-fort,² was taken by the minister Śāḷva-Timma.³

(V. 15.) (The procreation of) a son, (the planting of) a grove, (the construction of) a tank, (the consecration of) a temple, the marriage (of a girl) to a Brāhmaṇ, (the hoarding of) a treasure, and (the composition of) a poem are the seven *samtānaka* acts which cause happiness in this world and in the next one; the glorious lord Śāḷva-Timma, the prime-minister of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them.⁴

(V. 16.) There is, born in the lineage of Kauśika, the best of the family of Nādiṇḍla, an excellent minister, Timma, who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence.⁵

(V. 17.) Kṛishṇāmbā, renowned as Arundhatī,⁶ because she does not oppose (*arundhatī*) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasūyā, because she is always free from spite (*anasūyā*).

(V. 18.) The minister Nādiṇḍla-Timma was married to Kṛishṇamāmbā; his sons were the excellent ministers Appa and Gōpa.

(V. 19.) The sister's sons of the glorious minister Śāḷva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nādiṇḍla-Appa and (Nādiṇḍla-)Gōpa.

(V. 20.) Appa,⁷ who manifests himself in the waters and (*who bears the epithet*) Prachētas, and Nādiṇḍla-Appa, who is easily accessible⁸ and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean.

¹ In order to remove any doubt about the meaning of the words *giri-pura-jaladhi-kṣmdsu gūḍhaṁ prallindh* an explanation has been inserted at the end of the stanza: 1 437 Śak-dhāḍḍu [1*] *su gūḍhaṁ prallindh akṣha[ra*]-samyāsa*, i.e. '1437 Śaka years; *su gūḍhaṁ prallindh* is a notation by letters.' We have therefore to take *s(e)* as 7, *g(d)* as 3, *ḍh(am)* as 4, and *pr(e)* as 1. There is a slight irregularity in the last *akṣhara*. According to the established usage, in groups of consonants the last consonant only counts (compare Burnell, *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd ed., p. 79), whereas in this case *p* must have been intended to express the numeral, *r* having the value of 3. As the reading *prallindh* is supported by both inscriptions as well as by the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), I have not ventured to alter the text, although the reading *prallinda* seems to me far better. In that case the meaning would be that the princes are searching for the Śaka years deeply hidden in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth, which, from an Indian point of view, would be an excellent pun, whereas in the text as it stands the words *gūḍhaṁ prallindh* are quite superfluous.

² With *naga-rājāṁ* compare the terms *durggūḍhaṁ śrīvadhāmaṁ* and *giri-varaḥ* applied to a hill-fort in an inscription of the time of king Bukka; *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 167. The neuter form of the word, though not in accordance with grammar, is warranted also by the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

³ Here again, at the end of the stanza a gloss has been inserted, stating that *Śāluvañka* is a chronogram: *Śāluvañka akṣhara-samyāsa* | 1437 Śaka-varāḍḍu. It appears that *s(d)* is 7, *l(u)* 3, *e(ḍh)* 4, and *k(a)* 1. This again is not quite in accordance with the table given by Burnell, where *l* has the value of 9. The author of the inscription apparently looked upon *l* as equal to *ḍ* or *l*.

⁴ The seven *samtānas* or *samtatis* are mentioned also in v. 24 below, in v. 43 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of Gaṇapati, above, Vol. III. p. 88, in v. 9 of the Vānapalli plates and v. 17 of the Naḍupūru plates of Anna-Vēma, *ibid.* pp. 61 and 239; compare the notes of Dr. Hultzsch on the first two passages.

⁵ I.e. Rāma. With *chinmay-dīman* compare the epithets *jāna-danta-sad-dīmaka* and *bōḍḍ-dīman* applied to Rāma in vv. 4 and 46.

⁶ This would be the literal meaning of the passage, but the author did not want to say that Kṛishṇāmbā really was called Arundhatī. In the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3) *nānam* has therefore been substituted for *kṛyāḍḍi*.

⁷ I.e. Varuṇa.

⁸ *Appa-mūrti*, as applied to Nādiṇḍla-Appa, seems to mean 'whose person is obtainable,' i.e. 'who is easily accessible.'

(V. 21.) It was the lord Nādiṇḍa-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Kṛishṇa and the minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chauris*¹ and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikonda, Gutti, and the city on the golden mountain (Mēru),² of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom.

(V. 22.) (*The man*) whose fame—a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Śachi³ which resemble⁴ the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambha⁵—derides the moon in the month Kārttika by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,⁶—that man is this excellent lord Nādiṇḍa-Appa whose brilliant fame (*therefore*) is to be praised by all men.

(V. 23.) (*The man*) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (*appear*) like the Pātāla world⁷ by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable licking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,—that man is this lord Nādiṇḍa-Appa whose arm (*therefore*) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

(V. 24.) How can we praise Gōpa and Nādiṇḍa-Gōpa as being alike to each other? (*For*) the former has (*only*) one *saṁtāna*, while the latter has seven of them.⁸

(V. 25.) Some, (*although they were*) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (*or cold*), such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood; (*but*) the honourable Gōpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires.

(V. 26.) Having their bodies licked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of the numerous kings hostile to him,⁹ becoming totally insensible and faltering, (*but*) having instantly lost their poison through (*the presence of*) Vainatēya,¹⁰ the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky;—brilliant is he, this Nādiṇḍa-Gōpa who is praised by the sun.¹¹

(V. 27.) The glorious lord Sāḷva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Kṛishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gōpa, the best among governors and

¹ [Compare above, Vol. IV. No. 4, verse 3.— E. H.]

² [The city on the mythical mountain Mēru is Amarāvati, the residence of god Indra. Here this poetical term is applied to Amarāvati in the Kistna district.— E. H.]

³ The wife of Indra.

⁴ Literally, 'having for companions.'

⁵ I.e. Indra.

⁶ If my translation is correct, we should rather expect *nija-śṛṭtim-dḍvaita-ṛddaiḥ* instead of *nijaiḥ śṛṭtim-dḍvaita-ṛddaiḥ*, which, however, is supported also by the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

⁷ Pātāla is the abode of the serpents.

⁸ As to the seven *saṁtānas* compare the note on v. 15. In the case of Gōpa, i.e. Kṛishṇa, *saṁtāna* seems to refer to the one celestial tree which Kṛishṇa, on the advice of his wife Satyabhāmā, carried off from Indra's heaven, though the name of this tree is generally given as Pārijāta. But the names of the five celestial trees are sometimes mixed up; compare e.g. v. 16 of the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, above, Vol. III. p. 62, where the Pārijāta tree takes the place of the Kalpa tree, or v. 3 of the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṁgama II., *ibid.* p. 25, where Kalpa is used for the celestial trees in general; see also the note of Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on this passage. There is hardly any allusion to Saṁtāna-Gōpāla, one of the names of Kṛishṇa, when worshipped as giver of progeny.

⁹ Snakes are supposed to be fond of sandal-wood. The towns of Gōpa's enemies were deserted by their inhabitants and therefore abounded in snakes. The houses were so high that their tops touched the sun.

¹⁰ I.e. Garuda. This bird must have been the device on Gōpa's banner (compare v. 33 below) which had been planted on the top of the palaces of his conquered enemies.

¹¹ The sun is grateful to Gōpa whose banner saved his horses.

an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of **Koṇḍaviṭi**, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (*the right to use*) a palanquin and two *chauris*.

(V. 28.) The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious **Sāḷva-Timma**, the chancellor (*pradhāna*) of the glorious **Kṛṣṇarāya**, the first among kings,—the minister **Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa**, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of **Koṇḍaviṭi**.

(V. 29.) In the **Śaka** year counted by **Rāghavāya** the excellent minister **Gōpa** showed his veneration for (*the god*) **Rāghava** in **Achalapuri** by (*erecting*) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower.¹

V. 30 records the setting-up of an image of **Raghunāyaka**.

(V. 31.) **Rāma**, the husband of **Sītā**,² with a circle³ consisting of **Sugrīva**, **Lakshmaṇa**, **Vibhīṣaṇa**, **Jāmbavat**, **Bharata** together with **Śatrughna**, **Hanumat** and **Āṅgada**, were duly set up by the minister **Gōpa**.

(V. 32.) Possessed of **Sītā** and **Rāma**, **Bharata**, **Śatrughna** and **Lakshmaṇa**, this excellent city of **Koṇḍaviṭi** is flourishing (*like*) **Ayōdhyā**; (*but*) here are (*also*) **Sugrīva**, **Hanumat**, **Vibhīṣaṇa**, **Jāmbavat** and **Āṅgada**, (*for*) the lord **Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa** set up **Rāma** with his circle.

(V. 33.) O **Rāmachandra**, glorious lord of the city **Koṇḍaviṭi**, dost thou, having become a moon (*chandra*), assume the ensign of the hawk (*sāḷva*), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain? If not, why (*dost thou assume*) this (*ensign*) of him who has the **Garuḍa** as his emblem?⁴

V. 34 records the grant of a village to **Sāḷva-Rāghava**.

(V. 35.) In the year **Yuvan**, marked as **Sālivāhana-Śaka**,⁵ the minister **Appa**, who is equal to **Sālivāhana**, obtained the regentship of the city of **Koṇḍaviṭi** from the minister **Sāḷva-Timma**.

¹ At the end of this verse we find, as before, the explanation of the chronogram '*Rāghavāya 1443 akṣara-samjāna*.' This time it shows nothing peculiar, *r(d)* being 2, *gh(a)* 4, *v(d)* 4, and *y(a)* 1.

² This seems to mean 'with **Sītā** on his lap.'

³ *Sapariṇḍra* is apparently the same as *śvarāṇa* in the next verse. *śvarāṇa* seems to be a technical term for the circles formed by the statues of **Rāma**'s followers round the statue of their master. Thus we read in the *Rāmoparvatāpantiya-Upaniṣad*, v. 48 ff., that **Rāma** is surrounded (*deṛita*, vv. 55, 56) by five circles, called *śvarāṇa* in **Nārāyaṇa**'s *Dṛpikā*. The third of these circles is formed by the son of the wind (**Hanumat**), **Sugrīva**, **Bharata**, **Vibhīṣaṇa**, **Lakshmaṇa**, **Āṅgada**, **Arimardana** (**Śatrughna**) and **Jāmbavat** (vv. 53, 54), exactly the same persons as those mentioned above. **Sītā** is not mentioned in the description of the *Upaniṣad*, though in the preceding verse 47 she is represented as sitting on **Rāma**'s lap; compare also v. 26. That the author had in view some arrangement of statues similar to that described in the inscription, and not, as the commentator thinks, of figures drawn in a diagram, is probable from the fact that in describing the position of the figures he uses the terms *śdag-dakṣiṇayōḥ*, *agrataḥ* (v. 50), *pāśchimē* (v. 51), *agnyōddiṣṭu* (v. 53), whereas in the description of the diagram (v. 58 ff.) he speaks only of *madhyē*, *atpādrīvā*, etc.

⁴ I.e. either **Vishṇu** or **Sāḷva-Timma**. I am not at all sure that my translation of this verse is correct. Its principal object apparently is a pun on the name of the god, **Sāḷva-Rāghava**, mentioned in the next verse; compare vv. 41, 42 which in a similar way praise **Śiva Viśvādeva** mentioned in v. 43. The name of the god is certainly connected in some way with that of **Sāḷva-Timma**, where, to judge from the analogy of such names as **Nādiṇḍla-Timma**, etc., the first part would seem to be properly a family name. Whether **Sāḷva** in this sense has anything to do with the tribal name of the **Sāḷvas** or **Sāḷvas**, must be left undecided; compare *Winternitz, Mantrapāṭha*, p. xlvii. On the other hand, in the titles *Gaṇḍa Kaṭṭari Sāḷva*, borne e.g. by **Narasimharāya** of **Vijayanagara** and **Veṅkaṭa I.** of **Karnāṭa** (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 85, 181), and by the former king even with repetition of the last word (*Sāḷva-sāḷva*; *ibid.* p. 182), *sāḷva* is clearly only a *śirūda*. According to *Dr. Hultzsch* it means 'the hawk,' and in this sense, and as a synonym of *Garuḍa*, it seems to have been used in the present case also.

⁵ As to the chronogram see the remarks on p. 112 above.

Vv. 36-40 record various grants.

(V. 41.) I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha,¹ which is revered by the hosts of the gods; which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (*a lotus is covered*) by ducks kept for pleasure; which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (*a lotus is adorned*) with the floating fibres of its stalk; which is surrounded by the heads of the hosts of his enemies, as (*a lotus is surrounded*) by flights of female bees.

(V. 42.) Let that Virēśvara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajāpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram!²

Vv. 43-49 record various grants.

(V. 50.) Having made at Ātukūru a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves; which is charming, because the curlews are (*seen there*) striding in circles and sporting in pairs, (*pressing each other*) with their throats, (*at the same time*) uttering sharp cries; which is the rival of the ocean; where a loud dabbling noise originates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nādiṇḍa-Appa presented it completely to the Brāhmanas.³

Vv. 51 and 52 record two grants.

(V. 53.) This tank at Appāpura, resembling the ocean, which, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds,⁴ became a forest, a field of rampant paddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (*even at that time*) it was full of water.

Vv. 54-59 record various grants.

(V. 60.) As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Koṇḍaviṭṭi,⁵ as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sâḷva-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth!

V. 61 records a grant by Sâḷva-Timma.

(L. 257.) Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness!

¹ *I.e.* Śiva.

² This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva, irritated because he had not been invited to the sacrifice of Daksha-Prajāpati, the father of his wife Sati, decapitated his father-in-law, but afterwards, out of pity, revived him and gave him the head of a ram.

³ I find it impossible to render the niceties of the text in my translation. The terms used are such as to convey the idea of an arena, where circles of kings (*rdjahams-dvatamsa*) are assembled, where a wrestling (*mithuno-krōda-khēla*) takes place, where a champion (*akakdra*) appears, and where loud applause (*uttāla-tila*) is heard.

⁴ *Deijardja* seems to be meant for *rdjahamsa*.

⁵ The daughter of Jahnu is the Gaṅgā. The daughter of Tryambaka is the Gōḍāvarī which rises on mount Tryambaka; compare the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaidyaṭvāna*, quoted by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 318a:

*Yatr-dgātā Tryambaka-parvatāch-cha Gōḍāvarī Sindhuvadāna yuk'tā !
tatr-asti Gōḍā-tāṭa-madhya-dātī Shetkēṭak-akhyaṃ nagaram suramyam !*

The Tryambaka forms part of the chain of mountains on the north-west side of the Peninsula which commonly are called Sahya; in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, I, 45, 104, the Gōḍāvarī therefore appears in the list of rivers which rise on the Sahya. Here, however, the daughter of Sahya is the Kṛishṇā, as shown by the corresponding verse in the Koṇḍaviṭṭi inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), where *Kṛishṇavard* has been inserted instead of *Sahyapatri*. Rivers are frequently called the daughters of the mountains where they arise; even in the dry geographical description of the *Vāyupurāṇa* the rivers rising on mount Mahendra are called his daughters (45, 106). The statement that the Kṛishṇā purifies the city (*puri*) of Koṇḍaviṭṭi is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, the distance between Koṇḍaviṭṭi and the river being more than twenty miles.

B.—Kāzā Pillar Inscription.

END OF THE TEXT.¹*Fourth Face.*

- 255 ३याके वस्त्रमिदेदे.³
 256 दुग्धेगस्त्रेशमंटपं । नक्षपाटी सु-
 257 धालिमं कृतवानप्यमंचिराट् ॥ [६०*] ओ
 258 ओ ओ जेयुनू [॥*]

No. 13.—TWO GRANTS OF DANDIMAHADEVI.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The two grants of which at Dr. Hultzsch's request I give an account here from excellent impressions supplied to him by Mr. Venkayya, were preserved in the office of the Collector of Gañjām and will be deposited in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. They have been briefly noticed already in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 32 f., Nos. 216 and 217;⁵ and I have for years been in possession of rubbings of them which formerly belonged to the late Sir A. Cunningham. The grants record donations by a lady named Daṇḍimahādēvi, whose ancestors are enumerated in both, in almost identical verses.

A.—DANḌIMAHĀDĒVĪ'S GRANT OF THE YEAR 180.

This is a single copper-plate which measures about 1' $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ " high, and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a seal, half of which sticks to the plate, while the other half projects beyond it. This seal rests on an expanded lotus flower the petals of which enclose it; it is circular and measures 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvi*, in characters resembling those on the first side of the plate; above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its hips; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the first side of the plate, and between about $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the second side. Both the general style of writing and the forms of individual letters shew that the two sides of the plate were written by different persons. The writer of the first side, who affects a monumental style of writing, apparently has taken some pride in his work and has done it fairly well; the writer of the second side, who writes in a current hand, has performed his task in a very slovenly manner and committed many blunders, some of which I am unable to correct. The characters on both sides belong to the northern part of Eastern India. They

¹ From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.² Up to this, the text is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription.³ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁴ Read जेयुनु; after this comes a sign the meaning of which I do not know.⁵ The prince 'Indulālā' of Mr. Sewell's account, to whom is ascribed the feat of having rescued his brother's throne, owes his existence to the epithet *vyādhā-bhāgyāndra-llālā* in verse 6 of the two grants. Most of the princes who are really mentioned in the grants have been omitted by Mr. Sewell's informant.

may be classed together with those of *e.g.* the Nadagām (in Gañjām) plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Saṃvat 979 (No. 357 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*), the Bāmanghātī (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja (*ibid.* No. 655), the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥhañja (*ibid.* No. 658), the Paṭṭā, Kaṭak and Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta I. and II. (*ibid.* Nos. 659, 660, 664 and 665), the Buguḍa (in Gañjām) plates of Mādhavarman (*ibid.* No. 673), the Gañjām plates of Prithivivarman (*ibid.* No. 672), and even the Assam plates of Ratnapālavarman, Indrapālavarman and Balavarman (*ibid.* Nos. 711-714). To prove this with full details would lead me too far here, but I may invite the reader's attention at least to the forms of the *aksharas* *ṭa* and *ṭṭa* used in the present inscription (*e.g.* in the word *khēṭa* in line 30, and in *Ummaṭṭa-* at the end of line 5), the type of which is equally found in all the eastern inscriptions enumerated,¹ while it is absent from the records of other parts of Northern India. Of peculiar forms of letters on the first side of the plate I would point out that of the letter *n* (*e.g.* in *nivāsi-*, l. 3, and *ānandaṃ=*, l. 4), which has found no place yet in our palæographic Tables; it also occurs in the Nadagām plates of Vajrahasta (above, Vol. IV. p. 189, and Plate, *e.g.* in *bhuvana-vinuta-*, l. 1). I may mention besides that in the word *charitārtha-* in line 12 the *r* of the *akshara* *rtha* clearly is written on, not above, the line. On the second side attention may be drawn, amongst other things, to the form of the letter *h* (*e.g.* in *mahiyasī mahim=aki-* in line 20), which also is absent from our palæographic Tables, but occurs *e.g.* in the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥhañja (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix.); to the form of the subscript *ū*, *e.g.* in *chi[hna]-bhātā*, l. 21, and *vabhūva*, l. 22, which is the form of *ū* constantly used in the Nadagām plates; to the medial *ā* in *pathārha* (for *yathārham*), l. 28, in the *ṇā* of *Dāṇālavah*, l. 40,² and in the *grā* of *-grāmā*, l. 41; to the fact that the letters *t*, *r* and *j* occasionally are turned the wrong way, as in *chiram=* and *sutā tasyā* in line 20, and *dhirdja-*, l. 23; to the final *t* in *samvat*, l. 35, and *śrīmat*, l. 38; to the occurrence of the rare letter *jh* in *ajhēraṭa-* at the end of line 42;³ and to the apparently very modern forms—peculiar, so far as I can see, to Orissa—of the letters *p*, *ph* and *sh* in the corrupt passage *mā bhud-aphasanā saḥ para-datishu* in line 37. Nor would I omit to mention that in line 26 the first *akshara* of the word which I have transcribed by *[sth?]ānāntari[k]ān=* is denoted by a strange sign which bears no resemblance at all to the ordinary sign for *sth*.⁴ But what in this inscription—a record which from its general appearance could hardly pretend to any great antiquity—seems to me most remarkable, is the employment of numerical symbols⁵ in the date of it (in lines 35 and 36), which I have transcribed by *samvat 100 80 Mārgaśīrsha-vadi 5 (?)*. In this respect, I can compare with the present grant only the Bāmanghātī (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja, in which the year of the date is similarly denoted by numerical symbols (for 200, 80 and 8).⁶ It is noteworthy that both these grants come from the same part of India, where

¹ In some of these inscriptions it is difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ṭ* and *ṭṭ*, and there are some in which no difference at all is made between the two.

² The same sign for *ṇā* is used in line 39, in the word transcribed by *[pṛ?]ṇā[kō]*. The medial *ā* is occasionally written in the same manner in the Kudopali plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 258, Plate), in the *aksharas* *gā*, *agā*, *ṭṭā*, *dā* and *śā* (and also in *ṇā*).

³ The sign for *jh*, here employed, resembles the sign for the same letter used in the Assam plates of Vallabhadēva, above, Vol. V. p. 185, l. 41, in the phrase *sa-jhāṭa-viṭapa*. A similar sign for *jh* also occurs in line 11 of the Kudopali plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 258, where the actual reading, as I now see, is *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-dranya* (for *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-dranya*), not *sa-[vā?]ṭṭa-viṭap-dranya*.

⁴ The sign employed by the writer is perhaps really meant for *thā*, not *sthā*.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 4, I have given the latest known copper-plate inscriptions with numerical symbols, the time of which can be fixed with certainty, and have stated that they are all anterior to A.D. 800. The only stone inscriptions with numerical symbols which are later than A.D. 800, so far as I know, are Nos. 501, 545 and 560 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*.

⁶ See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XL. Part I. Plate ii. last line; and Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palæographie*, Plate IX. col. xviii., where (probably only in consequence of the numerical symbols) Raṇabhañja's plate is assigned to the 9th century A.D.

such symbols therefore would seem to have been longer in practical use than in other parts of the country. As regards the individual signs employed in this inscription, the symbol for 100 is something between *lva* and *lu*, just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmanghātī plate is *lú*; and that for 80 is nearly identical in both plates. The exact form of the symbol—if it be intended as such—for the number of the *tithi* of the date I have not been able to trace elsewhere, and I am very doubtful whether I have correctly taken it to denote '5.'—Excepting the description of the boundaries in lines 42 and 43, where some local dialect appears to be used, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The first part of the grant up to line 22, which gives the genealogy of Daṇḍimahādēvi, is in verse, but includes a short prose passage in line 3. The formal part of the grant, from line 22 to the end, is in prose, except that in lines 36-39 it contains some benedictive and imprecatory verses or fragments of verses—here, as in some cognate inscriptions, given very corruptly—as well as a verse which records the name of the composer of the *prastāvi*, i.e., as I take it, of the genealogical account. In respect of orthography the only general remarks called for are, that the letter *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the writer of the second side (like some Telugu writers) has found some difficulty in distinguishing between the vowels *i* and *ī*. The second side of the grant, as I have intimated already, has been written so carelessly that it would be impossible here to point out all orthographical mistakes. On the first side it may suffice to call attention to the use of the *akshara tsa* instead of *chchha* in the word *saptatsada* (for *saptachchhada*) in line 2, which finds its counterpart in the common *saṁvachchhaa* (for *saṁvatsara*).—I regret that in the formal part of the grant there are several words or phrases regarding the exact reading and interpretation of which I am uncertain. They are the words transcribed by *pa[vā?]ka-*, l. 27, *gōku[ta]-*, l. 29, *=lēkhari-pravēsanās[t]iyā*, l. 31, and *[pū?]nā[kō]*, l. 39. I also am unable to interpret the greater part of lines 42 and 43, which, as stated already, are not in Sanskrit.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvarī Daṇḍimahādēvi* (l. 24), whose ancestors are enumerated in verses 2-9. There was a king named *Ummattasimha* (l. 5), from whose family sprang *Maṅgapāḍa* (l. 7) and other kings. In their family there was the king *Lōṇabhāra* (l. 9); his son was *Kusumabhāra* (l. 13); after him ruled his younger brother *Lalitabhāra* (l. 13); he was succeeded by his son *Śāntikara* (l. 15), and he again by his younger brother *Śubhākara* (l. 18). When the last of these princes died, his queen² ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter *Daṇḍimahādēvi* (l. 20) 'ruled the earth for a long time.' This queen, a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara* (Śiva), from 'the camp of victory'—appropriately compared in verse 1 with the commencement of autumn (the season of war)—at *Guhēśvarapāṭaka* (l. 3), issues the following order to the present and future functionaries in the *Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala* (l. 24), viz. the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarāṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas*³ and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites;⁴ and to the people, headed by the . . .⁵ *Sāmantas* and *Sāmaṇājins*,⁶ who dwell in the eastern division of the *Varaḍākhaṇḍa-vishaya* (l. 26):—

"Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of a *saṁkrānti* (l. 34), by means of a copper-charter

¹ The doubtful sign seems to me to bear some kind of resemblance to the symbol for 5 in the Chikkalla plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 197, l. 26, Plate.

² Her name is not given, but from the epithets applied to her in verse 9 we may suspect that it was Gauri.

³ I do not remember having met this term before; *sthānādhikarāṇika* occurs above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 11 of the text, and *sthānādhikṛita* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 179, l. 14.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, *chāḍṭa-bhāṭa-vallabhajdtiyd*; instead of *vallabha* we have *rājavallabha* above, Vol. III. p. 342, l. 6; p. 347, l. 7; and elsewhere.

⁵ See below, p. 138, note 25.

⁶ The term *sāmaṇḍji[sa]* occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 258, l. 14; instead of it we have *sāmaṇḍjika*, *ibid.* p. 200, l. 11; and *sāmaṇḍyika*, above, Vol. III. p. 352, l. 27 (where the published text has *sāma[sa]ṭ-āsika*).

with pouring out of water given, in the way of a perpetual endowment and free from taxes,¹ the village of Villa (l. 29) which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparikara*, with the *uddēsa*,² with³ its weavers, *gōkūṣa* (?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets³ (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places⁴ etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered⁵ . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhāmichchhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure— to the door-keeper Dhavala (l. 34), the son of Vās[u ?] . . . and grandson of Apratiḍāghōsha, an immigrant from Viṅgipāṭaka (?), belonging to the Viśvāmitra *gōtra*, with the *pravara* Dēvarāta and *anupravara* Audala, and student of the Kaṇva-śūkhā. Wherefore, out of respect for what is right, you should preserve this our gift ! ”

This order is followed (in line 35) by the date, the 5th (?) of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the year 180; and (in lines 36-38) by benedictive and imprecatory verses. Lines 38-40 repeat that this is a charter of Daṇḍimahādēvi; give the name of the author of the *prastā*, the poet Jambhala, son of the great poet Jayātman (?); and record the names of certain officials, viz. the *Bānaka* Dānālava who was the *dūtaka* (?) of the grant, the *Mahākṣhapāṭalika* Nṛi[simha ?], the *Mahāsādhivigrahin* Ugrāditya, and the *Mahāpratihāra* (?) Prahāsa.

Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of the village of Villa on the occasion of a *saṁkrānti* was given by Dhavala to the Brāhmanas; lines 42 and 43, in which the names of the villages of Hōṇḍala and Khairapaṭa occur, apparently state the boundaries of the village granted; and the inscription ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.

Beyond saying that, judged by the writing, this inscription could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D., I do not venture at present to express any opinion regarding its age. I do not know to what era the year 180 of its date and the year 288 of the date of Raṇabhaṇja's grant should be referred, and can only trust that other inscriptions, similarly dated, will be obtained from the same part of the country, which may both help us to fix definitely the dates of these grants and throw more light on the general question of the employment of numerical symbols in Eastern India.

The place Guhāśvarapāṭaka from which the grant was issued, the villages mentioned in it, and the *vishaya* in which they were situated, I have not found on the maps. The name Kōṅgōḍa⁶ of the *maṇḍala* to which the *vishayas* of both the grants A and B belonged I have from the first ventured to identify with the name Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Hsien Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 206), and I am assured by Professor S. Lévi that from a linguistic point of view this identification is in every respect unobjectionable. As stated by

¹ The phrases *akaratoṣṇa* and *akarākrītya* are very common in grants from the same part of India.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 254, I have translated *sōddēsa* by 'with all their localities,' but *uddēsa* has probably a more specific meaning. *Sōparikarāḥ sōddēsaḥ* (which apparently is the proper reading also in *Jour. Bēng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 125, l. 4 from the bottom) may be equivalent to the *sōdraṅgaḥ sōparikarāḥ* of other inscriptions.

³ In the phrase which commences here the reading of the word *gōkūṣa* appears to be certain, but its meaning is not apparent. For some expressions (the exact meaning of which is uncertain), in which the word *prakṛitī* occurs, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 183, note 82. For the general import of the phrase here used I would compare above, Vol. V. p. 112, lines 65 and 66, where the village-artisans are stated to be included in the grant; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 58, l. 52, and above, Vol. IV. p. 296, "We (also) gave the oil-mongers and the five (*classes* of) artisans as (*his*) slaves." For taxes on looms etc. see *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. pp. 88, 89, 103, 155 etc.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. V. p. 52, last line of the text ("ferry-boats" etc.).

⁵ The phrase commencing with *-lakkhaṇa*(?)—I am unable to explain. It recalls, of course, such well-known expressions as *achāḍṭabhaṭapraṇḍīya*, *achāḍṭabhaṭapraṇḍīya*, *akimśhitpragrāhya*, *akastapraḥśepantya*, etc.

⁶ According to the grant B the Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala (or *maṇḍalaka*) was in Dakṣhiṇa-Kōśala.—For a village or town named *Kaṅgōḍa* see above, Vol. III. p. 42.

Mr. Beal, Sir A. Cunningham supposed Kong-u-t'o (hitherto transcribed by Kōnyōdha) to be Gañjām, and Mr. Fergusson took it as nearly certain that the small kingdom of Kong-u-t'o was 'somewhere between Kuttaak and Aska' (in the Gañjām district). Inasmuch as both our grants come from Gañjām, either statement would tend to support my identification. On the maps I have searched in vain for a name like Kōngōda. In Hinen Tsiang's account of the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o there is one point to which, in concluding these remarks, I may draw attention. The written characters of the people of that kingdom, he says, 'are the same as those of Mid-India.' In other words, they belonged to the northern alphabet, just as is the case with the characters of the grants here edited, grants which otherwise one would rather have classed with the southern inscriptions.

TEXT.¹

First Side.

- 1 Ōm² [||*] Svasti³ vyastajal-ābhra-vibhrama-haraiḥ⁴ śvâtâ[tpa]tr-⁵ôtkarair=
⁶avathīya-śrutichāmarais=va(cha) ⁷bha(ha)sita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 śōdayair=uddāmair=mmada-saurabhais=cha kariṇām=ākshipta-saptatsa(chchha)d-⁸āmōdaiḥ
sannihitām sad=aiva śara-
- 3 d-ārambha-śriyam=vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1*] Śrīmad-Guḥēsvarapāṭṭa(ṭa)ka-nivāsi-⁹
vijayaskandhāvarāt || Sarvv-āśā-pa-
- 4 ripūrap-ādihika-ruohir=yas=tāpam=astan=nayann=ānandañ=kṛitavān(ñ)=janasya manasi
¹⁰prāptam=pratisṭhā(ṣṭhā)ñ=chirañ [1*]
- 5 saddriṣṭi-pratirōdhi yēna cha tamō nirmmūlam=ū(u)nmūlitam
śrīmān=indur=iv=āvanipatir=abhūd=Ummaṭṭa-
- 6 singh-āhvayaḥ ¹¹|| [2*] Tad-vamśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇā muktāmayāḥ
sadgatāḥ¹² sad-vrittāḥ sukha-
- 7 sī(śi)talāḥ kṣhitiḥpritaḥ¹³ śrī-Madgapād-¹⁴ādayaḥ | yē nītā hriday-ōgra-tāpa-
sa(śa)manē dē-
- 8 v-ānganābhiḥ svayañ=kaṇṭhāślēsha-sukha[m?]¹⁵ sthiti-praṇayinō hār-ābhīrāmāḥ
kṛitāḥ || [3*] Ta-
- 9 d-vamśē=bhavad=ūrjjita[h?]¹⁶ kṛita-vu(bu)dha-prīti[h]¹⁶ pratit-ōdayō dēvaḥ
śatruvadhū-mukhēndu-taraṇi[h]¹⁷ śrī-Lō-
- 10 ṇabhārō¹⁸ nṛipaḥ [1*] yasy=ākramya gurupratāpa-śikhinaḥ prithvībhṛita[h]¹⁹
prōdva(ddha)tān dūram sarvva-
- 11 digantarēshu tarasā²⁰ svairam=prasasruḥ karāḥ²¹ || [4*] ²²Tasy=ātmajaḥ
praṇata-pārthiva-chakra-chūḍā-
- 12 nirvvyāja-rōpita-padaś=charitārtha-nāmā [1*] vistāri-saurabha-guṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-āśas=
tasmā-²³

¹ From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.² Metre of verses 1-4: Śārdūlavikṛīḍ ta.³ B has *svōditiapatr-*; read *śōditiapatr-*.⁴ B has *harita-*.⁵ B has *°pātaka-vasita-vi-*; I should have expected *°pātāk-dōdrita-vi-*.⁶ B has only *prātaka chirañ*.⁷ B has *sadāitāḥ*; read *sahgatāḥ* (or *sahgatāḥ*). B omits *sad-vrittāḥ*.⁸ B has *sthitibhṛitaḥ*.⁹ B has *-urjjitaḥ*.¹⁰ The sign of *visarga* was originally omitted, but seems to have been inserted afterwards; B has *-stītiḥ*.¹¹ This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted.¹² This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted.¹³ B has *kard* |.¹⁴ Instead of *tasmā* B has *śrīmān*, which is a better reading.¹⁵ Denoted by a symbol.¹⁶ The grant B has *-vibhrama-dharaiḥ*.¹⁷ B has *astiya-*; read *asvīya-*.¹⁸ B has *saptachchhad-*.¹⁹ B has *sih-dhvaya*; read *sih-dhvayaḥ*.²⁰ B has *śrīmadagapād-*; read *śrī-Madgapād-*(?).²¹ B has *-Lōpahārō*.²² B has *tarsād*.²³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- 13 d=abhūt-Kusumabhāra iti kshitisah || [5*] Abhrita¹ Lali[ta*]bhārah kshma-
bharam=bhūri-tējas=tad=anu
14 tad-anujanmā vyūḍha-bhōgindra-līlah | anayaḍ=amalimānam yad-yasāhpūram=
uchai(chchai)r=api ripu-rama-
15 pūām=añjan-ōnmisram=aśrah² || [6*] ³Tasmin=nripā divam=upēyushi tat-
tanūjah śāst=āvanēr=sjanē(ni) śā-
16 ntikar-ābhivā(dhā)naḥ [1*] yēn=ōddhritēshv=akhila-durmmada-kapṭakēshva(śhu)
rēmā yavō(thā)-sva(su)kham=apāsta-bhiyā janēna || [7*] Tasya
17 prasa(śa)sya-charit-ā[r*]jita-bhūri-kā(ki)rtti[r*]=vviśvambharā-vibhur=abhūd=a n u j a s=
tatō=pi [1*] śrēyōbhir=ēka-padam=ity=a-
18 khilaiḥ śri(śri)t-ātmā yaḥ śri-Subhākara iti prathitō yavō(thā)rtham || [8*]
Tasya tripisṭapa-jusha[h]⁵ paramēśvara-
19 sya dēvi samasta-janatā-ma(na)ta-padēpadmā⁶ [1*] śinghāsanam⁷ śāśikar-
āmala-kā(ki)rtti-gauri Gaur=iva gaurava-

Second Side.

- 20 ⁸padam chiram=adhyarōhataḥ⁹ || [9*] Tatō¹⁰ Daṇḍimāhādēvi¹¹ sutā tasyā¹²
mahi(hi)yasī [1*] mahīm=ahi(hi)-
21 nasā(yā)¹³ matyā chē(chi)ra-kālam=apālayata¹⁴ || [10*]
¹⁵Avichchhā[nn]āyatiprā[s]au vamsē[ka]ra-mahibhritām [1*] chi[hna]-bhūtā pa-
22 tāk=ēva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūshanam || (l) lāvany-āmpita-niḥayanda-¹⁶
sundaram dadhati vapuḥ [(l)[11*] Paramamā-
23 hēvari¹⁷ mātāpitri-pādānudhyātā paramabha[tt]ārikā mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-
paramēśva-
24 ri(rī) śrīmad-Daṇḍimāhādēvi¹⁸ kusalini¹⁹ Kō[m]gōda-mē(ma)ndē(nda)¹⁶
vartamā[na*]-bhavishyan-mā(ma)hā-
25 ²⁰sāmantam-māhāraja-rājaputr-āntaraṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparikarikā-²¹viṣha y a p a t i - t a -
26 ²²dātyukta-daṇḍavāsika-[sth?]-ānāntari[k]ān-anyān=[chē?]²³ rājaprasādina(nō)
bha[ta]-chāṭa-valla[bha*]jātinā²⁴ Varadā-
27 khaṇḍa-vishayē pu(pū)rvva-khaṇḍē pa[vā?]-ka-²⁵sāmanta-sāmavāji-pramukha-
nivāsinō ja-

¹ Metre: Mālinī; B omits the first two words of this verse.² Read -aśru, which is the reading of B.³ B has yathā-suddham=.⁴ Read -pādāpadmā.⁵ Above the aksharas mādēdēvi sutā tasyā of this line 10 aksharas are engraved in small letters. So far as I can make them out, they are sāmāntasya mudāmalapaja; I do not understand their meaning.⁶ B has -adhyarōt (or -rōta); read -adhyarōhat.⁷ Metre of verses 10 and 11: Ślōka (Anushtubh). Verse 11 contains six Pādas.⁸ B has Daṇḍimāhādēvi; read Daṇḍimāhādēvi.⁹ B has -aśru.¹⁰ Read avichchhinn-dyati-prāptau (?) vamsakara-mahibhritām.¹¹ Read -niḥayanda-.¹² Read hēvart.¹³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the following name the sign of anusvāra is very faint in the impressions; in the grant B the name is written Kōgōda-.¹⁴ Read sāmānta-māhārāja-.¹⁵ Read -ōparika-.¹⁶ The second akshara of this line, transcribed by tyu, is really tyā with the sign of a below it; of the 10th akshara, transcribed by sth, the sign for sth seems to be no proper letter at all. Read dātyukta-dāḍḍapāsika-.¹⁷ In B sthānāntarikān is quite clear.¹⁸ Read -anyān=cha.¹⁹ Read -jātyān; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, and note 9.²⁰ Read pradhāna(?) or rāṇaka- (?). For the following sāmavāji compare *ibid.* p. 258, l. 14, and note 16.

First Side

[illegible]

J. F. FLEET.

SCALE .60

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

[illegible]

- 28 nspadāna¹ pa(ya)thārha[m*] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati(ti) ²pramajñāpayati [I*]
³Viyitam-asu bhavāra-
- 29 tadashasamāna-Villa-grāma[h*]⁴ sya(sō)parikara[h*] sōthēshaḥ⁵ sa-tamtravāya-
 gōku[ṭa]-⁶saupādi.⁷
- 30 k-ādi-prakṛtitāḥ sa-khēṭa-ghaṭa(ṭṭa)-nadi(dī)tarasthān-ādī(di)-gulmakāḥ sarvva-
 pīḍā-va-
- 31 rjitō=lēkhari-pravēsanās[t]iyā⁸ bh[ū]michhīdr-āpivāna-⁹nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-
 sama-kālām ma(mā)tāpitṛ-
- 32 r-ātmanāḥ sarvva-sa[t*]tvānā[ñi-cha] puky(ṇy)-ā[bh]ivṛi[d*]dhayē Viṅgināṭaka-¹⁰
 vin[i]rgatāya Viśvāmītra-gōtrāya Dēva-
- 33 rāta-pravarāya Andāl-āta¹¹ anupavarāya Kaṇḍa(ṇva)sākh-ā[ā]ddhyāyi¹²
 Apratiḍāghōsha-pautṛāya Vās[u?]-
- 34 ¹³ . . . -putrāya pratihāra-Dhavalāya saṅkrāntyaṁ hast-ōdakēn=āsm[ā]bhis=
 tāmvrāsāsa[n]ikṛity-ākshapanivi-dha.¹⁴
- 35 rmēp=ākaratvēna pratiyā(pā)ditasad=¹⁵ēsh=āsma-dati=ddharma-gauravād=bhavadbhīḥ
 pariphalaniyā¹⁶ [I*] Samvat¹⁷ 100
- 36 80 Mārgaśīrsha-vadi 5(P) [I*] ¹⁸Vahubhir=vasuddhā [da*]ttā | rājāna¹⁹ Sagar-
 ādibhīḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhumiḥ tasya tasya
- 37 tadā pālāḥ [I*] Mā²⁰ bhud=aphasanā saḥ para-datishū pā[tth]ivā [I*] Sva-datā
 para-datam=vā yō harē vasuddharā [I*] sa viśṭhāyā
- 38 kṛimir-bhutvā pitribhi saha pachyatēḥ I(II) ²¹Śrīmat Daṇḍimahādēvyā
 tāvachhāsanam=ast-īdām | Prasasti²² samasta-
- 39 vachasā kavīn=śha mā(ma)hākavēḥ [I*] kṛitā Jambhala-nāmn=ēyam=ātma-jēnam²³
 Jayatmanāḥ [I*] ²⁴[Pū?]nā[kō]=pi rāṇaka-śrī-

¹ Read *nivēdi-janapaddānt-cha* (?).² Read *samjñā*.³ Read *Viditam-asu bhavāra-ātad-vishaya-sambaddha*.⁴ Of the name of the village (read by me *Villa*.) the consonant of the first *akshara* has a somewhat odd form, and the second *akshara* might possibly be *ga*; below, in line 41, the name is written either *Vila*- or *Vāla*-.⁵ Read *sōthēshaḥ*.⁶ B has distinctly *gōkuṭa*; in the present inscription the sign transcribed by *ṭa* differs somewhat from the sign for *ṭa* which elsewhere is used here.⁷ Read *saupādi-ādi-prakṛitikaḥ*.⁸ B has *lēkhant-pravēsatay* [4]. I do not find a similar term (containing *lēkhant*) elsewhere, and am unable to suggest a suitable emendation.⁹ Read *bhūmichhīdr-dbhīdhāna*.¹⁰ Read *Viṅgipṭaka*-(P) or *Vēgipṭaka*-(P).¹¹ Read *rdy=Andāl-āty-ana*.¹² Read *ddhyāyind*, and compare above, Vol. IV. p. 253, l. 16 of the text. With the following name which is clear in the impression, compare *Kōighōsha* and *Vallabhaghōsha*, above, Vol. III. p. 344, l. 42 of the text.¹³ Here one *akshara* is mutilated and illegible in the impression.¹⁴ Read *tāmvrāsantkrity-ākshayanat-dha*.¹⁵ Read *ditas-tad-ēsh-āsmad-dattir*.¹⁶ Read *dbhīḥ paripṭantyd*.¹⁷ Read *samvat*; compare my introductory remarks.¹⁸ I consider it unnecessary to correct all the numerous mistakes in the following verses; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 23 ff., and p. 259, l. 23 ff.¹⁹ Read *rdjānaḥ*, which actually occurs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 49, l. 13. Instead of it, we have *rdjāna* also above, Vol. III. p. 19, l. 24, and Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 24; *rdjanai* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 19; and *rdjane* above, Vol. IV. p. 259, l. 21.²⁰ Intended for *mā bhūd=aphala-takā vāḥ para-dattishū* (instead of the ordinary *para-datt=ṭi*) *pṛthivāḥ*; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 47. The second half of the verse, commencing with *svaddant*, is omitted here.²¹ Read *śrīmat-Daṇḍimahādēvyā-tāvachh-āhāsanam*-(P) or *tdmra-īdānam*-(P).²² Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).—Read *prasastiḥ*; for the following *samasta*, which is quite clear in the impressions, I cannot suggest a suitable emendation.²³ Read *jēna Jayatmanāḥ* (P).²⁴ The engraving is quite clear here, but I can read with confidence only the second *akshara* (*nd*).—Read *ddāṭakō* (P).

- 40 Dāṇālavah māhakāshapaṭala¹ śrī-Nṛī² | mā(ma)hāsandhivigrahi(hī) śrī(śry)-
Ugrāditya[h*] || māpratira³ śrī-P[r]ahāsa[h] ||[*]
41 'Vila-grāmā⁴ chat[v]ār[ō?] bhāgā[h*] | tan-maddhē(dhyē) Dhavalēna
vrā(brā)hmapānā[dēsha ?]⁵ bhāga[h*] saṅkrāntya[m*] hast-ōdakēna
datam⁷ ||[*]
42 *U[tta]ra-parvata-śikhara sādḍhi tivaḍisigāḍi pōchāḍigāḍi hōṇḍimasigagāḍi
sādḍhi ajhērata-
43 [ga]kagāḍi sādḍhi Hōṇḍala-grāma sādḍhi Khairapaṭa-grāma sādḍhi cha[tu]-
śim-ōpalakshita⁹ ||[*] Utkāmpa¹⁰ Sambhakēna ||[*]

B.—UNDATED GRANT OF DAṆḌĪMAHĀDĒVĪ.

This is another single copper-plate which measures 10½" broad by from 8½" to 8¾" high and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a circular seal, 2½" in diameter, in the same manner as in the grant A. This seal bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍīmahādēvī*, in the characters of the inscription;¹¹ above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its tail, and on each side of the bull what may be either an elephant-goad or a lampstand; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅓". The characters furnish another specimen of the northern alphabet peculiar to Eastern India; they closely resemble those of the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍja, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Lines 1 to (the middle of) 20 are substantially identical with lines 1 to (the middle of) 21 of the grant A. The remainder of the text, which contains the formal part of the grant, is in prose, except that it includes a benedictive and imprecatory verse in lines 35-37. In respect of orthography, what strikes one most is the promiscuous employment of the three sibilants: *s* is often used for *ś*, and *ś* nearly as often for *s* (e.g. in *śalīla*, l. 33, and *śakalam*, l. 36); *sh* for *ś* in *śhāsana-darśanād-*, l. 34; *ś* for *sh* in *puruśai* (for *purushaiḥ*), l. 37; and *s* for *sh* in *manuśya-*, l. 36. The consonant *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and medial *ḍ* by the sign for *u*. Besides it may be noted that *t* is used for *d* in *bhumichchitr-*, l. 29, and *Autalya-*, l. 39; and that *upējushī*, l. 14, is written for *upēyushī*; *-āpivirdhayē*, l. 33, for *-ābhivirdhayē*;¹² and *udārḥita*, l. 36, for *udāhṛita*. In general, the formal part of this grant is less faulty than that of the grant A; its phraseology is about the same.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭārīkā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvart Daṇḍīmahādēvī* (l. 21), the names of whose ancestors are given exactly as in the grant A. From 'the camp of victory' at Guhēsvarapāṭaka (l. 3) this queen issues the following order to the

¹ Read *māhākāshapaṭalikaḥ*.

² Here part of the name (perhaps *śiṅkhāḥ*) has been omitted.

³ Read *māḍpratīkdraḥ* (?) *śrī-*.

⁴ The reading of the name here may be either *Vīla-* or *Vīla-*; compare above, l. 29, where the name apparently is written *Vīla-*.

⁵ Read *-grāmasya*.

⁶ Read *ōḍḍm-śka-* (?).

⁷ Read *datṭaḥ*.

⁸ The passage which begins here I do not understand. It apparently gives the boundaries of the village, but is not in Sanskrit. The word *sādḍhi* (or *sādḍhi*), which occurs in it five times, is written in another (unpublished) Gañjām grant both *śadḍhi* and *śadḍhi*; compare *śmā-sandhayaḥ* above, Vol. III. p. 223, l. 16.

⁹ Read *chatuḥśim-ōpalakshitaḥ*; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 18.

¹⁰ Read *utkāmpanaḥ*. (The Gañjām grant mentioned above, note 8, has the extraordinary word *udagirtam* for *utkāmpanam*).

¹¹ According to Mr. Sewall's informant the legend is "Śrī Mahā Sōmandhīśvaramī in Telugu characters." This statement is purely imaginary.

¹² In line 30 this word is written correctly.

various functionaries, as they may be present from time to time, in the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalaka in Dakṣiṇa-Kōśalā (l. 22), *vis.* the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatīs*, *Taddayuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśīkas*, *Sthānāntarikas*¹ and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites; and also to the *Mahāmahattaras*, *Bṛihadbhōginas*,² *Pustakapālas*,

and other officials in the Arttaṇi-vishaya (l. 25):—

“Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of the *uttarāyana*³ (l. 32), with pouring out of water given, free from taxes, the village of [Ga]rasāmbhā which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparīkara*, with the *uddēśa*, with its weavers, *gōkūṭas*(?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places *etc.* and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmichohhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure—to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Purushōttama, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, with the *pravaras* Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhrva, a member of the Vājasaneyā *charaṇa* and student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* (of that Vēda). Wherefore, seeing this order, out of respect for what is right and out of respect for ourselves, nobody should cause any obstruction!”

This order is followed (in lines 35-38) by a benedictive and imprecatory verse; by the names of the writer, the *Mahākṣhapatalīka* Bhōgaḍa, and of the engraver, the copper-smith [Kaṇṭha?]kaka; and by the statement that the village granted is (given as) contained within its well-known four boundary lines.

Lines 38 and 39 add that half of the village was given by the grantee Purushōttama to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ravika, of the Kausika *gōtra*, with the *pravaras* Audalya, Viśvāmītra and Dēvarāta.

The inscription is not dated. Regarding the localities mentioned in it I can only refer the reader to my remarks on the grant A; the village granted by the present inscription, and the *vishaya* in which it was situated, I have not been able to identify.

TEXT.⁴

First Side.

19 'Tatō⁵ Dandimahā[dē*]vi sutā tasya' mahīyasi [I*]
 20 mahīm=ahīnasā(yā) matyā chira-kālam=apālayata⁶ || [10*] Para[ma*]māhōśvari
 māta(tā)pitrī-pādānudhyātā parama-
 21 bhaṭṭārikā mahārājādhirā(rā)ja-paramēśva(śva)ri śrīmad-Daṇḍi(ṇḍi)mahādēvi
 kuśālī(li)nī || thā⁷ || Dakṣiṇa-Kō-
 22 śāśyān Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalakē yathākāl-ādhyāsinō

¹ For this term and some others in what follows see the notes on the preceding grant.

² I do not remember having met with the terms *bṛihadbhōgin* and *pustakapāl* in other grants; with *bṛihadbhōgin* one may compare the ordinary *bhōgapati*. I am not able to explain the term [ku]ṭakōlāsa- of the text.

³ I take *uttarāyana* (like the expression *uttarāyana-nimittā* of several Eastern Chalukya grants) to be used in the sense of *uttarāyana-samkrāntas*, 'on the occasion of the sun's entering upon his northern course.'

⁴ From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

⁵ Except for some various readings the most important of which have been given above under A, the preceding portion of the text is the same as in A, and need not therefore be published.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁷ Read *tasyā*, which is the reading of A.

⁸ Read =apdayat.

⁹ The same *akṣara śā*, between two signs of punctuation, is used at the end of Vidyādharaḥṣaṇja's plates mentioned above. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 140, note 45, and Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palaeographie*, p. 85. There should have been no sign of punctuation after *kuśālīnī*.

Second Side.

- 23 ¹bhaviṣṭyan-mahāśānta-mahārāja-rājaputr-āntarāṅga-²kumārāmāty-u (ò) p a r i k a -
vishayapati-tadāyu-
- 24 ktaka-dāṇḍapāsika-sthānāntarikā[n]=anyān=api rājaprasādinaś=chāṭa-bhāṭa-
vallabhajātīy[ā]-
- 25 n=Arttapi-viśayā=pi mahāmatatura-³vri(bri)hadbbhōgi-pustakapāla-[ku]ṭakōlas-
ādy-[ā]dhikarapa⁴
- 26 yathārha[m*] mānayati vò(bò)dhayati śajñāpayati⁵ cha [l*] Vīditam=astu
bhavata(tā)m=ētaḍ-viśaya-samva(mba)ddha-[Ga]-
- 27 rasāmbhā-grāmaḥ sōparikarāḥ sōddēśaḥ sa-tavra(ntra)vāya-gōkūṭa-sō(śau)ṇḍi[k]-ādi-
prakṛita(ti)kaḥ
- 28 sa-khēṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi(dī)tarasthān-ādi-gulmakāḥ sarvā(rva)-pi(pī)ḍā-vivarjitō=lēkhanī-
pravēśatay[ā]⁶
- 29 ⁷bhumichchitr-āpidhāna-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sama-kāla[m*] ⁸mātāpimātāpi-
trōr=ātmanaḥ sarva-sa[t*]tvānān=cha puny-ābhivṛiddhayā Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kā-
śyap-Āvachchhā-⁹Naidhruva-pravarāya ¹⁰Vājasēna-charaṇāya Kānvaśākha-āyadhy[ā]y[i].¹¹
- 32 nē bhāṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Purushōta(tta)māya¹² ih=aiva utrāyanē dataṁ¹³ mātāpitro-
33 r=ātmanaś=cha puny-āpivirdhayā¹⁴ śaliladhārā-purasarēna¹⁵ chandr-ārka-kṣhi-
34 ti-sama-kālam=akari(rī)krītya pratipādītō=smābhīr=yatām(taḥ)¹⁶ śhā(śā)sana-
darsha(rśa)nā-
- 35 d=dharma-gō(gau)ravād=asmad-gauravāch=cha na kēnachit=paripanthinā
bhavitavyam [l*] Iti¹⁷ kama-
- 36 ladal-āmva(mbu)vindu-lōlā[m*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya mānūsyā(śhya)-ji(jī)vitam
cha [l*] śa(sa)kalam=idam=udārhitā¹⁸ vu-
- 37 dhvā na hi puruśai(śhaiḥ) para-kī[r]tayō vilōpyā[ḥ] || Lēkhakō
mā(ma)hākahapaṭalika-Bhōgaḍaḥ | Utkīrnam¹⁹ tam-
- 38 [vā ?]ra-²⁰[Kapṭha ?]kakēna l(II) Grāmō=yam prasiddhā[da]tāḥsīma[ś=cha ?]²¹ [l*]
Asya grāmasy-ā[r]ddhō bhāgaḥ Purushōta(tta)mēna Kau-
- 39 śika-gōtrāya²² Autalya-Viśvāmitra-Dēvarāja-²³pravara-bhāṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Ravikāya dattāḥ
ardhdha²⁴ amśam [l*]

¹ Before this one misses the word *varīamāna* -.² Read *-āntarāṅga* -.³ Read *maḥmahattara* -.⁴ Officials named *pustakapāla* I have not found mentioned elsewhere; the following [ku]ṭakōlas- I am unable to explain; and instead of *-[ā]dhikarapa* I should have expected *-ādīkarapikā*.⁵ Read *samajñāpayati*.⁶ See above, p. 139, note 8.⁷ Read *bhumichchitr-āpidhāna* -.⁸ Read *mātāpi* - (only once).⁹ Read *-Āvachchhā* -.¹⁰ See the same form of the word (*Vājasēna* for *Vājasantya*) above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 14, and note 13.¹¹ Read *-ādhydyi* -.¹² Originally *°māyā* was engraved; read *°māyā=āyā=ōttarāyā*.¹³ Read *dattō*; but this word and the following as far as *°virdhayā* should have been omitted.¹⁴ Read *puny-ābhivṛiddhayā*; compare *puny-āpivirdhayā* above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 18; and *punya-yatā* *piearddhā* *ibid.* p. 259, l. 18.¹⁵ Read *śaliladhārā-purasarēna* (for *°saraś*); compare above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 40; Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 19; and elsewhere. Some grants have *śaliladhārā-purasarēna vidhīnd*.¹⁶ Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 21.¹⁷ Metre: Pushpitāgrā. For the spelling of some words of this verse compare *ibid.* ll. 32 and 33.¹⁸ Read *-uddhṛitā* *cha buddhā*.¹⁹ Read *utkīrnam*.²⁰ Read *tambhā* (for *tambhāra* ?); compare *kāmāra* for *kāmayāra*.²¹ Read *prasiddhā-chaṭuṣṭamaś=cha*. The last *akṣhara*, which I have given as *śha*, looks in the original like *ai*, preceded by part of the letter *ś*.²² Read *-gōtrāya=Audalya* -.²³ Read *-Dēvarāja* -.²⁴ Intended for *ardhō-māś*, but these words are superfluous.

No. 14.—PLATES OF THE TIME OF SASANKARAJA;
GUPTA-SAMVAT 300.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These plates were received in February 1900 from Mr. H. D. Taylor, I.C.S., Acting Collector of Gañjām, in whose office they had been lying unclaimed. It is not known where they come from. They will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

These are three copper-plates, the first of which bears writing on one side only, and the other two on both sides. But the second side of the third plate is so much worn that I have not been able to read the whole of it. The plates measure $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the writing. On the left side of each plate a hole is bored for passing through a ring, which is $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and which was cut by Mr. Venkayya on receipt of the plates. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an elliptical seal, which measures 1" by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant bull facing the proper right, a vertical line across the breadth of the seal, and at the bottom the legend *Śrī-Sainyabhīta*[y^o]a.

The alphabet is the 'acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet.¹ Two signs of interpunctuation are used, viz. a single horizontal line (ll. 1, 24, 27) which corresponds to the single vertical line of other records, and the usual double vertical line.—As regards orthography, I would note that the *upadhmanīya* occurs twice (ll. 5 and 17) and that *b* is throughout represented by the sign for *v*. In *sāṃhāra* (l. 16) the guttural nasal stands for the *anusvāra*; in *nṛi(tri)bhuvana* (l. 17) the vowel *ri* takes the place of the syllable *ri*; and in *sāṃhāta* (l. 5) *h* is an error for *gh*. The group *ddy* is simplified into *dy* in *udyōtita* (l. 15), while *t* is doubled before *r* in *śatatrāyē* (l. 2), *mātāpitrōḥ* (l. 21) and *gōttra* (l. 22). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the corresponding nasal before consonants of the five first classes. Two cases of wrong *samdhī* are *paradattām=va* (l. 27) and *°ddat=mahārāja*^o (l. 8).—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The bulk of it is in prose; lines 24 to 29 contain four imprecatory verses; and after them there seems to have been a fifth verse of which I can read only the last word (l. 31). The Sanskrit of the prose portion is not very correct. Thus in line 8 f. the words *priya-tanayō mahārājā(ja)-Yasōbhītaḥ* ought to stand in the genitive case and the following pronoun *tasya* ought to be omitted; in line 11 four words have to be transposed; line 16 contains a compound in which two superfluous synonyms are included; and in line 21 f. we find *araddhāna* and *°purassarēṇa* for *arthē* and *°purassaram*.

The inscription is dated in the Gupta year three hundred (l. 2), i.e. in Gupta-Samvat 300 = A.D. 619-20, and during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja* (l. 3). This king is probably identical with Śaśāṅka, the king of Karmasuvārṇa, who, according to Hsien Tsiang,² murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king Harsha of Thāṇēsar. In Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* the slaying of Rājyavardhana is attributed to the king of Gauda who, according to one manuscript of the *Śrīharshacharita*, was called Narēndragupta,³ but who, according to the commentator on the *Harshacharita*,⁴ was named Śaśāṅka. The translators of the *Harshacharita* very ingeniously find an allusion to king Śaśāṅka in the word *śaśāṅka-maṇḍalam*.⁵ If the Śaśāṅka of the *Si-yu-ki* and of the *Harshacharita* is

¹ See Professor Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, § 23.

² Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 210.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

⁴ Bombay 1892, p. 195.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 199, and Cowell and Thomas' translation, p. x and p. 275.

really identical with the Śaśāṅkarāja of this inscription, it follows that he must have continued to reign at least 13 years after the murder of Rājyavardhana and the accession of Harsha.

As, at the beginning of the inscription, Śaśāṅkarāja is mentioned as the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling the earth, he must be understood to have been the sovereign of the prince who issued the grant. This was the *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II.* (l. 17 f.) of the Śilōdbhava family (l. 10), the son of Yaśōbhita (l. 9) and grandson of Mādhavarāja I. (l. 8). He was a worshipper of Śiva (ll. 14-17) and, to judge from the legend on the seal of his grant, bore the surname *Sainyabhita*. The only other inscription of the same dynasty, which has been published, are the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavarman, surnamed Sainyabhita,¹ of the family of Śailōdbhava.² As the alphabet of these plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription, it follows that Yaśōbhita's son Sainyabhita Mādhavarman of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of Yaśōbhita's son Sainyabhita Mādhavarāja II., the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja.

At an eclipse of the sun (l. 23) Mādhavarāja II. granted to a Brāhmaṇa the village of Chhavalakkhaya (l. 18 f.) in the Kṛishṇagiri-vishaya. He issued his order 'from the victorious Kōṅgōda' (l. 8) on the bank of the Śālimā river (l. 7). None of these local names can be traced on the map at present. Kṛishṇagiri, the head-quarters of the *vishaya*, might be identical with its synonym Nilagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.³ Kōṅgōda is mentioned in the form Kaṅgōda as the residence of Mādhavarman in the Buguḍa plates (l. 29), and the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala occurs in the two grants of Daṇḍimahādēvi. Professor Kielhorn identifies Kōṅgōda with the Kong-u-t'o of Hiuen Tsiang.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति । चतुर्दधिसलिलवीचीमेखलानिलीनायां सद्दीपा-⁷
- 2 गरपत्तनवत्या वसुन्धरायां गौमाब्दे⁸ वर्षशतत्रये वर्तमाने
- 3 महाराजाधिराजाश्चीशशाह्वराज्ये⁹ शासति गगणतल-
- 4 विनि[*]सृतभगीरथावतारिताया हिमवद्गिरेरुपरि
- 5 पतना[द*]नेकशिलासंघातविभिन्नवह्निपातालात्तर्ज्वलीये¹⁰
- 6 सुरसरित इव विविधतरुवरकुसुमसंख्योभयतटा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 न्तविनिपतितजलाशयायाः श[र]लिमासरितः ¹¹कुला[प]कण्ठा-
- 8 ¹²हेजयकोङ्केदात्महाराजमहासामन्तश्चीमाधवराजस्य प्रियतनयो
- 9 महाराज(र)यशोभीतस्तस्यापि प्रियसूनुः स्वगुण[म]रोचिनिकर-
- 10 ¹³प्रबोधितशिलोद्भवकुलकमलो विकीर्णनीलोत्पल-

¹ In taking Sainyabhita (verse 9 of the Buguḍa plates) as a surname of Mādhavarman (v. 12 of the same plates) I differ from Professor Kielhorn, who understands Mādhavarman to have been the son of Sainyabhita.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 41 ff.

³ See my *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No. I. p. 59, note 3, and p. 69, No. 291.

⁴ See page 136 above.

⁵ From the original copper-plates.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read सद्दीपगिरिपत्तनवत्या.

⁸ Read गौमाब्दे.

⁹ Read राजश्रीशशाह्वराजे.

¹⁰ Read संघातविभिन्नवह्निपातितान्तर्ज्वलीपायाः (P).

¹¹ Read कुलोप.

¹² Read हेजयकोङ्केदात्महाराज.

¹³ Read प्रबोधित.

i.

ॐ शुभे-सन्तुष्टये नमः ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 २ गिरिपुत्रक वंशवत्सलायाः श्रीमद्भद्रपतिराज्यवत्सलायाः
 ४ पद ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 ६ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥

ii a.

ॐ शुभे-सन्तुष्टये नमः ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 ८ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 १० यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 १२ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥

ii b.

ॐ शुभे-सन्तुष्टये नमः ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 १४ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 १६ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 १८ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥
 २० यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरु ॥

iii a.

22 22
24 24
26 26

22 22
24 24
26 26

iii b.

28 28
30 30

28 28
30 30

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- 11 प्रतिस्पर्धि(नी)खङ्गधारानिशितनिशेषप्रतिहतरिपु-¹
 12 वली² दीनानाथकृपणवनीपकोपभुज्यमानविभवः स्वभु-
 13 जपरिवयुगलोपार्जितनृपत्री[:*] कमलविमलरथर-³

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 14 तनुर्जगन्म[ख*]लमणनश्रुतशौर्यधैर्यगुणान्वितो महावृषभपर्यङ्क-
 15 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहीर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतितजटाकलापैकदे-
 16 शस्य भगवतस्त्रित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयसृष्टिसङ्कारकारणस्य⁴
 17 'नृभुवनगुरो'पादभक्तः परमव्रजस्थो⁵ महाराजमहासा-
 18 मन्तश्रीमाधवराजः कुशली कृष्णगिरिविषयसंवहृष्टवल-⁶
 19 क्यययामे 'वर्त्तमानभविष्यकुमारामात्योपरिकतदायुक्तकानन्यास'¹⁰
 20 यथार्ह¹¹ पूजयति मानयति च [।*] विदितमस्तु भवतामयं ग्रामो-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 21 आभिरर्च्य¹² मातापिप्पौरात्मनश्च पुष्पाभिवृद्धये सलिलधारापुर-
 22 'स्मरेणाचन्द्रार्कसमकालीनाक्षयनीये¹⁴ भरद्वाजसगीम्नायाङ्गि-
 23 रसवार्हस्यप्रवराय¹⁵ छरम्यस्त्रामिने सूर्योपरानि प्रतिपादित[:*] ॥
 24 उक्तञ्च स्मृतिशास्त्रे । ¹⁶वङ्गभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्त्रगरादिभिः [।*]
 25 यस्व यस्व यदा भूमितस्व¹⁷ तस्य तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-
 26 षि स्वर्गे मीदति भूमिदः [।*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 27 वसे[त्*] ॥ स्वदत्ता¹⁸ परदत्ताम्वा (।) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*] स विष्ठायां

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 28 [कृमि]र्भूत्वा पितृभिस्त्रह पच्यते ॥ मा ¹⁹भुतफलशङ्का व[.] परदत्ते-
 29 [ति] पार्थिव[ः*] ॥ स्वदाना[त्*] फलमानन्त्य²⁰ (॥) परद[त्तानुपालने] ॥ . . .
 30
 31 [प्र]यच्छति ॥

¹ निश्चित ought to stand before खङ्गधारा, and प्रतिहृत before निशेष.

² Read 'वली.

³ Read 'रथर.

⁴ Read 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहीर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतित°.

⁵ Read 'सङ्कार.

⁶ Read 'विभुवन.

⁷ Read 'व्रजस्थो.

⁸ Read 'संवहृ.

⁹ Read 'भविष्यरकु°.

¹⁰ Read 'न्यास.

¹¹ Read 'यथार्ह.

¹² Read 'रर्च्य.

¹³ Read 'स्मरमा°.

¹⁴ Read 'वीनोद्ययणीयो.

¹⁵ Read 'वार्हस्यस्य.

¹⁶ Read 'वङ्ग°.

¹⁷ Read 'भूमिसस्य.

¹⁸ Read 'स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा.

¹⁹ Read 'भुतफल°.

²⁰ Read 'मानन्त्य°.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om. Hail! While the Gupta year three hundred was current (and) while the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Śaśāṅkarāja, was ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities,— from the victorious Kōṅgēda near the bank of the Śālimā river, on both of whose banks, covered with the flowers of various excellent trees, pools of water have formed, (and which therefore) resembles the river of the gods (Gaṅgā), which issued from the sky, which was brought down by Bhagīratha, (and) the streams of whose water are split and dashed outside by many masses of rock at (her) fall on the top of the Snowy Mountain,— the dear son of the Mahārāja Yaśōbhīta, (who was) the dear son of the Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta, the glorious Mādhavarāja (I.),— the very pious Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta, the glorious Mādhavarāja (II.), who has caused to bloom the lotus— the Śilōdbhava family, by the mass of rays— his virtues; who has repulsed the armies of all the enemies by the sharp edge of (his) sword which rivals an unfolded¹ flower of the blue lotus; whose wealth is being enjoyed by the distressed, helpless, poor, and mendicants; who has acquired the prosperity of a prince by the pair of his bar-like arms; whose body is as spotless and as brilliant as a lotus; who possesses the virtues of learning, courage and constancy which adorn the whole world; (and) who is devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (viz. Śiva) who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction,² whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (viz. Nandi) as on the pillow of a couch, (and) whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon,— being in good health, suitably worships and honours princes, ministers, officers, their subordinates, and others who are present or shall be present at the village of Chhavalakkhaya which belongs to the Kṛishṇagiri-vishaya, (and informs them as follows):—*

(L. 20.) “Let it be known to you (*that*), for the sake of (*our*) father and mother and for the increase of (*our*) own merit, with libations of water, at an eclipse of the sun, we have given this village, to last for the same time as the moon and the sun, to Chharampasvāmin who belongs to the gōtra of Bharadvāja (and) has the pravara of Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspatya.”

(L. 24.) And it is said in the Law-book (*Smṛitīśūtra*):³ [Here follow four of the customary verses, and perhaps a fifth verse which is obliterated.]

No. 15.— TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS AT AMARAVATI.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These two inscriptions (Nos. 269 and 270 of 1897) are engraved on the four sides of a pillar at the southern entrance to the central shrine of the Amaréśvara temple at Amaravati in the Sattenapalli tāluks of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu, and the languages are Sanskrit and Telugu.

A.— Inscription of Kēta II.;

Śaka-Samvat 1104.

This inscription contains 52 Sanskrit verses. There are passages in Telugu prose in lines 108 to 127, 131 to 149, and 170 to 187.

The inscription opens with the mention of the city of Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka, which contains the Śiva temple called Amaréśvara, and close to which is ‘a very lofty Chaitya’ of god Buddha

¹ This meaning of *vikōṭa* is not given in the dictionaries.

² The words *śṛiṣṭi* and *samādra* are mere repetitions of *utpatti* and *pralaya*.

³ In the Buguḍa plates (l. 44 f.) the same four verses are stated to be quotations from the Law of Manu.

(v. 1 f.). Dhānyakāṭaka is the old name of the present Amarāvati;¹ the temple of Amarēśvara is the one in which the inscription is preserved; and the *Chaitya* of Buddha is the famous Amarāvati Stūpa, which at the time of the inscription must have been still in good preservation. In that city, the inscription continues, was a royal family which claimed descent from the feet of the Creator (v. 3 f.), i.e. which belonged to the Śūdra caste. Four generations are mentioned, viz. Bhīma I. (v. 6), Kēta I. (v. 24), Bhīma II. (v. 28) whose wife was Sabbamādēvi (v. 32), and Kēta II. (v. 33). Nothing of historical importance is related of any of these princes in the 43 Sanskrit verses with which the inscription opens. The first passage in Telugu (l. 108 ff.) gives a list of the *birudas*² of Kēta II. He was styled the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*,— in which the word *Kōṭa*, 'the fort,' perhaps refers to the fort of Dharaṇikōṭa³ near Amarāvati,— 'the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) on the southern (bank) of the Kṛishṇaveṇṇā river, obtained through the favour of the glorious Triṇayana-Pallava,'⁴ and 'the lord of Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka, the best of cities.' Two further generations of the same family are known from the Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapāmbā,⁵ which mentions Kēta (identical with Kēta II.), his son Rudra, and the latter's son Bēta who became the husband of the Kākatiya princess Gaṇapāmbā.

The grants recorded in the inscription were all made on Thursday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha in Śaka-Samvat 1104.⁶ The grants are five in number. The 1st, 2nd and 5th are specified both in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose, while the 3rd and 4th are only worded in Telugu:— (1) Kēta II. granted to Buddha the village of Kranteṛu in the district of Kaṇḍravāḍi, and the villages of Mēḍukonḍūru and Doṅkipaṛu in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi (v. 44 and ll. 121 to 124); (2) Kēta II. granted to Buddha 110 sheep, the milk of which had to be used for ghee to feed two perpetual lamps (v. 46 and the subsequent Telugu passage); (3) Gaṣavi-Sūramadēvi, one of the king's concubines, gave to Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp (l. 141 ff.); (4) a similar gift was made by Prōlamadēvi, apparently another of the king's favourites (l. 145 ff.); and (5) Kēta II. himself granted to Brāhmaṇas the following villages for the merit of his mother Sabbamādēvi,⁷ of his father Bhīmarāja,⁸ of his elder brother Chōḍarāja,⁹ and for his own merit:— Kōkallu (v. 48) in the district of Goṇḍanātavāḍi (l. 173); Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā and Tāḍivāya (v. 49) in the same district (l. 176); Ammalapūṇḍi (v. 50) in the same district (l. 179 f.); Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu (v. 51) in the same district (l. 182); Sattenapalli, Chintapalli (v. 51), Kētepalli and Erragupṭa (l. 184 f.) in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi (l. 183 f.); and Oṅkadona (v. 51) in the district of Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi (l. 185). The names of these villages were changed, respectively, into Sabbāmbikāpuram (l. 174) after the name of his mother; Bhīmāvuram (l. 177 f.) after that of his father; Chōḍāvuram (l. 180 f.) after that of his elder brother; and Jagamechhuganḍapuram (l. 185 f.) after one of his own surnames.

¹ See above, p. 85 and note 4. The village of Viripara (*loc. cit.*) is perhaps the modern Vipparla (No. 95 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli taluka), 12 miles west of Amarāvati.

² Four of these are not Telugu, but Kanarese, viz. *Kaliṅga-mogada-kai*, *Bēḍearig-ta-kai*, *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* and *Nannī-mārtanḍa*.

³ See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 64.

⁴ The same *biruda* occurs in the Yenamadala inscription; above, Vol. III. p. 95.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 94.

⁶ This date is given five times: v. 44, ll. 119 to 121, v. 46, l. 183 f., and v. 47. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—"The date is incorrect. It would correspond, for Ś. 1104 current, to Saturday, the 16th January A.D. 1182; for Ś. 1104 expired, to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1183, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise; and for Ś. 1105 expired, to Tuesday, the 24th January A.D. 1184. I am of opinion that the year intended is Ś. 1104 *expired*, and that either the week-day or the *tithi* has been quoted incorrectly."

⁷ Identical with Sabbamādēvi (v. 32).

⁸ Identical with Bhīma II. (v. 28).

⁹ The same person is mentioned in No. 257 of 1897 as '(his) elder brother Kōṭa-Chōḍarāja' (*anna Gōṭa-Chōḍarāja*).

It appears from the foregoing abstract that the majority of the villages were granted to Brāhmanas, but that, in spite of that, and though Kēta II. and his predecessors were worshippers of Śiva-Amarēśvara,¹ he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription, that at the time of Kēta II. the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindū rulers of Amarāvati. I hope I am not unjust to Kēta II. if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case of '*Cherchez la femme*!' The two *dévis* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upāsikās* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god, though he professed the Śaiva creed. It may have been to atone for his apostasy that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to Brāhmanas, as recorded in the inscription.

The villages granted by Kēta II. belonged to four different districts:—Kaṇḍravāḍi, Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, and Goṇḍanātavāḍi. Kaṇḍravāḍi is evidently the same as the Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-vishaya of the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions,² which also mention an Uttara-Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-vishaya.³ Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi is perhaps meant for Doḍḍakaṇḍravāḍi, i.e. 'the great Kaṇḍravāḍi.' The district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka of the Kistna district; for, the villages of Mēḍukonḍūru, Doṅkiparru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Erṇagunṭa⁴ are identical with the modern Medikondur, Dokiparru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Yerraguntapadu.⁵ Goṇḍanātavāḍi is identical with the Konnātavāḍi-vishaya which was ruled over by Kēta II. according to the Yenamadala inscription.⁶ It corresponds to the western portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka; for, the villages of Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā, Tādivāya, Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu⁷ are identical with the modern Gunjapalli, Challagaregi, Taduvaya, Kuntamaddi and Vuppalapadu.⁸

The date of the present inscription was probably the very day of the accession of Kēta II. to the throne.⁹ Two other inscriptions of the Amarēśvara temple (Nos. 257 and 264 of 1897) are dated on the very same day. From the first of them we learn that Sabbā (or Sabbamā), the mother of Kēta II., was the sister of Goṅka,¹⁰ who is probably identical with Goṅka III. of Velanāḍu.¹¹ Later inscriptions of Kēta II. at Amarāvati and Peddacherukūru are dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1119, 1122 and 1131.¹²

TEXT.¹³East Face.¹⁴

- 1 श्री¹⁵ [॥*] चस्ति श्रीधा[न्य]कटकं [पुरं सुरपुरा]हरं । यचामरेख-
2 रश्मभुरमरेखरपूजितः ॥ [१*] बुद्धो देव[सु]-

¹ See verse 3 and l. 113 f.² *Ibid.* p. 127.³ Nos. 188, 186, 148, 22 and 154 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 102, v. 11.⁵ Nos. 19, 20, 21, 18 and 51 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.⁶ See below, p. 155, note 2.⁷ No. 257 of 1897, ll. 29 to 33:—

भूपालरजयुतसत्कुसुवार्जिता गीर्वाणीयशमिनो ममिनी गुचाया ।

सन्नादुया समसचाकरा कुटं श्रीसखामवत्प्रियतना पुद्गीतमस्य ।

¹¹ See above, Vol. IV. pp. 35, 37 and 38.¹² Nos. 261, 251 and 244 of 1897.¹³ From an inked estampage, prepared in 1897 by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.¹⁴ All the verses of this face, with the exception of verse 2, are found also on the east face of No. 262 of 1897.¹⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 साविध्यो यच्च धाया प्रपूजितः । चै-
 4 त्वमत्युन्नतं यच्च नानाचिन्तु-
 5 चिन्तितं ॥ [२*] अस्ति तच्च स्थिरैश्वर्यं राज्ञामाज्ञावतां
 6 कुलं । अमरेश्वरदेवेन रक्षितं रक्षकं नृणां ॥ [३*] जातं सु-
 7 रेंद्रदैत्यैर्द्रमुनीन्द्रगणवन्दितात् । श्रेयसां^१
 8 भूयसां दातुर्दातुर्थ्यश्चरणद्वयात् ॥ [४*] चो-
 9 षीक्षेमंकरा भूपा यच्च शत्रुभयंकराः ।
 10 शंकरास्त्राधुवत्तानां शंकरस्य तु किंकराः ॥ [५*]
 11 तन्नामरेशसंकाशी भीमो नाम नृपोभवत् ।
 12 विश्वे विश्वंभराधीशा यत्पदांशुजषद्वदाः ॥ [६*]
 13 उर्वीपतिषु सर्वेषु सदृचो यस्य नेक्षितः ।
 14 प्रजानां पालने सम्यग्द्विषासुन्मूलने तदा^२ ॥ [७*]
 15 चक्रे पवित्रचारिणो भक्त्या शक्त्या च भव्यया ।
 16 यस्मुरिशाक्षरिणां च वरदान्करदानपि ॥ [८*] यो
 17 भूरिभक्तिसुप्रीतशर्व्वशर्व्वमनोरथान् ।
 18 कृतवान्मित्रसंघस्य कृतवाञ्छुसंहतेः ॥ [९*]
 19 विष्णोपितजना यस्य विष्णारितरणांतरा ।
 20 वीरपूरितजंभारिपुरा रणपरंपरा ॥ [१०*]
 21 यस्य आचक्रशक्रस्य चक्रिचक्रसमीजसा ।
 22 चक्रेण विक्रम्य दिशां चक्रं चक्रे शृगं वशं ॥ [११*]
 23 क्षिप्रं विपक्षवक्षांसि पाटयंतोतिपाट-
 24 वात् । नृसिंहनखरेभ्योपि प्रखरा यच्छरा बभुः ॥ [१२*]
 25 कात्या पूरणां^३ रणे तूर्णां^४ यक्षनुःप्रेरितैश्चरैः^५ ।
 26 अर्द्धचंद्रैर्व्यलूयंतं^६ वक्त्रचंद्रा विरोधिनां ॥ [१३*]
 27 महामहीधनारोहयद्रणे विद्रुता द्विषः [१*]
 28 तीक्ष्णैः^७ क्षुब्धाः पुनश्चक्षैर्द्या भयातिशयादिव ॥ [१४*]
 29 यक्षटोक्तदोर्हृडचंडायुधविखंडिताः [१*]
 30 अखंडविक्रमाश्चाक्रमाक्रामक्षरयः पुरं [॥] [१५*]
 31 पांसुव्राते समुध्नुते^८ यक्षयैस्समरोध्वतैः^९ [१*]

^१ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^२ No. 262 of 1897 reads तदा.

^३ Read पूरणां.

^४ Read तूर्णां.

^५ No. 262 of 1897 reads 'तेजितैः.

^६ No. 262 of 1897 reads 'चंद्रैर्व्य'.

^७ Read समुध्नुते.

^८ Read 'रोधतैः.

- 32 व्योमव्यापिनि सक्तेयं सन्नुसमाश्वसतयः ॥ [१६*]
 33 नमयंतो भुवं भीमाः पदन्यासेन यज्ञजाः ।
 34 द्विजानां रणे चक्रुर्हिमाजानां च पीडनं ॥ [१७*]
 35 चलयन्ती रणारंभेष्वचलामचलैस्सह ।
 36 यद्वलैश्चक्षुर्गौर्याणां चालनं लीलया कृतं ॥ [१८*]
 37 प्राकारैः पातितैस्सम्यक्परिखाः परिपूर्य्य यः ।
 38 प्रध्वंस^१ रिपुदुर्गाणां प्रागभावसमं व्यधात् ॥ [१९*]
 39 दूरस्था अपि वीरस्य यस्य भ्राजिष्णुतेजसः ।
 40 आग्नां कुर्व्वति सर्व्वं स भूभृतः प्राभृतप्रभाः^२ ॥ [२०*]
 41 येन धर्मप्रधानेन कारुण्योपेतचेतसा । पु-
 42 चा इव परिचाताशश्चवशरणागताः ॥ [२१*]
 43 चरित्रेण पवित्रेण विद्यया निरवद्यया ।
 44 भूषितास्तोषिता येन भूसुरा भासुरान्वयाः ॥ [२२*]
 45 विवेकेनारिषड्भूममरिवर्गं भुजौजसा । जि-
 46 त्वास्मिन्तत्तत्तुर्व्वर्गो नृपवर्गो रराज यः ॥ [२३*] *❀

North Face.

- 47 ◎ तस्य प्रशस्यचारिच[ख्या]तः
 48 केतनृपस्युतः । पटुर्हीनार्तिहर[णे]
 49 रणे वितरणे च यः ॥ [२४*] युद्धे यष्टे-
 50 तिभिन्नारिकिरीटमणिभिः^३ श्रिता । घना-
 51 हतोत्तमलोहस्फुलिंगैरिव भूर-
 52 भात् ॥ [२५*] बहुशोभिमुखप्रासं
 53 स्फुटाभ्यागमपर्व्वसु । राजसं-^३
 54 डलमग्रासि सम्यग्यज्ञादुराहु-
 55 णा ॥ [२६*] सर्व्वसर्व्व[स]हाधोशगर्व्वपर्व्व-
 56 तपाटने । पटुः प्रथोय्यान्^४ प्रथितो
 57 यत्प्रतापपविर्भुवि^५ ॥ [२७*] तस्यासीन्नी-
 58 मभूमीशस्तनयो विनयोन्नतः ।
 59 यशोभाश्चभूपानां भानां
 60 भानुरिवाहरत् ॥ [२८*] दूरपाता दृढा-

^१ No. 262 of 1897 reads प्रध्वंसं.

^२ No. 262 of 1897 reads °प्रदाः.

^३ The *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^४ Read प्रथोयान्.

^५ Read °पविर्भुवि.

- 61 घाता भीषणा इक्ष्वाभूषणाः । च-
 62 भीषा यस्व बाणीघा रेजिरे स-
 63 मराजिरे ॥ [२८*] विक्रमादक्रियन्तो-
 64 क्षैर्येन नानार्धराधराः । चस्तश-
 65 बुधरिचीशकुलाकुलगुहागृहाः ॥ [३०*]
 66 कृताः पुण्यवता येन सर्वसंप-
 67 त्तमन्विताः । विबुधा भूमिविबु-
 68 धा विबुधा इव विष्णुना ॥ [३१*] त-
 69 ज्ञार्था सन्वमादेवी स्थाता-
 70 भूभुवि वीरसुः । वंशशाश्वी-
 71 र्योन्नता यस्याः पित्रोः[*] श्वशु-
 72 रयोरपि ॥ [३२*] तस्मात्तस्यां समु-
 73 झूतः केतभूपः प्रतापवान् ।
 74 सङ्कुशैरुपमानानां योका-
 75 र्षीदुपमेयतां ॥ [३३*] नेता सम्य-
 76 कप्रजानां यो जेता युधेषु
 77 विद्विषां । दातार्यिभ्योर्यितार्यि-
 78 नां चाता [च] शरणास्थिनां ॥ [३४*] यः[.]
 79 प्रहोक्तभूपालो भूपाल-
 80 नयपंडितः । पंडितस्तुत-
 81 सङ्कुत्त[*] सङ्कुत्तजनवत्सलः ॥ [३५*] येन
 82 ध्वस्तविभूतीनामरातीनाम-
 83 भूभक्षं । चंतस्मंतापसप्ता-
 84 र्चिर्हमेनेव मलोमसं ॥ [३६*] वा-
 85 नैः किरणदेशोयैर्ध्वीतदेश्वावि-
 86 पुद्विपान् । तिग्मांशुकषा भिदं¹
 87 ति यद्वटा[स्त्र]मरोद्वटाः ॥ [३७*] चित्तस्थ-
 88 शिवमौळीदुसुधार्द्रा इव यद्विरः[.] ।
 89 मधुरा नित्यमानंदममंदं तन्व-
 90 ते सतां ॥ [३८*] प्रतिग्रामं प्रतिपुरं प्र-
 91 त्योक्तः प्रतिचत्वरं । प्रतितोर्त्य प्रति-

¹ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 92 सभं यस्वीदार्यं प्रयस्यते ॥ [३८*]
 93 चिचैस्सचालयैर्यस्स पृथिव्यां [प्र]-
 94 थितं ययः । बुभुक्षु[भिचुसं]-
 95 घातप्रभूतप्रोतिहेतु[भि]: [॥ ४०*] [●]

West Face.

- 96 ● अनंतप्राणिसुप्रोतिकारिभिर्भूरिवा-^१
 97 रिभिः । तडागैस्सागराभोगैर्यो विभूषि-
 98 तभूतलः ॥ [४१*] आरामान्योतनोत्सारात्स-
 99 रोभिश्शोभितांतरान् । उत्फुल्लकंजकिंज-
 100 र्कपुंजपिंजरितांतरैः ॥ [४२*] देवालयै-
 101 स्सुधाशुभ्रैस्सुवर्णकलशांकितैः^२ । पता-
 102 काचुंबितांभोदैर्यहर्भो नीत उन्नतिं ॥ [४३*]
 103 शाकाब्दे युगखेदुरूपगणिते माघे
 104 दशम्यां तिथौ शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे
 105 गुणनिधिसंप्राप्तराण्योन्नतिः । श्रीम-
 106 त्कोतनृपस्समस्तगुरवे ग्रामान्वरेण्यान्व-
 107 ङ्गसंप्रादात्सुगतेश्वराय विपुल-
 108 श्रीर्धर्मसंवृद्धये ॥ [४४*] ● ● ● स्वस्ति चतुस्सु-
 109 द्रमुद्रितनिखिलवसुंधरापरिपालकश्री-
 110 मन्त्रिण्यनपञ्चवप्रसादासादितक्रिष्णवेष्टा-^३
 111 नदीदक्षिणषट्सहस्रावनीवज्रभ भयलोभ-
 112 दुर्जभ चोडचाळुक्यसामंतमदानेक[प]-
 113 स्रगेन्द्र विभवामरेन्द्र श्रीमदमरेश्वरदेव-
 114 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाधक
 115 श्रीधान्यकटकपुरवराधीश्वर प्रतापलंके-
 116 श्वर कलिगळमोगदकौ वेङ्गुरिगोवकौ गंडरगं-
 117 ड गंडभेडुड जगमेशुगंड नक्षिमात्तै-^४
 118 ड नामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महा-
 119 मंडलेश्वर कोटकोतराजुलु शकवर्षसुलु
 120 ११०४ गुर्नेटि माघ शुद्ध १० गुरुवारसु-

^१ Read 'भिर्भूरि'.^२ Read 'सुवर्ण'.^३ Read 'क्रिष्णवेष्टा'.^४ The *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 121 न श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकु सुंकमुल्लोनुगा सव्वा-
 122 यमुल्लतोनाचंद्रार्कमुगानिच्चिन ऊडुलु कंड-
 123 वाडिलोनि कंते८९ कोडपडुमटिलोनि मेडु-
 124 कोडूरुनु डोंकिपडुनु [॥*] ई ध[र्मा]म नडप-
 125 निवार पंचमहापातकमुलु सेसिनवा-
 126 र वारणासि व्रश्चिनवार तम पेड कोडुकु क-
 127 पालमुनं गुडिचिनवार [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 128 वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टिं वर्षस-
 129 हस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [४५*] ◎ ◎ ◎
 130 ◎ वेदाशेदुमिते शाके माघे शुक्ले गुरोर्हिने । दशम्यां^१
 131 केतभूपालो दीपौ बुधाय दत्तवान् ॥ [४६*] स्वस्ति सम-
 132 स्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकेतरा-
 133 लुलु शकवर्षमुलु ११०४ गुनेटि माघ शुद्ध १०
 134 गुरुवारमुनं दमकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्भु-
 135 वदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमुलु रेंटिकिने इच्चिन इ-
 136 न्यण्डुलु ११० [१*] वीनिलोन दामकमरेबोयुंडु [एं]भदेनु गो-
 137 ठियलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्कमुगां दन पुचानुपौचिकमुन
 138 नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ऊटुकूरि के-
 139 तेबोयुंडु एंभडेनु^२ गोठियलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्कमु-
 140 गां दन पुचानुपौचिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वी-
 141 यंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ भोगस्त्रील्लोनं गसविसूरमदेवुलु द-
 142 नकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमु-
 143 नकिच्चिन इन्यण्डुलु ५५ [१*] वीनिं जेकोनि सब्बकमारेबोयुंडु
 आचंद्रा-
 144 र्कमुगां दन पुचानुपौचिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वीयं-^३
 145 गलवांडु ॥ भंडावुं प्रोलमदेवुलु दनकु धर्मात्यमुगा
 146 श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमुनकिच्चिन इन्यण्डुलु ५५ [१*]
 147 विनिं^४ जेकोनि चेंबळि कोम्भनबोनि कोडुकु माचनबोयुंडु
 148 आचंद्रार्कमुगां दन पुचानुपौचिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु
 149 सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ ◎ ◎ श्री श्री श्री [॥*]

^१ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^२ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^३ Read एंभदेनु.^४ Read वीनिं.

South Face.¹

- 150 शक[रु] वाहि[ता]रा[पय]शशिवसुधासन्नि[ते]
 151 मा[घ]मा[से] शक्ते प[चे] दशम्यां त्रि[दि]वपरिवृढा-
 152 चार्थ्य[वा]रे वरेण्ये । सोयं संप्राप्तराज्यस्सकल-
 153 गुणनिधिः केतविर्षभरेशो ग्रामान् विज्ञातसीमा-
 154 न् प्रथितगुणगणान् प्राददाद्वाङ्मणेभ्यः ॥ [४७*]
 155 ग्रामं [को]कल्लुनामानं प्रथस्यं सस्यसंप-
 156 दा । विहङ्गो द्विजवर्येभ्यो जनन्या[ः*] अयसेद-
 157 दात् ॥ [४८*] गिंजिपाडुं चक्षगरां ताडिवाय^३
 158 च शोभनान् । ग्रामान्द्विजवा^४ कृतवान्भूय-
 159 से अयसे पितुः ॥ [४९*] सम्यगमलपू[डिं*] च ग्रामं^५
 160 भूमिगुणान्वितं । विप्रसात्कृतवान्भ्रातृ-
 161 ण्यायसे^६ अयसे मुदा ॥ [५०*] सत्तेनपत्तिं प्रा-
 162 दिशदुप्यलपाडुं^७ च चिंतपत्तिं च तथा^८ ।
 163 श्रीकदीनकुंठिमही धर्मार्थं स्वस्य स
 164 द्विजेभ्यो ग्रामान् ॥ [५१*] ब्रीहिव्रातैस्सुजाते-
 165 रलघुफलभरैश्शालिसस्यैः प्रथस्यैरुद्गा-
 166 [टै]स्सुप्ररुटैस्तिलयवच[ण]कैर्मृग-
 167 मापैस्सपीपैः । धान्यैश्चान्यैसमृद्धा^९
 168 दिशि दिशि लसिताशोभनैश्शाकवाटैश्शोभ-
 169 तां श्रीसमेतास्सकलजनदृशासुख-
 170 वाश्शमदेते ॥ [५२*] ॐ स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं
 171 श्रीमन्महामंडलिखर कोटकेतराचुलु त-
 172 म तस्मि स[ब्ब]मदेवुल्लकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीम-
 173 द्वाङ्गणो[त्त]मुल्लकुं गीडनातवाडिलीनिच्चिन यू-
 174 र कोकल्लु दीनि पेरु सन्वायिकापुरमु [१*] तम तं-
 175 द्वि भीमराचुनकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीमद्वाङ्ग-
 176 षोत्तमुल्लकुं गीडनातवाडिलीनिच्चिन यू[डलु]

¹ Verses 47 to 52 are found also on the south face of No. 264 of 1897.² No. 264 of 1897 reads प्रथितपुपुगुणान्.³ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁴ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁵ No. 264 of 1897 reads °दुप्यलपार्डुं.⁶ No. 264 of 1897 reads °कैस्समृद्धा.⁷ See Pāṇini, V. 4, 55.⁸ Read °न्यायसः.⁹ No. 264 of 1897 reads तथा.

- 177 मिंजिपाडु चक्षमरा ताडिवाय इवि भीमा-
 178 वुरमुलु [1*] तमन्न चोडेरालुनकु धर्मार्थमु-
 179 गा श्रीमन्नाञ्जपोत्तमुलकुं गौडनातवा-
 180 डिलोनिच्चिन यूड चम्पलपूडि दीनि पेड चो-
 181 डालुरमु [1*] तनकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीमन्ना-
 182 ञ्जपोत्तमुलकुं गौडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन
 183 यूडलु कुंठिमहि उप्पलपाडु कौडपडु-
 184 मटिलो सत्तेनपत्ति चिंत्तपत्ति केतेपत्ति ए०००गुं-¹
 185 टलु दीडिकुंवाडि चंदु चोकदीन इवि ज-
 186 गमेच्चुगंडपुरमुलु [1*] ईययहारमु-
 187 लु सर्व्वक(1)रपरिहारमुगा मबिंच्चित्तिमि ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1.) "There is a city (named) *Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka*, which is superior to the city of the gods, (and) where (the temple of) *Śambhu* (*Śiva*) (named) *Amaréśvara* is worshipped by the lord of gods (*Indra*);

(V. 2.) "Where god *Buddha*, worshipped by the Creator, is quite close, (and) where (there is) a very lofty *Chaitya*, well decorated with various sculptures.

(V. 3.) "In that (city) there is a family of powerful kings, enjoying uninterrupted prosperity, protected by the god *Amaréśvara*, (and) protecting men;

(V. 4.) "Which (family) was born from the pair of feet— worshipped by the crowds of lords of gods, lords of demons, and lords of sages,— of the Creator, the bestower of great bliss."

In this family was born *Bhīma* (I.) (v. 6). His son was *Kēta* (I.) (v. 24). His son was *Bhīma* (II.) (v. 28), whose wife was *Sabbamādevī* (v. 32). Their son was *Kēta* (II.) (v. 33), a worshipper of *Śiva* (v. 38). He built alms-houses (*satthālaya*, v. 40) and constructed tanks (*taṭṭāga*, v. 41), gardens (*ārāma*, v. 42), and temples (*dēvālaya*, v. 43).

(V. 44.) "In the *Śāka* year reckoned by the *Yugas* (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and *rūpa* (1),— (i.e. 1104),— in (the month of) *Māgha*, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (fortnight), on a Thursday,— the glorious king *Kēta*, a treasury of virtues, possessing great prosperity, having been raised to the kingdom,² gave, for the increase of (his) merit, many excellent villages to the preceptor of all (men), the lord *Sugata* (*Buddha*).

(Line 108.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) (*Ṣaṭṣahasra-dvānt*) on the southern (bank) of the *Kṛishnavennā* river, obtained through the favour of the glorious *Triṇayana-Pallava*, the protector of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans; inaccessible to fear and greed; the lion to the rutting elephants—the *Chōḍa* and *Chālukya Sāmāntas*; resembling the lord of gods (*Indra*) in power; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of the holy god *Amaréśvara*; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lord of *Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka*,

¹ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² This seems to imply that the date of the grant was that of the king's accession to the throne. A similar statement occurs in verse 47.

the best of cities; resembling the lord of Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa) in valour; he whose hand closes with¹ heroes; he whose hand gives to suppliants; the hero of heroes; the double-headed eagle (*Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*); the hero praised by the world (*Jagamechchugaṇḍa*); and the sun of truth,— in the Śāka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— gave to the holy god Buddha the (*following*) villages, together with all revenue including tolls, for as long as the moon and the sun shall last:— Kranteru in (*the district of*) Kaṇḍravāḍi, and Mēḍukonḍūru and Poṇkiparṇu in (*the district of*) Koṇḍapaḍumati. Those who do not keep up this charity, will have committed the five great sins, will have destroyed Vāraṇāsi, (*and*) will have eaten from the skull of their eldest son." Here follows an imprecatory verse (45).

(V. 46.) "In the Śāka (*year*) measured by the *Vēdas* (4), the directions (10), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1104),— on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— king Kēta gave two lamps to Buddha.

(L. 131.) "Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*,— in the Śāka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— gave for his own merit to the holy god Buddha 110 sheep² for two perpetual lamps. Having received fifty-five sheep among these, Dāmaka-Amare-Bōya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*³ of ghee as long as the moon and the sun shall last. Having received (*the remaining*) fifty-five sheep, Kēta-Bōya of Ūṭukūru⁴ with his sons and further descendants has to supply *etc.*

(L. 141.) "Gasavi-Sūrama-dēvi, (*one*) among the concubines (*of the king*), gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Sabbaka-Māre-Bōya has to supply *etc.*

(L. 145.) "Prōlamadēvi, (*who was in charge*) of the treasury, gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Māchena-Bōya, the son of Kommana-Bōya of Chembarti, has to supply *etc.*

(V. 47.) "In the Śāka year measured by the oceans (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and the earth (1),— (*i.e.* 1104),— on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, on an excellent Thursday,— that treasury of all virtues, king Kēta, who had obtained the kingdom, gave villages whose boundaries were well known, (*and*) whose numerous advantages were famous, to Brāhmaṇas."

He granted to Brāhmaṇas the village of Kōkallu for the merit of his mother (v. 48); Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā and Tāḍivāya for the merit of his father (v. 49); Ammalapūṇḍi for the merit of his elder brother (v. 50); and Sattenapalli, Uppalapāḍu, Chintapalli, Oṇkadona and Kuṇṭimaddi for his own merit (v. 51).

(L. 170.) "Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*, gave, for the merit of his mother Sabbamadēvi, to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the village of Kōkallu in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Sabbāmbikāpuram. For the merit of his father Bhimarāja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the villages of Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā (*and*) Tāḍivāya in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) their (*names into*) Bhimāvuram. For the merit of his elder brother Chōḍerāja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the village of Ammalapūṇḍi in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Chōḍāvuram. For his own merit, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the villages of Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi; Sattenapalli, Chintapalli, Kēteṇṇipalli and Erraṅṅuṇṇa

¹ See Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v. *moge* 5.

² In modern Telugu *eḍḍu*, the plural of *eḍḍu*, means 'bullocks'; but *inpa-eḍḍu* (ll. 135 f., 143 and 146) or *inup-eḍḍu* (below, p. 158, l. 218) must be synonymous with *goriyalu*, 'sheep,' in ll. 136 f. and 139.

³ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this measure is the sixteenth part of a *tāma*.

⁴ This is perhaps the modern Vutukur, No. 76 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.

in (the district of) Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi; and Oṅkadona in (the district of) Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi, (changing) their (names into) Jagamechchuganḍapuram.¹ We have exempted these *agrahāras* from all taxes."

B.— Inscription of Bayyamāmbā;

Śaka-Saṃvat 1156.

This inscription is engraved on the south face of the pillar, below the end of the inscription of Kēta II. It consists of 12 Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose (ll. 215 to 220).

This is another grant to god Buddha at Śrī-Dhānyaghāṭi (i.e. Amarāvati), made on Thursday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1156 (expired), the cyclic year Jaya. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th May A.D. 1234, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise." The donor was Bayyamāmbā (v. 11) or Kōṭa-Bayyalamahādēvi (l. 216), the daughter of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rudradēva-Mahārāja* (l. 215 f.), the son of Buddha (v. 5) and grandson of Durga (v. 4), who belonged to the Chaturthakula (i.e. the Śūdra caste) and resided at Maḍapalli in the district of Nāthavāḍi (l. 215) or Nāthavāṭi² (vv. 1 to 3). From the word *Kōṭa*³ which is prefixed to the name of Bayyalamahādēvi in l. 216, it may be concluded that she was married to one of the chiefs of Amarāvati. Verse 12, which is mutilated, contains the name of Manma-Gēta, i.e. 'the grandson' Kēta.' This seems to refer to Kēta II. of Amarāvati, the grandson of Kēta I. Very probably Bayyamāmbā was one of the wives of Kēta II.

TEXT.

South Face (continued).

- 188 श्रीं [॥*] अस्ति स्वस्तियुतो देशो नाथवाटीति विस्तृतः । पूगपुत्रागवकुळ-
 189 निचुळाळिमनीहरः । [१*] तच्च श्रीमत्पुरवरं मण्डपक्षिपुरं परं ।
 190 परैरेमेयमुद्योतविद्योतितदिगंतरं⁶ । [२*] धातुस्समसृजगतां⁷ क-
 191 र्त्तचरणपंकजात् । जातं विशिष्टं तच्चास्ति चतुर्थकुलमत्तमं⁸ । [३*] त-
 192 च्चाभवत् पृथुयशाः⁹ परिमातदोषो ह्यभोजबन्धुरिव नन्दि-
 193 तसर्व्ववर्णः ।¹⁰ शौच्यादिवर्त्यगुणगर्व्वितभृत्यवर्णो दुर्गचिंतो-
 194 [य इ*]ति सुप्रथितः प्रियिव्यां¹¹ ॥ [४*] तस्मासीत्तनयः प्रभूतविनय-
 195 . . हितश्रीयुतो¹² नानासद्विजमुख्यपोषणरतश्चान-
 196 . . गात्रयः । प्रत्यर्थिप्रबलप्रवृद्धनरकच्छेदो विधेयस्य[दा]
 197 [जा*]तो विष्णुरिवापरो¹³ गुणनिधिर्बुद्धमावस्रभः ॥ [५*] [त]-
 198 [स्व](र) पत्नो मुप्यमांबा पुरारिचरणांबुजे । जातकौतुकासा-
 199 कृतव्रितिः¹⁴ पतिपरायणा ॥ [६*] मुप्यमांबुहृदपत्न्योर्जातो

¹ This name was derived from his surname Jagamechchuganḍa; see l. 117.

² Regarding these two geographical names see p. 159 below.

³ See p. 147 above.

⁴ See Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s. v. *manamaḍu*.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read °मुद्योत°.

⁷ Read °मसृज°.

⁸ Read °मुत्तमं°.

⁹ Read परिपुष्ट°.

¹⁰ Read शौच्यादि°.

¹¹ Read प्रियिव्यां°.

¹² Read °सद्विज°.

¹³ नि of निधि is entered above the line.

¹⁴ Read °व्रितिः°.

- 200 रु[द्र]नरेखरः । विश्वविश्वंभराधीशो योसौ धर्म इवापरः[] ॥ ७*]
 201 तस्य पत्नी मैलमांबा धर्मकीर्त्तिरिति श्रुता । विश्रुतश्रु[त]-
 202 संपन्नविद्वच्चिन्तामणिः[*]¹ स्वयं ॥ [८*] अजीजनस्तुतान्² अ-
 203 द्यौ विष्टपे शिष्टसन्नतान्³ । लोकपालप्रतीकाशान् या म-
 204 हिंजेव भूयसी ॥ [९*] चातुर्योदार्यभूमिस्त्रिभु-
 205 वनविवरस्थातसौ[भाग्य*]भाग्या या च श्रीकीर्त्तिसुत्तिः[*]⁴ सकल-
 206 गुणिगणानंदसंदोहदात्री । 'इष्टापूर्त्तादिर्कर्मप्रतिप-
 207 दमुदिताखर्वगीर्वाणगर्वा सर्वोर्वीवक्रवालस्फुर[दु]र-⁵
 208 महिमाक्रांतलोकावकाशा ॥ [१०*] तत्पुत्री बय्यमांबा प्र-
 209 धितगुणगणा सत्कलापूर्ववर्त्ता⁶ (i) ⁷[शि]ष्टार्चाप्राप्तकीर्त्तिः[*] स्वयमपि
 विदु-
 210 धामप्रणीरग्रगणा । वि[ह][त्*]पद्माकराणां तरणिरु[चि]रसौ या च
 211 सौजन्यसिंधोरुक्तासा[येदु]रेखा निखिलज[न]नुतालंक्रि[ति]र्भूत-¹⁰
 212 धायाः ॥ [११*] शाकाब्दे तर्कबाणचित्तिरशिगणिते¹¹ वत्सरेक्षिज-
 याख्ये ज्ये-
 213 हे मा[सी]ज्यवारे मुररिपुदिवसे यत्कपचे प्रश[स्ते] । प्रादा[तु]¹² श्री-
 214 [धान्यघा]टीस्थितिकृतचये ¹³बुधदेवाय भूजे सा [दे]वी मन्मगेत-
 215 ॥ १२*] श्रीमन्म(म)हामंडलेखर
 नाथवा[डि] र-
 216 द्रदेवमहाराजुल कूंतु¹⁴ कीटवय्यलमहादेविषमं-¹⁴
 217 गाव [द]नुकु¹⁵ धर्मार्थमुगा ¹⁶श्रीमद्बुधदेवरकुनाचंद्रा-
 218 र्कमखंडदीपमुनकुनिचिन¹⁷ इनुपेडु ५५ [१*] वीनिं जेको[नि]
 219 गुंठिअनेबोयुंडु [द]न पुचानुपवुचिकसु नित्य
 220 [मा]नेडु नेयि पोयंग[ल*]वांडु ॥ ची¹⁸ [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Om. In the district (*désa*) of *Nāthavāṭi*, in the town of *Madapalli*, in the *Chaturthakula* which was produced from the foot of the Creator, was born *Durga* (vv. 1 to 4). His son was *Budda*, whose wife *Muppamāmbā* was devoted to *Śiva* (v. 5 f.). Their son *Rudra* married *Mailamāmbā* and had by her eight sons (vv. 7 to 9) and a daughter, *Bayyamāmbā* (v. 11).

¹ Read °विद्वच्चिन्ता°.⁴ Read °मूर्तिः°.⁷ Read प्रथित°.¹⁰ Read °खंक्रति°.¹² Read प्रादाक्षी°.¹⁴ Read अन्म°; the *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.¹⁶ Read श्रीमद्बुध°.² Read °तानष्टी°.⁵ Read इष्टा°.⁶ Read °पूर्ववर्त्ता°.¹¹ Read °शशि°.¹³ Read बुध°.¹⁷ Read °निचिन°.³ Read °सन्नतान्°.⁸ Read अक्रवाल°.⁹ Read शिष्टार्चा°.¹⁵ Read दनुकु°.¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

(V. 12.) "In the Śaka year reckoned by *tarka* (6), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1156),—in this (*cyclic*) year called *Jaya*, in the month *Jyēshtha*, on a **Thursday**, on the day of *Mura's enemy* (*Vishṇu*),¹ in the auspicious bright fortnight,—this queen [the wife of] **Manma-Gēta** gave, for the sake of (*her*) prosperity, [a lamp] to god **Buddha** who is pleased to reside at **Śri-Dhānyaghāṭi**.

(L. 215.) "**Kōṭa-Bayyalamahādēvi-amma**, the daughter of the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Budradēva-Mahārāja** of **Nāthavāḍi**, gave for her own merit to the holy lord **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and the sun. Having received these, **Guṇṭi-Ane-Bōya** with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna* of ghee. *Om*."

POSTSCRIPT.

In connection with the preceding inscription of Bayyamāmbā, I publish below a short Telugu inscription of her father on a pillar of the ruined *Kanukadurgā-maṇḍapa* at the foot of the *Indrakila* hill at **Bezvāḍa** (No. 279 of 1892). It records the gift of a lamp to the **Mallēśvara** temple at **Bezvāḍa** by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Budradēvarāja** of **Maḍapalla** in **Nātavāḍi**, the son of **Buddarāja**, who was the brother-in-law of the *Kākatiya* king **Gaṇapati**.² The date of the grant was **Thursday**, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha** in **Śaka-Samvat 1123** (expired), the cyclic year **Durmukhi**, which is a mistake for **Durmati**. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to **Thursday**, the 19th April A.D. 1201, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise."

The town of **Maḍapalla** and the district of **Nātavāḍi** are identical with **Maḍapalli** and the district of **Nāthavāḍi** or **Nāthavāṭi** in the inscription of Bayyamāmbā.³ Mr. Ramayya identifies **Maḍapalla** or **Maḍapalli** with a village near **Madhira**, a station on the *Nizam's State Railway*, and **Nātavāḍi** with the district of **Nat[ri]paṭi** in the *Chikkulla* plates.⁴ As, however, **Ḍenduḷūra**, whence the *Chikkulla* plates were issued, is the modern **Dendulūru** near **Ellore**, **Maḍapalla** or **Maḍapalli** might as well be the same as the village of '**Maḍapulli**' which is mentioned in the *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle*, p. 746, as being situated near **Ellore**.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री° स्वस्ति [1°] शकवर्षबुलु° ११२३ [ड]गु दुर्मुखिसंवत्सर वै-
- 2 श्राव् शुक्ल° १५ शुक्रवारमुन स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहा-
- 3 शब्दमहामंडलेश्वर° मडपल्लपुरवराधीश्वर चाळुक्य-
- 4 राज्यमूलसंभायमान शिष्टे[ष्ट]निदान श्रीम[त्°]त्रिभुवना-
- 5 धीश्वरपादाराधक परबलसाधक नामादिसमस्तप्रश-
- 6 स्तिसंहित° श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर नातवाडि रुद्रदेवराजु-
- 7 लु समस्तप्रशस्तिसंहितुलै[न] काकतियगवपतिदेव[म]-
- 8 हाराजुल म०००दि तम तंङ्गि बुद्धराजुलकु सुक्तिगानु

¹ I.e. the eleventh *tithi*.

² See above, Vol. III. p. 95; Vol. V. p. 142 f.; and Vol. VI. p. 89.

³ See p. 157 above.

⁴ From an inked estampage.

⁵ Read शुक्.

⁶ See above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v f.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read °मंडलेश्वर.

⁹ Read °वर्षबुलु.

¹⁰ Read °संहित.

- 9 बेजवाड मल्लेश्वरश्रीमहादेवरकु आ[च]द्रार्कस्यायि-¹
 10 [ग]ए एत्तिन चख[ड]दी[प]मुनकिच्चिन मेक[लु] ५५ [।*] वीनि
 जेको[नि] को-
 11 [ड]सुरेवीयुंडु तन पुचपौवुचानुकममुन नित्य नं-²
 12 धिमानेडु नेयि नडपंगलवांडु ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail! On Thursday, the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of *Vaiśākha* in the Śaka year 1123, the *Durmukhi-saṃvatsara*,—Hail! the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rudradēvarāja* of *Nātavāḍi*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of *Maḍapalla*, the best of cities; the chief pillar, as it were, of the *Chālukya* kingdom; the end of (*i.e.* fulfilling) the desires of holy men; the worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of the three worlds; and the destroyer of hostile armies, gave— for the salvation of his father *Buddarāja*, the brother-in-law of *Kākatiya-Gaṇapatidēva-Mahārāja* who was possessed of all glory,— 55 goats for lighting a perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun shall last, before the god *Mahādēva* of the *Mallēśvara* (*temple*) at *Bejavāḍa*. Having received these, *Koṇḍa-Sūre-Bōya* with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*, (stamped with) a *Nandi*, of ghee.

No. 16.—SOME RECORDS OF THE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS OF MALKHED.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This is the first of some papers which will deal with some selected records of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* kings of *Mālkhed*. The records have been chosen, partly because of the general historical interest that attaches to them, and partly in order to illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.¹ As regards the latter point, I cannot undertake to deal fully with all the palæographic details: to do so, would be beyond my particular sphere of work, and would occupy time which I prefer to devote to other matters of wider interest; and I must leave that line of inquiry to be dealt with, in its minute particulars, by anyone who is more concerned than I am with the special illustration of Indian palæography. I shall notice a few details that may seem of particular interest. But, for the most part, I shall only deal, on somewhat broad lines, with certain characters which furnish leading tests in determining the sequence and approximate dates of undated genuine records which belong to the period in question or may fall within about half a century before it, and in arriving at some conclusion as to the order in which certain spurious records were fabricated and the periods to which they are really to be referred.

A.—Hatti-Mattūr inscription of the time of *Kṛishṇa I*.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1882.

¹ The *r* of *rkka* is indistinct.

² The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line; read नदि°.

³ See some remarks on pages 74, 77, above.

Hatti-Mattûr, or "cotton-Mattûr,"—evidently so called to distinguish it from a neighbouring village, which seems to be known either as simply **Mattûr**, or as **Dombara-Mattûr**, "Mattûr of the Dôms or Gipsies,"—is a village about six miles N.-N.-W. from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi taluka of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Huttee Muttoor.' It is mentioned, by its full appellation, in the Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription of the period A.D. 1069 to 1076, which speaks of the (measuring)-rod of **Pattiya-Mattaûra**.¹ The present record mentions a village named **Maṭṭavur**, which may be either Hatti-Mattûr itself, or the other Mattûr, which is three miles and a half S.-E.-by-E. from Hatti-Mattûr. The inscription is on a *virgal* or monumental tablet, on the bank of the tank at Hatti-Mattûr.

The upper part of the stone is occupied by sculptures, which shew, in the centre, a *linga*, with a priest standing to it; on the proper right, the bull Nandi, with the sun above it; and on the proper left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them.—The writing, which is in a state of good preservation, covers an area about 1' 11½" broad by 1' 5½" high.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them² ranges from about 1" in the *ê* of *êridor*, line 4, to about 1½" in the *i* of *ivu*, line 5; and the *śrî* in line 1 is about 3½" high. The characters include final forms, or forms with the *virâma* attached, of *r* in lines 3 and 4, and of *l* in lines 3 and 5. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* does not occur. The *j* and the *ñ* occur in *râjyañ*, line 2, Nos. 4 and 5; and they are both of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs in *irbbara*, line 5, No. 6, and is, similarly, of the old square type, closed. The *l* occurs three times: it, also, is of the old square type, but with rather a marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke with which the formation of the character ended; this feature, which was the first step in the development of the later cursive type of the character, can be seen very clearly in the *la* of *Akâla*, line 1, No. 6, and also in *âlayake*, line 4.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose.—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king **Akâlavarsha**, who, because of the locality to which the record belongs and of the standard of the characters, is to be identified with the **Râshtrakûṭa** king **Akâlavarsha-Śubhatuṅga-Kriṣṇa I.**³ The object of it is to record the death, in some local affray, of two heroes named **Dâsamma** and **Ereya**.

The record is not dated. But it is to be placed after A.D. 754, which date we have for **Dantidurga**, the predecessor of **Kriṣṇa I.**, and before A.D. 783-84, which date we have for his successor. And we may place it roughly about A.D. 765.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Svasti Śrî-Akâlavarisha-bhaṭararâ⁵ pri-
- 2 thuvi-râjyañ-geye Surageyurâ Dâ-
- 3 samm-Ereyar Maṭṭavurâ ûr-aḷivinoḷ .
- 4 iṛidu sattu svargg-âlayake⁶ êrid[or] [||*]
- 5 Ivu tammutt⁷-irbbara kalgaḷ [||*]

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

² See page 41 above.

³ For an account of him, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 390.

⁴ From the ink-impression.

⁵ Read *bhaṭṭarar*.

⁶ We have here the use of the dative for the accusative; see page 43 above, note 5. It occurs again in line 4 of the Naregal inscription, B. below.

⁷ Mr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary gives this word with only the single *t*,—*tammutu*. It is presented again with the double *tt* in *tammutt-irbbor* in an inscription at Kûragallu (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92).

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the *Bhaṭṭāra*,¹ the glorious Akṣavarsha-(Kṛishṇa I.), was reigning over the earth :— In the destruction² of the village of Māltavur, Dāsamma and Eṛeya, of the village of Surageyur,³ pierced (*some of their foes*) and died⁴ and ascended to heaven. These are the stones of those two men themselves.⁵

B.—Naregal inscription of the time of Dhruva.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1895 or 1896, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 394, note 3. It is now edited for the first time. I edit it, and the collocation is given, from a plain uninked estampage sent to me in 1882 by Mr. Govind Gangadhar Deshpande.⁶

Naregal is a village about eleven miles E.-N.-E. from Hāṅgal, the head-quarters of the Hāṅgal tāluka of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Neirgul.' The record gives its old name in the form of Nareyaṅgal, and tacitly places it in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The inscription is on a *vīrgal* or monumental tablet, found on, and apparently built into the wall of, the sluice of the tank.

I have no information as to whether there are any sculptures on this stone.—The writing covers an area about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 0" high, and is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ⅞" in the *th* of *prithuvi*, line 1, to about 1¼" in the upper *t* of *sattu*, line 4; and the *rgg* of *svargg*, line 4, is about 3½" high. The characters include final forms of *n* (damaged) in line 4, and of *l* in line 3; and the distinct form of the lingual *q*⁷ is clearly recognisable in *Kāḍavam*, line 4. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *ṣ* do not occur. The *j* occurs in *rājyaṁ*, line 1, No. 11, and is of the old square type, closed; and so, also, is the *b*, which we have in *Bhanamāsi*, line 2, No. 5. The *l* occurs in three syllables, and is perhaps seen most clearly in the *lo* of *puyyalol*, line 3, No. 13: it, also, is of the old square type; it does not present, here, the marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke which we have met with in the Hatṭi-Mattūr inscription, A. above; and the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, towards the bottom. As regards the way in which the vowel *o* is formed in the same word, *puyyalol*, see page 164 below.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 4, *Domma*, as another form of *Domba*, = *Domba*, 'a

¹ This word,—a title of paramount sovereignty, as used here,—occurs sometimes with the double *ṭṭ*, *ḍhaṭṭāra*, in which form, only, it is given in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, new edition, with the meanings of 'a noble lord (= *pājya*); honourable.' For other instances of the use of the title, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 368, 393, 394, 402.

² Compare the Baṭgere inscription of A.D. 888—(in a continuation of this paper),—which describes Śāḍēva as "destroying" Baṭṭakeṛa. The expression *ḍr-āḷieu*, 'village-destruction,' occurs again in a record of A.D. 1092 at Srīraṅpur in the Belgaum district, which mentions *Jakkirāḍad-ḍr-āḷieu*, "the village-destruction of Jakkirāḍa." And we have it, practically, again in an inscription at Kuḍakūru (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 50), where, however, the translator has confused *āḷieu* with *aḍavi*, *aḍivi*, and has rendered *Peṭṭiyḍr-āḷievinoḷ* by "in the Peṭṭiyḍr forest."

³ This is, perhaps, the modern 'Surangi,' which the Bombay Postal Directory places somewhere in the Karajgi tāluka.

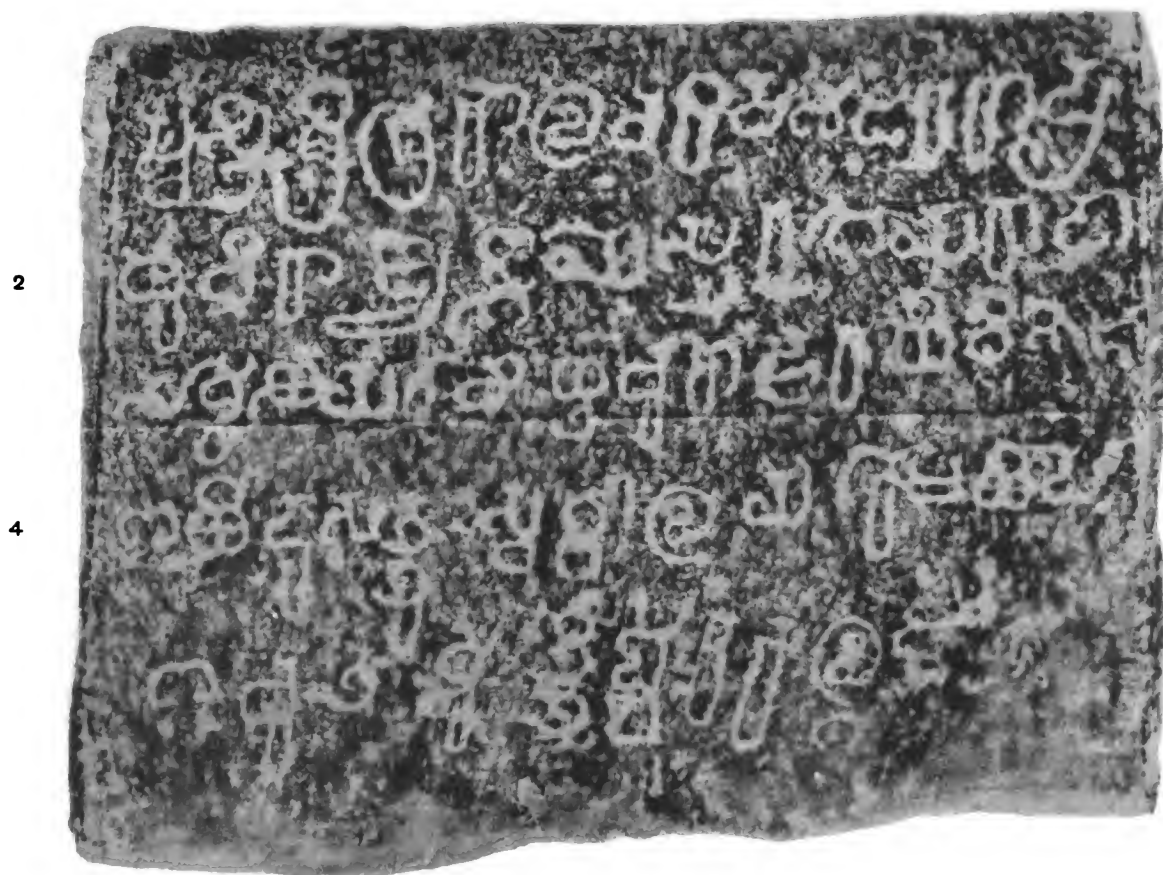
⁴ Or "were pierced and died."

⁵ There are or were, then, two memorial tablets at this place,—the second of them perhaps without any writing on it.

⁶ I regret that I had forgotten this, and did not turn up my note of it in time to indicate the fact below the collocation.

⁷ See page 41 above.

A.—Hatti-Mattur Inscription of Krishna I.



SCALE ·25

B.—Naregal Inscription of Dhruva.



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ·25

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

tumbler, a man of low caste, a Dòm or Gipsy ;¹ and— (unless we should take *turupina* to be a mistake for *turuvina*)— in line 3 it gives us *turupu*, either as a variant of *туру*, 'a cow, kine,' or as the Kanarese form of some original Dráviḍian word which has given us, in Tamil, *toruvu*, 'a crowd, a herd of cows.'— The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Dôra, who is to be identified with the Râshtrakûṭa king Dhruva, son and successor of Kṛishṇa I.:² his name occurs in the Prākṛit form of Dhôra in, for instance, the Wapī grant of A.D. 807;³ and the form Dôra, which we have in the present record, is to be taken as a corruption of Dhôra.⁴ The record mentions also a certain Mārakkarasa, who was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province,—of course, as a feudatory of Dhruva. The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death, on the occasion of a cattle-raid, of a local hero named Dommara-Kâḍava, "Kâḍava of the Dombas or Gipsies."

The record is not dated. But, as we have for Dhruva the date of A.D. 783-84,⁵ it may be placed roughly about A.D. 780.

TEXT.⁶

- 1 Om⁷ Svasti Śrī-Dôram prithuvi-râjyam-keye Mâra-⁸
 2 kka-arasar-Bbanamâ(vâ)si-pannirohchârasinum⁹=âḷe Nareyam-
 3 galla sâsirvvara turupina puyyalol
 4 Dommara-Kâḍavam sattv svargg-[â*]layakk¹⁰=âḷidan [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While the glorious Dôra was reigning over the earth, and while Mārakkarasa was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand:— In the fight¹¹ about the cows¹² of the thousand (*Mahâjanas*) (?) of Nareyamgal, Dommara-Kâḍava died and ascended to heaven.

C.—Lakshmêshwar inscription of the time of Śrīvallabha.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1882, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 156, from an indistinct ink-impression which led me to speak of it then as only a fragment not capable of being edited. It is now edited for the first time. I edit it from a plain uninked estampage and an inked impression obtained by me in 1892. The collotype is from the estampage, which is better adapted for reproduction than is the ink-impression. In the title of the collotype, "Śrīvallabha" should be substituted for "Gôvinda III."¹³

¹ The word *domba*, *ḍomba*,—which, through the form *ḍoma*, gives the origin of the Gipsy expression Romany-Rye, "a Gipsy gentleman," = *Dômanî rdy*, "a king of the Dôms" (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 15),—occurs with both the lingual *ḍ* and the dental *d*; but more usually, I think, with the lingual *ḍ*. In the present case, however, we seem to have clearly in *domma* the dental *d*. A Domma figures in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of A.D. 1163, among the foes of the Kâkatya king Rudradêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 10, 17).

² *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 393.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6.

⁴ Compare the name Dôrayya,—equivalent to Dhôrayya,—in an inscription at Kuḍakûru (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 50).

⁵ See page 195 ff. below.

⁶ From the estampage.

⁷ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁸ Nothing is wanting after this syllable. The irregular corners of the estampage, here and at the bottom, are apparently due to projecting masonry work.

⁹ Read *pannirohchâsiramam*. The *s* of the last syllable is quite clear in the estampage, though it is hardly recognisable in the collotype.

¹⁰ See page 161 above, note 6.

¹¹ See at the top of this page.

¹² *Lit.* "in the beating, striking, etc."

¹³ See page 165 below, and note 3.

Lakshmēshwar is a well known town, the head-quarters of the Lakshmēshwar subdivision of the Senior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Lukmeshwar,' in lat. 15° 7', long. 75° 31'. The record mentions it by the old name of **Purigere**. The inscription is on a stone which is stored, with various other inscribed stones, at the kachēri. I have no information as to where it was found. And there is nothing to explain why a stone of so irregular a shape should have been used for a formal record.

There are not any sculptures on this stone.—The writing covers an area ranging from about 5" broad in line 1 to about 9" in line 10 and about 1' 6½" high, with blank spaces at the top and bottom as if for the purpose of setting it in a wall. It is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ⅓" in the *ya* of *Bārāṇḍiya* in line 11 to about ⅔" in the *n* of *nālvattu*, line 6; and the *śrī* in line 1 is about 2¼" high, on the slant. They include a final form of *m*, in line 12, which, however, is damaged and does not appear clearly in the collotype. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is clearly recognisable in *kiḍiḍo*, line 10. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* does not occur. The *j* occurs in the word *rājyaṣ*, line 2, No. 6, and is of the old square type, closed. The *ṣ* occurs in the same word, and again in *māruṣ*, line 4; it presents the old square type, closed, corresponding to the *j*, and shews a somewhat unusually marked extension, to the right, of what is ordinarily only a very slight projection or knob in the centre of the letter: it is seen most clearly in the *ṣ* of *māruṣ-kēriyā*, line 4, No. 3. The *b* occurs in line 1 in *ballaham*, and again in line 10 in *Bārāṇḍiya*; it, also, is of the old square type, closed, though the actual forms are considerably rounded off: it is seen best in the *ba* of *ballaham*, line 1, No. 5. The *l* occurs six times, and is, similarly, of the old square type throughout, though, as with the *b*, the actual forms are rounded off; it is seen most clearly in the *lva* of *nālvattu*, line 6, No. 6, where the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, and in *kavileya[m]*, line 11, where it is not closed in. In the *lō* of *lōkakke*, line 12, which is clearer in the estampage than in the collotype, we have the same form of the *akshara* that we have in, for instance, *sakalōttarā* in line 9 of the Vakkalēri grant of Kirtivarman II. of A.D. 757,¹ and, earlier, in *lōkakke* in line 10 of one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions of Vikramāditya II. of the period A.D. 733 to 747;² it is a somewhat cursively formed variety (but preserving the old square type of the *l*, and not introducing any approach to the later cursive type) of the old square *lō* which we have in *lōkaḥṣ* in line 3 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II. of A.D. 634-35,³ and in *Lōkamahādēviyārā* in line 3 of the companion Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II.,⁴ and which appears again in *modaloḷ* in line 9 of the Kanarese grant of Gōvinda III. of A.D. 804,⁵ where, however, there is the difference that the side-stroke which converts *le* or *lē* into *lo* or *lō* is turned downwards: and the *lō* as formed in this Lakshmēshwar inscription, by a modification of the upper part of the *l*, is more archaic than the *lo* of *puyyalōḷ* in line 3 of the Naregal inscription, B. above, which is probably earlier in date; the vowel is there represented, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, but by two distinct vowel-marks attached before and after the entire *l*. On the other hand, in the present record, in *kavileya[m]*, line 11, the *e* is formed by a vowel-mark attached to the entire *l*, instead of being denoted by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, according to the archaic custom, as, for instance, in *kālē* in line 16 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II. of A.D. 634-35.⁶ In *geyye*, line 3, the subscript *y* is represented, very exceptionally,

¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 202, and Plate.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 99, and Plate.

³ Page 4 above, and Plate.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 100, and Plate.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, and Plate.

⁶ Page 7 above, and Plate; and see note 6 on page 5. The proper difference between *li* and *le*, *lē*, seems to have been that in *li* the *i* should be denoted by a circle on the top of the straight part of the upstroke of the *l*, and that in *le*, *lē*, the vowel should be denoted by turning in the curve of the top of the letter to meet the top of the straight part of the upstroke.

by an ordinary *y* (but without the top-stroke) attached below the upper *y*, instead of by the usual subscript form which we have in the preceding word *rājyaḥ*: I cannot quote any similar instance in so late a record;¹ and it seems to be here a freak.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 1-2, *ballaha*, as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *vallabha*; in line 4-5, *paṭṭagāra*, as a variant of *paṭakāra*, 'a weaver;' in line 5, *sāṇiya*, 'a (head)-man of a guild,' from *sāni*, = *trāni*, + *a* (3), with which we have to compare *nāḍa*, 'a (head)-man of a district,' from *nād*, *nāḍu*, + *a* (3);² in lines 7 and 9, *sāmpu*, which seems to mean 'a length (of cloth or silk),' and to be another variant of *chāpu*, 'stretch, length, extent,' *jāpu*, 'the measure of a long stride,' and *dāpu*, 'stretch, etc., the measure of a stride;' and in line 8, *keḷagu* (with the copulative affix), as a variant of *keḷagu*, 'under, down, below.'—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king whom it mentions by only the *biruda* Śrīballaha, that is to say Śrīvallabha. On palaeographic grounds, it is to be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. For that reason, coupled with the locality to which it belongs, it is unquestionably a Rāshtrakūṭa record. And this king Śrīvallabha is, in all probability, to be identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva: the only alternative is that he is Dhruva's son Gōvinda III.; but, in spite of what has previously been thought, it now appears very questionable whether Gōvinda III. was so specifically well known by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha as was his father Dhruva.³ The object of the inscription is to record that the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mārumkēri*⁴ of Purigeṛe-(Lakshmēshwar)

¹ It was the ancient way of forming the subscript *y*; see the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, in the word *maḍḍakshatrapasya* near the end of line 8, and in other places (*Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, and Plate).

² For an instance of the word *nāḍa*, see page 71 above, note 2.

³ When I first brought this inscription to notice, I treated it as a record of the reign of Gōvinda III. At that time, in dealing with the Rāshtrakūṭas I was chiefly following the lead of Dr. Bühler. His Table of the Rāshtrakūṭas shewed the *biruda* Śrīvallabha for only Gōvinda III.; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 72, and his remarks (*ibid.* p. 64) in his introduction to the Rādhanpur grant which he was then editing, and his translation (*ibid.* p. 71) of the passages from which he took the *biruda*. And, as a matter of fact, it is only recently,—since the time when the collotype of this record, now issued, was prepared and titled,—that it could be recognised that this *biruda*, when used in a Rāshtrakūṭa record, referable to an indefinite date in the period A.D. 775 to 800, in the special manner in which it is used in this record, does not by any means necessarily denote Gōvinda III. On this point, see further on, under the use of the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.

⁴ This word *mārum-kēri*, — or *mārum-kēri*, as actually written in this record, with the guttural nasal instead of the *anuvāda*, — would mean, by literal translation, 'three streets.' But it seems to be a technical expression, the exact purport of which is to be found in connection with the wider meaning of 'quarter, quarters, a division of a town,' which *kēri* has in, for instance, *halegēri*, 'the Haler's quarters,' the well known expression for that part of a village (usually outside the village itself) in which the Mahāra, Māṅga, and other low-caste people dwell. I do not at present find anything, helping to explain it, in any of the other records at Lakshmēshwar. A proverbial saying, which may or may not indicate some clue, is given in the Rev. Mr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, under *māru*, namely *māru dṛu iddara kēri bēku*, "though there be fully a hundred (*persons*), a street is necessary;" and it is explained to me by Mr. Kittel as meaning that a hundred persons, or more, may be a large number, but, if their houses are erected unsystematically, one here and one there, there is no proper village, and a street, along which houses are built in rows, is necessary to constitute a regular village.—It seems likely that we have a synonym of *mārumkēri* in another technical expression, *mārum-pura*, of which, also, the exact purport is not apparent. *Mārum-pura* would mean, by literal translation, 'three towns;' but the exact bearing of it is, no doubt, to be explained in connection with the more special meaning, which *pura* has, of 'a division of a town, a ward,' particularly in the actual names of such divisions or wards. There was a *mārum-pura* at Baḷagāmi. A record there, of A.D. 1129, likens the *pañcha-maṭhaṅga* or five *maṭhas* of that place, which it specifies as the shrines of Hari (Viṣṇu), Hara (Śiva), Kamalāsana (Brahman), Vitarāga (Jinendra), and Bauddha (Buddha), to the five-fold string of pearls of the Earth, and likens the *mārum-puraṅga*, which it calls *allīya mārum-kāṅga* or "the three eyes of that place," to three strings of pearls on the neck of that same lovely woman (the Earth), who is thus superior to even the perfect Lakṣmī (*P. S. O.-C. Insers.* No. 178, lines 43 to 46, and see *Mysore Insers.* p. 90). Also, a record of A.D. 1181, at the same place, mentions a certain Sāvidēva, who is described as—*nagara-pañchamaṭha-mārum-purada saudo(?)re-hergaḍe*,—"the Soudore(?)-Hergaḍe of the *nagara* and the

made a religious grant, in the form of a proportionate quantity of the goods turned out by the weavers,—doubtless for the purposes of some temple, not mentioned in the record, at which the stone must have been set up.

The record is not dated. But, selecting a year which suits both the palæographic standard of the characters and the bare possibility of the inscription being of the time, not of Dhruva, but of Gōvinda III., for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from the Paiṭhaṇ grant,¹ we may place it about A.D. 793.

TEXT.²

- 1 Om³ Svasti Śriballa-
- 2 haṁ prithuvi-rājya-
- 3 n-geyye Purigereyā
- 4 mūruṇ-kāriyā paṭṭa-
- 5 gāra sēṇi(ni)ya-
- 6 n-itta dharmma nālvattu
- 7 sāmpinoḷ=ondu mūva-
- 8 ttaṇa keḷaguṇ i[nn]ū-
- 9 ra mēluṁ are-sāmpu [||*] Idu ni[l]u-
- 10 dāvu⁴ [||*] Idān=kiḍisido[m*] Bāra-
- 11 nāsiya sāsira kavileya[m]
- 12 kondona⁵ lōkakke sandon=ak[k]u[m] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While Śriballaha was reigning over the earth :—The religious grant, that was given by the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mūruṇkēri*⁶ of Purigere, was one

pañchamaṭṭha and the *mūruṇpura*" (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 192, line 62, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 119). And this last passage seems to separate the *mūruṇpura* from the *nagara* or city, and to mark the expression as the name for some distinct portion or portions of the township, outside the town proper. The expression *mūruṇpura* occurs again, with *pañchamaṭṭha*, in the Konnūr inscription which purports to reproduce a charter of the time of Amoghavarsha I. (page 34 above, text line 71); and it seems, therefore, that there was a *mūruṇpura* at Konnūr also.—I would suggest, incidentally, that the word *svatala*, meaning literally 'own surface,' which we have in *Valabhi-svatala* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15, text line 11 of plate ii., and Vol. XIV. p. 330, text line 25, and probably also in Vol. IV. p. 175, text line 7-8), is to be taken as the equivalent of *nagara*, and that *Valabhi-svatala* does mean "Valabhi proper, Valabhi within the walls," as taken by Dr. Bühler in dealing with the first of these passages. The *vihāra* built by Duḍḍa and situated in *Valabhi-svatala* according to that passage, appears to be described in another passage as situated in *Valabhi-pura* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 67, text line 2 of plate ii.); and this seems to make *svatala* synonymous with *pura* in the sense of *nagara*. *Svatala* occurs again, in the case of a village called Trisatimaka (by mistake for Trisaṅgamaka) in another record of the Maitrakas of Valabhi (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 14).—Another technical expression containing *mūru*, 'three,' and requiring explanation, is *mūruṇ-modala*, meaning literally 'three beginnings, roots, bases;' we have it in the genitive, *mūruṇmodala*, qualifying *mahājanaṁ*, in the Nandwāḍige inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 231, text line 3).

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 103.

² From the estampage and the ink-impression.

³ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁴ Read *nīlūdu*, or *nīlūdu*; or else read *iva*, with *nīlūva* or *nīlūvu*.

⁵ This *akṣhara*, *sa*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the *lō* of *lōkakke*.—For the expression *kondona lōkakke*, compare, *eg.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 99, line 10, where the correction *kondord* now seems unnecessary. We seem to have *kondord lōkakke* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 6 (see the lithograph). The more usual, and probably more strictly grammatical expression, is *konda lōkakke*; see, for instance, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, No. 57, text line 5, and Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101, text line 12, and p. 166, No. 102, text line 6.

⁶ See page 165 above, note 4.

C.—Lakshmeshwar Inscription of Govinda III.



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE .40

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

(length) on (each) forty lengths; (but) below thirty, and above two hundred, half a length.¹
This shall continue!

(L. 10) — Whosoever destroys this will associate himself with people who kill a thousand brown cows of Bâraṇāsi!

* * * * *

The appellations of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhêḍ.

This study is the outcome of some inquiries that were commenced with a view to determining exactly who may be the king Śrīvallabha, to whose time the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C. above, refers itself. For that purpose, it was necessary only to go as far as Amôghavarsha I. But some other points of interest presented themselves during the inquiry, in connection with the proper names of the kings as well as their *birudas* and other appellations; and it seemed useful and convenient to go through the whole dynasty. I am not sure that I have quite exhausted the subject; it is difficult to do that in dealing with so many records, edited in different works and not arranged chronologically, and some of them published in Nāgarī characters which do not adapt themselves to capitals, thick type, and other devices for catching the eye quickly. But, at any rate, I am able to put forward results that can be easily completed, at any future time, in respect of any few details that may have been overlooked here.

I may add that I commenced the inquiry with the expectation that the results would prove that the Śrīvallabha of the record in question, and of an important passage which furnishes a date, could only be Gôvinda III. The steps by which we are driven to a different conclusion on this point, will disclose themselves in due course.

Two general remarks may as well be made here. One is that, for any particular point, it is usually sufficient to refer to only that passage, the earliest in date, which first brings it forward; the value of a statement is seldom, if ever, in any way enhanced by the mere repetition of it in successive records which do no more than reproduce the exact words of earlier records. The other is that, in matters of technical detail, prose records in general, and in particular the formal preambles of the prose passages which introduce the special subject of each copper-plate charter, are obviously of more importance than any preliminary verses, in which flights of fancy were naturally permissible and were plainly sometimes indulged in, and in which absolute accuracy might at any time be made subordinate by an unskilful composer to metrical and other similar necessities.

For a complete list of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhêḍ and of the first Gujarāt branch, for use in connection with the remarks made in the following pages, reference may be made to the Table given by me in Vol. III. above, opposite page 54, or to the same Table in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), opposite page 386.

The first paramount king in the dynasty of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhêḍ was Dantidurga. Of his time, we have the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant, issued in A.D. 754. And this record, it may be mentioned, opens the pedigree with his great-grandfather Gôvinda I., and thus carries the family back as far as do any of the subsequent records, with the exception of the inscription

¹ *I.e.*, apparently, half a length on any piece of less than thirty lengths, one length on each forty lengths up to two hundred, and then half a length on each forty above that number.

at the Daśavatāra cave at Ellōrā,¹ which puts forward the names of Indra I. as the father, and Dantivarman I. as the grandfather, of Gōvinda I. The verse in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant which introduces Dantidurga, gives his proper name in the form of **Dantidurgarāja**; the formal preamble of the prose passages of the record adds *dēva*, and styles him **Dantidurgarājadēva**;² and a verse at the end of the record presents his name in the variant of **Dantivarman**, a form which rather curiously and unexpectedly crops up again, two centuries and a half later, in the Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997,³ — (a record of one of the Śilāhāra princes of the Northern Konkan, which recites the Rāshtrakūṭa pedigree), — without, as yet, any trace of it, in his case, in any of the intermediate records.⁴ The second verse in the description of Dantidurga in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant may be interpreted as giving him the *biruda* of Rājāsīmha,⁵ which, we now know, occurs at any rate in the case of other kings of other lines; but we have not as yet obtained any corroboration of it elsewhere in his case, and, from the first historical verse in the same record, the same *biruda* might be equally well established in the case of Gōvinda I., though the latter was only an ancestor and not a reigning king. Be that as it may, the formal preamble of the prose passages of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant does establish for Dantidurga the *birudas* of **Prithivivallabha** and **Khaḍgavalōka**.⁶ And a verse in the Paithan grant of

¹ *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archaeological Survey of Western India), p. 92, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī's version; see also *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 87, where the Pandit's text has been reproduced, in transliteration, by Dr. Bühler: the latter version has thus become the more convenient one to quote. The record is probably of the time of Amoghavarsha I.; because, after taking the early part of the pedigree as far as Dantidurga, it proceeds next to mention Amoghavarsha I., without any notice of the intermediate names. But it was left unfinished, breaking off abruptly in even the middle of a verse. And therefore we cannot say with absolute certainty that it was not composed in, and intended to run on to, a later time.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 16 and 28, respectively.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 4.

⁴ The only other known instances of this name among the Rāshtrakūṭas, are (1), as mentioned above, in the Ellōrā inscription, which puts it forward as the name of the original ancestor of the family; (2) in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, which mentions a *Rājaputra* Dantivarman who was perhaps a son of the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, text line 68); and (3) in the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, which puts it forward as the name of apparently the father of the alleged feudatory prince Akālavarsha-Krishnarāja of that record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 20).

⁵ *Loc. cit.* (note 2 above), text line 19; the word is there translated, by "a very lion of a king."

⁶ *Ibid.* text lines 27, 28. — The first of these two appellations was not recognised as a formal *biruda* when the record was edited; and it was treated as an abbreviation of *Śrīprithivivallabha*. But we are now able to see that a distinction must always be made between, on the one hand, Prithivivallabha, "favourite of the Earth," and Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Fortune," which were formal *birudas* restricted to individual cases, and, on the other hand, *Śrīprithivivallabha*, "favourite of Fortune and of the Earth," which was a paramount epithet of general application. A pointed instance in which the distinction between the *biruda* Śrīvallabha and the epithet is marked, is furnished by a passage in one of the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915, which describes Indra III. as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājadhīrāja-paramēvara-Śrīprithivivallabha-Śrīvallabha-śrīman-Nityavarshanarēndradēva* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 264, A. plate ii. b, text lines 11, 12). And, whereas we often find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, at any rate, used as a substitute for a proper name, we do not find the epithet *Śrīprithivivallabha* used in that way. — The idea underlying both the two *birudas* and the epithet, was, that Fortune and the Earth were accounted actual wives of kings; and it would, therefore, be more strictly correct to render *vallabha* by 'husband' in this epithet and in these two *birudas* and any exactly similar ones, and there are a few passages in which it should be so rendered, in order to bring out the meaning fully: but there are other *birudas* and expressions, in which that particular meaning of *vallabha* does not apply; and it seems on the whole desirable to render the word by 'favourite' even in the epithet and in the *birudas* in question, partly for the sake of uniformity of translation, and partly to mark the point that the original texts use *vallabha* and not any such word as *pati*, *dhārtri*, etc. The idea is presented by Kālidāsa, in the *Raghuvamśa*, i. verse 32, which says that, extensive as was his harem, the king Dilīpa considered himself really provided with wives only in the persons of Sudakṣiṇā (his actual wedded wife) and Fortune; and — (the commentator points out) — the poet, using for 'king' the word *varadadhīpa*, 'lord of the earth,' implies that the Earth was also his wife, but his group of real wives was not complete without Fortune and Sudakṣiṇā. An epigraphic passage in

A.D. 794 speaks of him as **Vallabharāja**, "the Vallabha king," or, possibly, "the king of the Vallabhas."¹ This designation however,—as also the simpler designation **Vallabha**,—was, not a special *biruda*, but an appellation of general application. The two appellations were not restricted to the Rāshtrakūṭa family; and the name **Vallabha** does not always denote a Rāshtrakūṭa even in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.² And the fuller one of them, **Vallabharāja**, is of interest in connection with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ chiefly because, through its Prākṛit forms, it explains the name, "the Balharās," by which the contemporaneous Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. used to speak of those kings.³ The Kaḍaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Dantidurga the *biruda* of **Vairamēgha**,⁴ by which appellation alone it mentions him; but we cannot admit this as established, until we obtain some authentic confirmation of it from a record the nature of which is unquestionable.

Dantidurga was succeeded by his paternal uncle **Kṛishṇa I.** The **Paithān** grant of A.D. 794 introduces him as **Kṛishṇarāja**, and then presents two verses which establish for him the *birudas* of **Śubhatuṅga** and **Akālavarsha**.⁵ Another verse in the same record might perhaps be taken as practically speaking of him as **Śrīvallabha**: but the appellation is there divided into two words, *śrīyō vallabhah*,⁶ which is at least a very exceptional manner of putting forward any formal epithet, title, or *biruda*; with that passage we have to compare the descriptions, similarly in verse, of Jagattuṅga II. as *vallabhō vira-Lakshmyāḍh* in the **Nausāri**

one of the Pāla records tells us that "Gōpāla was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the Earth," or, more literally, that "Gōpāla was a lord (*pati*) of the Earth who was the fellow-wife (*sapatni*) of Fortune" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 237, and note 55). And the Chōla records constantly utilise the idea: thus, an inscription of the twenty-ninth year of Rājakesarivarman-Rājādhirāja says that, "while the goddess of the Earth was beaming under his fringed white parasol, the king wedded the goddess of Fortune" (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 55); an inscription of the second year of Rājakesarivarman-Rājamahendra says, from the opposite point of view, that "while the goddess of Fortune was resplendent, he wedded the great goddess of the Earth, in order that she might abide joyfully under the shade of a single parasol" (*ibid.* p. 114); an inscription of the fourth year of Parakesarivarman-Rājendradēva says that, "while the goddess of Fortune and the great goddess of the Earth became his great queens, the king raised on high his brilliant white parasol" (*ibid.* p. 61); and an inscription of the twelfth year of Parakesarivarman-Rājendrachōla I., expanding the idea by introducing Victory as another so-called wife, and referring also to his actual wedded wife, speaks of "his long life, in which the great goddess of the Earth, the goddess of Victory in battle, and the beautiful and matchless goddess of Fortune, who had become his great queens, gave him pleasure while his own illustrious queen was prospering" (*ibid.* Vol. I. p. 99). It may be added that we have a still more figurative expansion of the general idea, by the suggestion of a city as a wife of a king, in the verse in the **Aihole** inscription of A.D. 634-35 which says that **Pulakēśin I.**, who was **Śrīvallabha** or favourite (in this passage, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, became also the bridegroom of the town **Vātāpipuri** (page 8 above, verse 7): so, also, a country is put forward, in the same way, in the description of the earliest **Silāhāra** princes of the Northern **Konkan** as "favourite of the **Konkan**" and "favourite of the whole **Konkan**" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 184, text line 3, p. 185, line 2, p. 186, line 1-2; and, in another direction, we find Learning indicated, by the use of the word *vallabha*, as a wife of wise men (see page 187 below, note 10).—Both in the *biruda* **Prithivivallabha** and in the epithet *śrīprithivivallabha*, the Sanskrit records use, indifferently, either *prithivī* or *prithivī*, while the **Kanarese** records often present the corruptions *prithuvi*, *prithuvī*, *prithuvi*, and *prithuvī*. No distinction seems to be involved. And, while giving in the present study, in each individual case, the form that is actually used, it seems desirable, for the sake of uniformity in indexing, etc., to adopt for general purposes the form *prithivī*, which, though it is strictly only a substitute for *prithivī*, is decidedly the more familiar word of the two and also seems to be the more common term.

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text line 17. As regards the alternative rendering of this appellation by "the king of the Vallabhas," the Tamil form *Vallavar kōn*, which has been translated in that way by Dr. Hultzsch (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 69), occurs in a passage in a Chōla record in which it denotes the Western Chālukya king **Āhavamalla-Somēśvara I.**

² See two passages referred to on page 193 below, notes 2 and 3. See also the end of note 4 on page 190.

³ See page 190 below, and note 6.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 346, after verse 2; and see p. 336.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text lines 17 to 21.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* text line 26-27.

grants of A.D. 915¹ and of Indra III. as *rājya-triyā bhartā* in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972;² we do not infer from those verses that Jagattuṅga II. and Indra III. were formally known as Viralakshmivallabha and Rājyaśrībhartṛi; in the same way, we do not take it as proved by the verse in the Paiṭhaṇ grant that Śrīvallabha is established as a specific *biruda* of Kṛishṇa I.;³ and the Wapī grant of A.D. 807 styles him simply Vallabha.⁴ A verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, which describes Kṛishṇa I. as raining down wealth in excess of even the utmost desires of his servants,⁵ might be taken as conveying a hint that he had a second *varsha*-appellation, in the shape of Dhanavarsha;⁶ but, in the Kāvī grant of A.D. 826 or 827,⁷ the same verse was made to do duty in the case of the feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa prince Suvārṇavarsha-Karkarāja of Gujarāt; and it seems, therefore, that it was not intended to have any special meaning in either case. It may be added here that another verse in the Paiṭhaṇ grant tells us that Kṛishṇa I. conquered in battle a certain Rāhappa, and then or thus "quickly extended the sovereignty which was resplendent with a row of *pālīdhvaja*-banners." It seems probable that Rāhappa was the more familiar name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakkarāja II., of another branch of the family in Gujarāt, who was reigning over the territory on the north of the Taptī in A.D. 757,⁸ or else that it was the name of his successor. And it is perhaps, in the same connection,—rather than with any reference to Dantidurga, as I have previously thought,—that we should apply the statement, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, that Kṛishṇa I. uprooted a *vamśya* or "kinsman" who had taken to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family.⁹

Kṛishṇa I. left two sons, Gōvinda II. and Dhruva. They are introduced by their proper names, as Gōvindarāja and Dhruvarāja, in two consecutive verses in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794.¹⁰ And the second verse shews that Gōvinda II. was the elder of the two brothers. A statement, which has been understood to imply that Gōvinda II. succeeded to the throne and held it for a while, is made,—and as far as all known records go, appears for the first time,—a century and a half later in the Dēolī grant of A.D. 940, which says that "sensual pleasures made him (Gōvinda II.) careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama-(Dhruva), he allowed his position as sovereign to "become loose."¹¹ But no statement that he reigned is made in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, which is the first record after his time that puts forward details of the genealogy and succession. The verse which introduces him in that record, speaks, it is true, of his white umbrella with which the rays of the sun were warded off from his head as he moved in battle, and says that he conquered the world, and talks of his causing widowhood to the wives of his enemies and of his bursting asunder in war the temples of the elephants of his foes. These, however, are merely vague poetical statements, introduced to eke out the verse that first mentions him, of no more

¹ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII.; the words are rendered in the translation (p. 267) by "the beloved of the soldierly Lakshmi."

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 19.

³ The verse, in fact, simply reproduces one part of the general idea (see note 6 on page 168 above), and incidentally describes Kṛishṇa I. as being, among other things, a husband of Fortune; much in the same way, as a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 21, 22) says of Dhruva that "bearing in mind, personally, that whatever is appropriate should be done in securing Lakshmi, he was always successful; but what was there wonderful in that?, since any man, who does not look about for assistance (and thus creates factitious difficulties), is able to make his own wife subject to his control:" this latter verse intimates that Dhruva was, in his turn, a lawful husband of Fortune; but it does not establish for Dhruva any *biruda* based on that idea.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 5.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 11, 12.

⁶ Just as Gōvinda IV. had the two *birudas* of Prabhātavarsha and Suvārṇavarsha.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 33.

⁸ See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 391, 392.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 162.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text lines 27 to 30.

¹¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 193, verse 10; for the translation which I use, see the rendering of the same verse as verse 11 in the Kardā grant of A.D. 958 (above, Vol. IV. p. 237).

specific purport and value than are the very similar statements that are made in the same record about Gōvinda I. and Indra I., who were not reigning kings, but were simply ancestors of the first reigning king. And the Wapī grant of A.D. 807, which is the next record of the same kind, specifically tells us that Dhruva obtained the sovereignty by "leaping over his elder brother (*jyēshṭh-ōllāṅghana*)," whose name it does not even take the trouble to mention.¹ This is a most distinct assertion that Dhruva superseded his elder brother altogether. And further light is thrown on the matter by another passage in the Paithan grant,² which says that Gōvinda II. fetched in large numbers even hostile kings,—the ruler of Mālava and others, the lord of Kāñchi, the Gaṅga, and him of Veṅgi,—but the mind of Dhruva, after that he had possessed himself of his ruby-ornaments and store of gold, underwent no change in regard to him; and then, having made conciliatory overtures to him in vain, Dhruva speedily defeated him in battle, and drove away the eastern and the northern opponents,³ and thus "obtained the whole sovereignty." This makes it clear that Gōvinda II. did not submit quietly to being deprived of his rights. And we have, perhaps, an intimation that he established himself in the northern territory, while Dhruva set himself up as his rival in the south, and that time elapsed before Dhruva made himself master of the whole kingdom. But it is plain that, at the best, Gōvinda II. made a stand for only a short time. And it seems more probable that the passage simply seeks to describe him, as Pulakēśin II. is described in the Aihole record, as engaging in the act called *aparuddhacharita*, that is to say, wandering abroad, debarred altogether from his rights, and endeavouring to obtain them by the help of other rulers.⁴ The statement made in the Wapī grant would not be inconsistent with the possibility that Gōvinda II. was the intended successor of Kṛishṇa I. Also, we have not as yet found, in any of the records, any statements in respect of Dhruva similar to those which are made in respect of his son and successor Gōvinda III.; namely, in the Rādhapur grant,⁵ that Gōvinda III. received from his father the *kañṭhikā* or necklet (which was the badge of appointment as *Yuvarāja*), but protested against a transfer of the sovereignty itself to him while his father was still alive, and, in the Paithan grant, that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit. We, therefore, cannot say that the succession was not intended to pass, at this point, from the father, Kṛishṇa I., to the elder son, Gōvinda II. And the pointed expression used in the Wapī grant is, in fact, rather suggestive that, not only was Gōvinda II. the intended successor, but also the appointment of him as *Yuvarāja* had actually been made. We naturally, however, follow the information furnished by the Paithan and Wapī grants, which are so near in time to the events themselves, in preference to a loose statement, which first appears a century and a half later, in a record which does not follow any of the ancient drafts but presents an altogether new composition. If, indeed, that statement could be looked upon as authoritative at all, it might be interpreted, just as readily, as meaning that Gōvinda II. was so much engrossed in sensual pleasures that he was altogether indifferent about the sovereignty and deliberately allowed Dhruva to usurp it, which, however, we know from the Paithan grant was not the case. But, obviously, the statement owes its existence to nothing but the fact, which we can recognise from also other independent drafts, that the name of Gōvinda II. had been duly preserved in the *vaṁśāvali* and archives of the dynasty, and to a flight of fancy on the part of the composer of the draft that was followed in that record, who, differing from the composers of some other drafts, thought it worth while to mention Gōvinda II., and said about him the first thing that came into his head and sufficed to fill out a verse with some

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 7.

² For the literal full translation, see above, Vol. III. p. 104.

³ The Gaṅgas, then, in the south, apparently remained to be dealt with on a subsequent occasion.

⁴ See Professor Kielhorn's explanation of the technical term in question (page 9 above, note 2).

⁵ In the Wapī grant, which is slightly earlier in date, part of this passage was carelessly omitted, and two complete verses, of four *padas* each, were combined into one verse with the exceptional number of five *padas*.

kind of a suggestion as to why the succession passed to the younger brother.¹ And the conclusion at which we arrive from the authoritative early records, is, that Dhruva set himself up as king immediately on the death of Kṛishṇa I., and that Gōvinda II. had not any real part at all in the succession.² The Kaḍaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Gōvinda II. the *biruda* of Prabhūtavārsha.³ But we do not accept this, until we find it in some unquestionable record. And the only secondary appellation that is as yet established for him, is that of Vallabha; it is supplied by the Paiṭhaṇ grant, which, in the first verse that mentions him, says that he was Gōvindarāja who had the *ākhyā* or name of Vallabha, and, in the other passage, uses that name to denote him.

The successor, then, of Kṛishṇa I. was his younger son Dhruva. The Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, of his son and successor Gōvinda III., mentions him, in the verses, by the name of Dhruvarāja and the *biruda* of Nirupama;⁴ and the formal preamble of the prose part of it further establishes for him the *biruda* of Dhārāvarsha, because, using a certain technical expression of very constant occurrence, it describes Gōvinda III. as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēvara* Dhārāvarshadēva.⁵ A verse in the Wapī grant of A.D. 807 gives his proper name in the Prākṛit form of Dhōra,⁶ though a subsequent verse in the same record gives it in the usual Sanskrit form of Dhruva;⁷ and an intermediate verse in the same record further establishes for him the *biruda* of Kalivallabha.⁸ In the Paṭṭadakal inscription of his time, he is designated Dhārāvarsha and Kaliballaha,⁹ — the latter being the Prākṛit form of Kalivallabha. And the Naregal inscription gives Dōra, as another variety of the Prākṛit form of his proper name.¹⁰ Another important *biruda* of his, Śrīvallabha, will be brought forward further on. A verse in the Sāṅglī grant of A.D. 933

¹ We have a similar flight of fancy, or at any rate an unquestionably erroneous statement, in the assertion made in the Śilāhāra Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997, that Amoghavarsha II. reigned for a year; see page 176 below.

² The other Rāshtrakūṭa records which deal with this part of the genealogy and succession, treat Gōvinda II. as follows. The Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807 follows the draft of the Wapī grant, and refers to him, in the same way, only as the unnamed elder brother whom Dhruva superseded (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 5). The Haroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 passes him over without any allusion of any kind (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 162, 163); and so does the Kāpaḍwapaṇj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 56); and so also, do even the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 266), which aim at presenting the whole line from Dantidurga to Indra III., with the first rudimentary introduction of a Purāṇic preface. The Nausāri grant of A.D. 817 (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 144, 145, verses 18, 19), and the Kāvī grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 149, 150, verses 18, 19), and the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 201, verses 2, 3), and the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 866 or 867 (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 187, verses 15, 16), and the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, of A.D. 888 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, verses 9, 10), repeat the two verses which introduce the two brothers in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, but do not include the subsequent matter stated in that record about them. The Sāṅglī grant of A.D. 933 mentions Gōvinda II. between his father Kṛishṇa I. and his younger brother Nirupama-(Dhruva), but does not make any assertion that he reigned (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252). The Karhād grant of A.D. 959 follows the draft of the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940, and so repeats the statement that sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, *etc.* (above, Vol. IV. p. 287, verse 11). And the Kardā grant of A.D. 972 mentions him between his father and his younger brother, but does not revive the statement that is made in the Dēōlī and Karhād grants, and does not say anything else tending to suggest that he reigned (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 267).

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 342, line 40.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text lines 29, 35, 37.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 108, text lines 42, 43. It seems that the *biruda* was actually written there, carelessly, as Dhārāvatsadēva. If any doubt should be entertained as to what was really intended, reference may be made to the corresponding passages in the Wapī and Rādhanpur grants, both of which, it may be added, give the *biruda* with the ending *dēva*, just as the Paiṭhaṇ record does.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6.

⁷ *Loc. cit.* text line 26. When this passage was translated, and, before it, the same passage in the Rādhanpur grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 17), the fact that the word is here a proper name was not recognised, and it was rendered, with the following *śloka*, by "already."

⁸ *Ibid.* text line 14. Regarding the meaning of this *biruda*, which had evidently been misunderstood both by Dr. Bühler and by myself, see page 105 above, note 9.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, text lines 1, 2.

¹⁰ Page 163 above, text line 1.

seems clearly to intend to allot to him the *biruda* of Iddhatêjas, because it speaks of him as "the king Iddhatêjas, who had the other name of Nirupama,"¹ instead of using such a construction that the word might be taken as an ordinary adjective qualifying *râjâ*; but it is very problematical whether there is anything authentic about that appellation, appearing, as it does, for the first time at that late date.

Dhruva was succeeded by his son Gôvinda III. His Paithan grant of A.D. 794 introduces him, in verse, as Gôvindarâja, son of Nirupama, and tells us that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit; and, in the preamble of the prose passages, it denotes him by the *birudas* of Prithivallabha and Prabhûtavarsha, in combination with a third appellation Śrīvallabhanarêndradêva, which apparently uses the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and which, in that case, is to be rendered by "his majesty the king Śrīvallabha."² His grant from the Kanarese country, issued in A.D. 804, uses, from among his various *birudas*, only that of Prabhûtavarsha, and presents his proper name in the Prâkrit form of Gôvinda.³ Like the Paithan grant, his Wari and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807 do not mention any of his *birudas* in the verses; in the formal prose passages, the Wari grant uses the *birudas* Prabhûtavarshadêva and Prithivallabha, followed by his proper name as Gôvindarâjadêva,⁴ while the Râdhanpur grant follows the Paithan draft, and places the Prithivallabha first, gives the Prabhûtavarsha without the ending *dêva*, and uses Śrīvallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king Śrīvallabha," instead of the proper name.⁵ The Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, issued in his time, gives him, in verse, the *biruda* Kirtipurusha,⁶ which we meet with in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 in the form of Kirtinârâyana⁷ more in accordance with the habitual style of the Râshtrakûta *birudas*; and further on, in another verse, it speaks of him as Śrīvallabha.⁸ The Torkhêdê grant of A.D. 813, also issued in his

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, text lines 10, 11.

² For the rendering of the honorific termination *narêndradêva*, see page 188 below.—That the *śrī* is an integral and essential part of the appellation, and not the honorific prefix,—that is to say, that Gôvinda III. really had the *biruda* Śrīvallabha,—seems to be established by the corresponding passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, which (unless we choose to assume a mistake of some kind or a piece of carelessness) intentionally repeats the *śrī*, or, in other words, prefixes the honorific *śrī* to the *biruda* Śrīvallabha. The text in that record (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. b, text lines 3, 4) runs — *Prithivīval[?]*abha-śrīmat-Prabhûtavarsha-śrī-Śrīvallabhanarêndradêva*; using, in addition to the *śrī* before Śrīvallabha, the honorific *śrīmat*, which has precisely the same value, before Prabhûtavarsha. And, if it were not for that passage, there would be sufficient authority for treating the *śrī* in the Paithan passage as the honorific prefix, and for rendering the appellation used there by "his glorious majesty the king Vallabha," just as we have to render *śrīmat-Vallabhanarêndradêva* in the formal prose passages of records of Gôvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakkā II. (see further on, under those kings); particularly as the Nausari grant of A.D. 817 seems to single out Prithivīvallabha as the special *vallabha*-appellation of Gôvinda III. (see further on in the text above). We should then have to treat in the same way the expression used in the Torkhêdê grant. And the result would go far towards cancelling the *biruda* Śrīvallabha altogether in the case of Gôvinda III.; in fact, the only remaining authority for it would be the verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 (see further on in the text above).—On the occasional emphasising of *śrī* as an integral part of proper names and *birudas*, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8, note 3, clause (3) on p. 9.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, text line 3-4, and p. 127, text line 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 159, text lines 34, 35.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. b, text lines 3, 4; and see note 2 above.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 24. The word was then translated by me, by "the personification of fame," for which, however, there seems no justification.

⁷ Page 103 above, text line 7; and see page 106, note 1.

⁸ *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 160, text line 35.—Because Amoghavarsha I. had the *biruda* Lakshmi-vallabha, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to identify the Śrīvallabha of this passage with that king, who, he suggested, was "then heir-apparent of Gôvinda" (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 124). But that identification is not tenable. The verse occurs in the account of Indrarâja of Gujârât younger brother of Gôvinda III., to whom the rule over the province of the lords of Lâta was given by Gôvinda III. It says that he put to flight the leader of the Gurjaras, and that the array of the *Mahâdamanas* or feudatory princes of the Dakshinâpatha or Dekkan, terrified and not holding together in the course of having their power or

time, uses the *birudas* Prabhūtavarsha and Śrīvallabha,— the latter with the simpler ending *narēndra*, Śrīvallabhanarēndra, “the king Śrīvallabha;” and it further establishes for him the *biruda* of Jagattuṅga,¹ which is mentioned again in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866,² and was used alone, to denote him, in the Kanheri inscription, of A.D. 851, of the time of his successor Amôghavarsha I., who is there described as meditating on the feet of Jagattuṅgadēva.³ A verse in the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817, issued shortly after his time, can hardly be construed except as putting forward for him the *biruda* of Janavallabha.⁴ But the next verse, which says that “his other name, known or renowned in the world, was Prithvivallabha,” seems clearly to seek to attach some particular importance to that *biruda*, and, in fact, to single it out as his special vallabha-appellation. The other authentic records do not add anything. The Kaḍaba grant, however, which purports to have been issued in his time in A.D. 813, while introducing him as Prabhūtavarsha, denotes him further on by the appellation Vallabhēndra, instead of by that *biruda* or by his proper name.⁵

Gōvinda III. was succeeded by a son, whose proper name has not yet come to light,⁶ and who is known best, by his principal *biruda*, as Amôghavarsha I. The earliest known record of his time is the Nausāri grant, issued in A.D. 817 by the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarāja of Gujarāt, which introduces him by the *biruda* of Mahārājāsarva, “a very Śarva (Śiva) among Mahārājas or great kings,”⁷ and then, in the next verse, brings forward his more familiar *biruda* of Amôghavarsha; and the former of these two *birudas*, Mahārājāsarva, is used to denote him in the inscription at the Daśavatāra cave at Ellōrā,⁸ a subsequent verse of which may perhaps be interpreted as putting forward for him the *biruda* of Rājāsīmha.⁹ The

possessions ravaged from them by Śrīvallabha, obtained protection from him (Indrarāja) by shewing respect to him. There is no reason to explain this, as the Pandit did (*loc. cit.*) as meaning that, “in attempting to establish ‘himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories in an effort to shake off the ‘overlordship of Amôghavarsha,’ or, as I myself have done (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 400), as meaning that ‘apparently in opposition to his brother and sovereign, he gave protection to some chieftains of the south, whose ‘possessions were taken away from them by Gōvinda III.’ The passage is evidently to be taken in connection with the combination that was formed against Gōvinda III. by Stambha and eleven other princes. It is to be understood as meaning that Indrarāja helped Gōvinda III. in the north, and made the rebellious feudatories there submit to himself. And it is plainly in return for this service that Gōvinda III. gave Indrarāja the province of Lāṭa.

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 54, text lines 5, 6; as regards the Śrīvallabha, see note 2 on page 173 above.—This record puts forward the Jagattuṅga in the form of Jagatnūga, by a metrical license in adapting the verse which was used in the Paithan grant to put forward the *biruda* Śubhatuṅga for Kṛishṇa I.

² Page 102 above, text line 6.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 184, No. 15, text line 2.

⁴ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 36, verse 23.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 343 f., text lines 63, 82.

⁶ Regarding some indications that we may expect to find that it either was Nārāyaṇa or Viśṇu, or else was a name beginning with Viśṇu, see page 100 above.

⁷ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 139, text lines 43, 44.—Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives Śarva as a name of also Viśṇu; but I do not trace the authority for that; and the word is certainly best known as a name of Śiva, apparently in one of his Rudra-manifestations (see, for instance, the *Viśṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. I. p. 116, Vol. II. p. 24).—With this *biruda* Mahārājāsarva, compare Nṛpatiṭriṇētra, “a very Triṇētra (Śiva) among kings,” in the case of Gōvinda IV., and Rājatriṇētra, meaning the same thing, in the case of Kakka II.—If the intention of the composer of the verse had been to describe the king by a proper name as “the great king Śarva,”—according to the translation of this verse that has been put forward in the place referred to (p. 146, verse 29), and on previous occasions when the verse has been handled by others dealing with other records in which it occurs,—he ought, in conformity with epigraphic as well as grammatical usage, to have framed his verse so as to speak of him, not as Mahārājāsarva, but as Śarvamahārāja or Śarvarāja.

⁸ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 89, text line 12.

⁹ *Loc. cit.* text line 18. This, however, is somewhat doubtful, as also in the case of Dantidurga (page 168 above), as this *biruda* has not as yet been explicitly found anywhere in connection with Amôghavarsha I.

Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 843-44 establishes for him the *biruda* of *Prithvivallabha*,¹ in addition to mentioning him as *Amoghavarsha*. The Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 851 mentions him only as *Amoghavarshadēva*, who meditated on the feet of Jagattuṅgadēva-(Gōvinda III.).² The Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866 establishes for him the further *birudas* of *Atiśayadhavala*, *Nṛipatuṅga*, and *Lakshmivallabha* with the ending *indra*.³ And this completes the list of *birudas* established for him by records of his own time.⁴ Some of the subsequent records, however, put forward others, in respect of which we can only say that, while there may not be any very conclusive objections to them, still they cannot be taken as established until we find them in records of his own time. Thus, the Kāpaḍwanaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 appears to mention him, in verse, as *Mahārājashaṇḍa*, "a very bull (i.e. most powerful or pre-eminent) among *Mahārājas*."⁵ A verse in the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 says that Jagattuṅga-(Gōvinda III.) begat Śrīvallabha, who subsequently became *Viranārāyaṇa*;⁶ and here we may remark that, though there may be no particular reason why *Amoghavarsha* I. should not have been known as Śrīvallabha, still it is quite possible that the composer of this record, which does not follow any of the early drafts, simply used, to suit his own convenience, a more familiar synonym of the special *biruda* *Lakshmivallabha* which is established by the Nīlgund record. And finally, the Śilāhāra Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997 seems clearly to style him *Durlabha*, as well as *Amoghavarsha*.⁷

Amoghavarsha I. was succeeded by his son *Kṛishṇa* II., whose name is given as *Kṛishṇavallabha*, in verse, in the Mulgund inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 902-903,⁸ and in the Prakṛit form of *Kannara*, in prose, in the Aihole inscription, also of his time, dated in A.D. 903.⁹ The Batgere inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 888,¹⁰ establishes for him the *biruda* of *Akālavarsha*, which was evidently used, alone, to denote him in the Nandwādige inscription of A.D. 903.¹¹ The Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued somewhat earlier in A.D. 888, speaks, in verse, of a certain *Vallabhanṛipa* or "Vallabha king," who can hardly be anyone but *Kṛishṇa* II.¹² And the Kāpaḍwanaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 establishes for him the *biruda* of *Śubhatuṅga*,¹³ in addition to *Akālavarsha*,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 136, No. 43 B., text line 1. I cannot help thinking that it may also mention him as *Mahārājashaṇḍa*: the apparent description of him there, immediately after his *biruda* *Amoghavarsha*, as *śrī-mahārāja*, "the glorious *Mahārāja*," is not very appropriate; and where there has been read *śā*, in brackets as being damaged, followed by a *visarga*, there may possibly be the syllables *jaśarva*, crowded up together; moreover, the proposed genitive *mahārājāś* would be, according to all general usage, a mistake (for *mahārājasya*).

² *Loc. cit.* p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

³ Pages 108, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, and 20; in the last passage, the ending *narāṇdradēva* is attached, in prose, to the *Atiśayadhavala*.

⁴ The Sirdār inscription of A.D. 866 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215; for a revised version, see further on in the present selection of records) only endorses the *birudas* used in the Nīlgund inscription; the Kāvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 144) appears not to mention him at all, for some reason or other; the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 866 or 867 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 179) gives only *Mahārājashaṇḍa* (verse 22) and *Amoghavarsha* (verses 23, 29); and the latest known record, the Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 877-78 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 135, No. 43 A.) gives only *Amoghavarshadēva*.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, text line 14.

⁶ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII., translation, p. 266. The *biruda* *Viranārāyaṇa* is used for him in the Konnūr inscription, which, really written in the twelfth century A.D., purports to reproduce the matter of a copper-plate charter issued in A.D. 860 (page 86 above, verse 84).

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 271, verse 4.

⁸ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 190, text line 3; and see further on in the present series of records.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222, text line 2.

¹⁰ Brought to notice in *Dyn. Knn. Distrs.* p. 410. It will be edited further on in this series of records.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 221, text line 1.

¹² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 23.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 57, verse 11.

and further seems to speak of him as **Vallabharāja**.¹ The Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Gaṅga record, would set up for him the *biruda* of **Chalakenallāta**;² but it seems likely that it only carries it back to him, mistakenly, from his great-grandson **Kṛishṇa III**.

Kṛishṇa II. had a son, through whom the succession was transmitted, but who did not himself reign: his proper name has not yet come to light; and he is only known, by a *biruda*, as **Jagattuṅga II**. That he did not reign, and that the succession passed direct from **Kṛishṇa II**. to **Indra III**., is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the **Nausāri** grants of A.D. 915, which describe **Nityavarshanarēndradēva**-(**Indra III**.) as meditating on the feet of **Akālavarshadēva**-(**Kṛishṇa II**.)³

Kṛishṇa II., then, was succeeded by his grandson **Indra III**., son of **Jagattuṅga II**. His **Nausāri** grants of A.D. 915 mention him, in the verses, first by the *birudas* of **Raṭṭakandarpadēva** and **Kīrtinārāyaṇa**, and then by the proper name of **Indrarāja**;⁴ and, in the formal preambles of the prose passages, one of them mentions him by the *birudas* of **Śrīvallabha** and **Nityavarsha**, the latter with the ending *narēndradēva*,⁵ — **Nityavarshanarēndradēva**, "his majesty the king **Nityavarsha**," while the other omits the **Śrīvallabha** and mentions him as only **Nityavarsha**, again with the same honorific ending.⁶ The **Hattī-Mattūr** inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 916-17, mentions him by only the *biruda* of **Nityavarsha**;⁷ and so also does an inscription at **Lakshmēshwar**, dated in the same year.⁸ To the preceding *birudas*, established by the records of his own time, a verse in the **Sāṅglī** grant of A.D. 933, issued after his time, adds that of **Rājāmārtanḍa**,⁹ which seems probable and admissible.

Indra III. had two sons. The proper name of the elder one has not yet come to light; and he is only known as **Amōghavarsha II**., by the *biruda* by which he is mentioned in the **Dēōlī** grant of A.D. 940 and the **Karhād** grant of A.D. 959:¹⁰ the **Sāṅglī** grant of A.D. 933 merely refers to him as the elder brother of **Gōvinda IV**., without mentioning him by any appellation at all.¹¹ A later and extraneous record, the **Śilāhāra Bhādāna** grant of A.D. 997, asserts that he reigned for one year.¹² But no such statement is made in the **Dēōlī** and **Karhād** records. And, that there was no basis of truth for the assertion, is distinctly proved by

¹ *Loc. cit.* (see note 13 on page 175 above), verse 20. If so, the verse seems to refer to seven hundred and fifty villages, which constituted his private personal estate. But it is possible that the reference here is to the feudatory prince **Akālavarsha-Kṛishṇarāja**, whose existence is set up by the **Bagumrā** grant purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888 (see note 12 on page 175 above).

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text line 2.

³ See notes 5, 6, below.

⁴ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 259, B., plate ii. b, text lines 5, 7, 9, and p. 263, A., plate ii. b, text lines 2, 5-6, 8. The translation gives **Vīranārāyaṇa**, by mistake for **Kīrtinārāyaṇa**.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 264, A., plate ii. b, text line 12; and see page 168 above, note 6.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* p. 259, B., plate ii. b, text line 13.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 224, text line 1.

⁸ Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. The details of the date include **Ādityavāra**, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of, perhaps, [**Bhādra**]pada; but only the last two syllables of the name of the month remain, and they are very doubtful. In this record, the *saṃvatsara*, **Dhāta** (for **Dhātu**, or **Dhātṛi**), is coupled with **Śaka-Saṃvat** 839 (current, by the southern luni-solar system), — A.D. 916-17, the year being expressed plainly in words. In the **Hattī-Mattūr** record, it is coupled with **Ś.-S.** 838, which we must apparently take as expired, by the same system, again — A.D. 916-17.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 19; the word was then translated, by "a very sun of a king."

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 193-94, verse 16; and Vol. IV. p. 288, verse 18.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text lines 23 to 25.

¹² Above, Vol. III. p. 271, verse 6. The assertion is possibly based on some such authority as the spurious **Wadgaon** grant (noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416, note 6; to be explained more fully in an article on **Spurious Indian Records** in the *Indian Antiquary*), which puts forward as the reigning king, and as the alleged giver of the donation claimed by it, an **Amōghavarsha** by whom it really means **Indra III**. Or, perhaps, the **Bhādāna** grant has mistakenly applied to him an assertion which might be correct in respect of his uncle **Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga**, whose reign was certainly not a long one.

the Sāṅglī grant, in which the formal preamble of the prose passages describes Suvarṇavarsha- (Gōvinda IV.) as meditating on the feet of Nityavarshadēva,¹ i.e. as the immediate successor of Indra III.

The successor, then, of Indra III. was his younger son Gōvinda IV., who is first introduced, in his Sāṅglī grant of August, A.D. 933, by the name of Gōvindarāja;² the next verse in that record gives him the *biruda* of Sāhasāṅka;³ the next verse says that, though he was Prabhūtavārsha, he was called Suvarṇavarsha because he made the whole earth entirely golden by showers of gold;⁴ some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand before the usual preamble of the prose passages, give him the *birudas* of Nityakandarpa, Chāṇakyaśaturmukha, Vikrāntanārāyaṇa, and Nṛpatitriṇētra;⁵ and finally, the formal preamble of the prose passages mentions him as Suvarṇavarshadēva, Prithvivallabha, and Vallabhanarēndradēva, "his majesty the king Vallabha," who meditated on the feet of Nityavarshadēva-(Indra III.).⁶ The Daṇḍapur inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 918, quite early in his reign, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Prabhūtavārsha,⁷ which is in accordance with what we understand from the Sāṅglī record, namely that he was Prabhūtavārsha first and became known as Suvarṇavarsha subsequently. The inscription at Kaḷas in the Baṅkāpur tāluka, dated in A.D. 930,⁸ does not seem to include any *varsha*-appellation: in the verses, in addition to giving his name, in its Prākṛit form, as Gojjiga, Gojjigadēva, and Gojjigavallabha, it gives him the *birudas* of Nṛpatuṅga, Viranārāyaṇa, and Raṭṭakandarpadēva; and, in addition to using again Gojjigavallabha and Viranārāyaṇa, the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details speaks of him as Gaṇḍamārtanḍa, Madagajārūḍhamātāṅga (?),⁹ and Raṭṭavidyādhara, and also includes one or two other *birudas* of which the reading is not at all certain. The inscription at Kaḷasāpur in the Gadag tāluka, dated in December, A.D. 933,¹⁰ mentions him by only the *biruda* of Suvarṇavarsha. And so also does an inscription at Kaujgere in the Rōṇ tāluka,¹¹ which is

¹ See note 6 below.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 23.

³ *Ibid.* text line 25. The word was then translated, by "characterised by daring;" with, however, the remark in a footnote that it might be taken as a *biruda*.

⁴ *Ibid.* text lines 25, 26.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 251, text lines 36, 37, 38.

⁶ *Ibid.* text lines 39, 40. The appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrīmat*,— not *śrī*.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 223, text line 1. The record was then wrongly allotted by me to Jagattuṅga II.— In *adivatt-avutā*, line 2, *avutā* is a form of the present participle of *avi* (2), 'to be spoiled, damaged; to rot; to perish; to go out, be extinguished.' And thus the record is dated on the winter solstice of the month Pausa of the Pramāthin *saṃvatsara*, when the Śaka year eight hundred and forty was "coming to an end." Pramāthin can be connected with the figures 840 only by the mean-sign system of the cycle, according to which it began on the 12th February, A.D. 918, Śaka-Samvat 840 current, and ended on the 8th February, A.D. 919, Ś.-S. 840 expired, or else by the northern luni-solar system, according to which it coincided with Ś.-S. 840 expired, = A.D. 918-19; and, in either case, the date would fall in December, A.D. 918. If we were to apply the southern luni-solar system, we should have to assume that 840 is a mistake for 841; because, by that system, Pramāthin coincided with Ś.-S. 841 expired, = A.D. 919-20. Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 269) has adduced a later instance, of A.D. 930 (the date of the Kaḷas inscription, noticed further on), in which we must apply the northern luni-solar system. And we may take it, therefore, that there is no mistake in the year in the Daṇḍapur record, and that it is dated in December, A.D. 918. Compare notes 3 and 4 on page 180 below.

⁸ Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 211, No. 48, and p. 248, and *Dyn. Kan. Distre.* p. 416. For the exact date, the 17th January, A.D. 930, see Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 114, No. 7, and his remarks in Vol. XXIV. p. 269.

⁹ The antepenultimate syllable is doubtful, but seems to be *ma* or *ma*. In the penultimate syllable, it is not quite certain whether the vowel with the *f* is *a* or *u*. Madagajārūḍhamātāṅga may be rendered, as suggested to me by Prof. Kielhorn, by "the most excellent rider of rutting elephants."¹⁰

¹⁰ Noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distre.* p. 416 f. To the details of the date given there, add "at the Uttarāyanaśankranti." If this is to be taken as the leading detail, the equivalent cannot be Sunday, 29th December, but must be either Sunday, the 22nd, or Monday, the 23rd. The week-day, Ādityavāra, is quite distinct: and it seems impossible to read the *śiṣi* as anything but *śaṣi*.

¹¹ Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression.

dated, without full details, in the Vijaya *saṃvatsara* coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 855 (expired), = A.D. 933-34.

Gōvinda IV. was succeeded by a paternal uncle, whose proper name is known, as yet, only in the Prākṛit forms of *Baddegadēva* and *Vaddigadēva*.¹ The Dēoli grant of A.D. 940 introduces him, in verse, by only the *biruda* of *Amōghavarsha*;² so, also, does the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, using the same verse;³ and so, in other verses, do the Sālōtgi inscription of A.D. 945⁴ and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972;⁵ the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50 mentions him, in prose, only as *Amōghavarshadēva*.⁶ His proper name is met with first, as *Baddegadēva*, in the Western Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 975 at Hebbāl;⁷ the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as *Vaddigadēva*;⁸ and the Khārēpātan Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 speaks of him as *Vaddiganṛipa*, "king *Vaddiga*."⁹ We have, as yet, no records that can be referred with certainty to the time of *Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga*. But, that he did reign, is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Dēoli and Karhād grants, which describe *Akālavarshadēva*-(*Kṛishṇa* III.) as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* *Amōghavarshadēva*;¹⁰ and so, also, by the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50, which, in a less stereotyped fashion, describes *Kṛishṇa* III. as a bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* *Amōghavarshadēva*.¹¹

Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga was succeeded by his son *Kṛishṇa* III. His earliest record, the Dēoli grant of A.D. 940, introduces him as *Kṛishṇarājadēva*, and then, in another verse, gives him the *biruda* of *Śrīvallabha*;¹² and, in the formal preamble of the prose passages, it styles him *Akālavarshadēva*, *Prithivivallabha*, and *Vallabhanarēndradēva*, "his majesty the king *Vallabha*."¹³ The Sālōtgi inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 945, does not add anything; as it only mentions him as *Prithivivallabha*, *Akālavarshadēva*, and *Kṛishṇarāja*.¹⁴ The Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50 presents his name in the Prākṛit form of *Kannaradēva*,¹⁵ and adds the *birudas* of *Aṅkatripētra*, "a very *Tripētra* (Śiva) in battle," *Ānevedēṅga*, "a marvel with elephants," *Vanagajamalla*, "a wrestler against forest-elephants," and *Kachchega*,

¹ Kittel's 'Kannada-English Dictionary' gives *baddiga* as another form of *bandiga*, and the latter as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bandhika* or *bandhaka*; but this does not seem to help us towards the Sanskrit name. The St. Petersburg Dictionary gives *Vandika*, also written *Bandika*, as a name of Indra; but it is hardly likely that Jagattuṅga II. would name two sons after that god. We shall probably find the Sanskrit form of the name, sooner or later, among the Kalachuris of Central India, into whose family Jagattuṅga II., as well as his father *Kṛishṇa* II., intermarried. Meanwhile, we can only remark that the Karhād grant of A.D. 959 goes on, after the verse in which it introduces him (see note 3 below), to liken him, in a verse of its own which does not stand in the Dēoli grant, to *Manu*, *Kārtavīrya*, *Bali*, and *Dilīpa*, and says that, though by possessing the qualities which they possessed he acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, still "his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty,"—*vriddhāṅka namra-charitō vinayēna yō-bhūt*. It is just possible that there is a hint here that his proper name was something beginning with *Vriddha*, of which *Vaddiga* would be a perfectly admissible Prākṛit form, on the analogy of *baddi*, *vaddi*, as *tadbhava*-forms of *vriddhi*.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 194, verse 19.

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 288, verse 21; as regards verse 22, see note 1 above.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 62.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text lines 21, 24-25.

⁶ Page 55 above.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text line 5.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 12. It is this record which, in the preceding verse, distinctly specifies him as the younger brother of *Nityavarsha*-(*Indra* III.).

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 12.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 195, text lines 43 to 45; and Vol. IV. p. 285, text lines 54, 55.

¹¹ Page 55 above.

¹² Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text lines 31, 34.

¹³ *Loc. cit.* p. 195, text line 45-46. The last appellation seems to be preceded, as it is in his Karhād grant of A.D. 959, by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 60, text lines 9-10, 13.

¹⁵ Page 54 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

"he who wears the girdle (of prowess)."¹ The Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951 endorses Āneveḍḅga, presents Vanagajamalla in the variant of Madagajamalla, "a wrestler against rutting elephants," and adds Chalakenallāta, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of firmness of character."² The Ukkal inscription, dated in his sixteenth year, styles him Kachahiyun-Tañjaiyuh-konḍa, "conqueror of Kāñchī and Tanjore."³ His Karhād grant of A.D. 959 follows the Dēḍli grant of A.D. 940, except that, in adapting the verse which first mentions him, it substitutes Kṛishṇarājanripati, "king Kṛishṇarāja," for Kṛishṇarājādēva:⁴ but it adds a new *biruda*; it tells us that he was then encamped at Mēlpāṭi (Mēlpāṭi in the North Arcot district) for the purpose of creating livings for his dependents out of the provinces in the southern region, and of taking possession of all the property of the lords of provinces, and of founding temples of (Śiva under the names of) Kālapriyēśvara, Gaṇḍamārtanḍēśvara, Kṛishṇēśvara, and "so on;"⁵ and, we find the Gaṇḍamārtanḍa, which is deduced from this passage, used, as well as Vanagajamalla, to denote him in the Śravaṇa-Belgoja epitaph of the Western Gaṅga prince Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II.⁶

¹ Page 53 above, text line 8; and see the notes to the translation.—I there expressed a doubt as to the *biruda* Āṅkatrinētra (see note 7 to line 3 of the text); but that doubt may now be cancelled. My objection to the appearance of the compound, however, is justified, while the acceptance of the *biruda* itself, as a half-Kanarese half-Sanskrit word, is also justified, by the fact that the *biruda* is given as one of the examples to Kēśirāja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sūtra 174, which deals with the compounds called *viruddha-samāsa* (more popularly, *ari-samāsa*) or "incongruous or improper compounds, or compounds of heterogeneous words dissimilar in kind," which, according to that sūtra, are allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*. In Kittel's Dictionary, from which I have obtained the reference to the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, it is suggested that the *biruda* may perhaps mean "the well-known Śiva;" but there can be no doubt that it is equivalent to the Kadanatrinētra of another passage referred to in my note on the *biruda*.—Since writing the above, I have received from Mr. H. Krishna Sastri a suggestion, based on an inspection of the original stone, that the *biruda* may perhaps be Āṅmutrinētra, "a very Trinētra in valour." But I think that, on the whole, Āṅkatrinētra is preferable.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257, text lines 1, 2.—As regards Chalakenallāta, which I then read Dhālakenallāta, I can see now, from a better ink-impression, that the vowel of the first syllable is the short *a*, not the long *ā*, and that the consonant (which does look rather like *dā*) is really a rather badly formed or damaged *ch*; and the *biruda* occurs again, quite distinctly, in the Chīñchli inscription of A.D. 953 (see page 180 below).—Another *biruda* in which *chala* occurs, is Chaladaṅkarāma, applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Śāntivarman in the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 980 (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 204, text line 9); for the rendering then suggested to me, "a very Rāma in the fierce fight" (*ibid.* p. 208-209), there is to be substituted "a very Rāma distinguished by firmness of character," in accordance with the translation given by Mr. Kittel in his Dictionary, under *chala*.—There is one instance of a *biruda* ending in *nalla*, which is practically the same as *nallāta*, among the Eastern Chalukyas. Vijayāditya III. had a *biruda* which is presented in the various forms of Guṇaka, Guṇaga, Guṇagāṅka, and Guṇakenalla (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102). On the apparent authority of a passage which runs *Guṇaga-Vijayāditya-patir-āṅkakāras-akshadd*, etc., I explained the *biruda* as meaning "a thorough arithmetician" (*loc. cit.*). It is, however, now plain that the proper form of the *biruda* was Guṇakenalla, meaning "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of his virtues," and that *āṅkakāra* is to be taken, not as a Sanskrit word explaining the *biruda*, but as standing for the Kanarese *āṅkakāra*,—the meaning being "a veritable champion."—The *biruda* Guṇakenalla is given among the examples to the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sūtra 174 (mentioned in the preceding note), in Guṇakkenalla-Gaṇēśa, which has been rendered by Mr. Kittel, under *guṇa* in his Dictionary, by "Gaṇēśa who is good on account of his merit."

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 11, No. 7.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 284, text line 37; and see note 13 on page 178 above.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 285, text lines 67 to 69.—This passage perhaps also suggests that he had the *biruda* of Kālapriya, which might mean either "dear to Śiva" or "devoted to Śiva." But Kālapriya or Kālapriyanātha was itself a name of Śiva, apparently in his form of Mahākāla of Ujjain (see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, under *kāla*, 2); and therefore we are not of necessity to take the name Kālapriyēśvara as being based, as Gaṇḍamārtanḍēśvara was, on a *biruda* of the king. The dramas *Uttarardmacharita* and *Mālatīmādhava* were played to celebrate the festival of Kālapriyanātha (Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 297, Vol. II. p. 10); and, apparently, so also the *Mahadevacharita* (Pickford's translation, p. 4 and note, from which we learn that a commentator has explained the name thus:—"Kāla, another name of Śiva; Kālapriya, dear to Śiva, i.e. Pārvatī, his wife; Kālapriyanātha, the husband of Pārvatī, i.e. Śiva").

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 179.

And finally, an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, which records the death of his grandson Indra IV. in A.D. 982, presents his proper name, in verse, in the form of Kṛishṇarājendra.¹ To the facts already known about Kṛishṇa III., we may conveniently add here the following. An inscription at Dēvi-Hosūr, in the Karajgi tāluka,² refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as Akālarashadēva and Kannaradēva, and gives for him a fixed date, in December, A.D. 961, two years and nine months later than the date of the Karhād grant. And an inscription at Chiñchli in the Gadag tāluka,³ which refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as Akālarashadēva, Chalakenallāta, and Kannaradēva, mentions also, by the appellations Satyavākya-Koṅṇivarma-Jayaduttaraṅga-Permāṇadi, the Western Gaṅga prince Bātuga II., whom it describes as "governing" the Gaṅgavādi ninety-six-thousand; and it supplies for Bātuga II. a fixed date, in April, A.D. 953, three years later than the latest date previously established for him.

Kṛishṇa III. was succeeded by a younger brother, whose proper name is known, at present, only in the Prākṛit forms of Khoṭṭiga, Koṭṭiga, and Khōṭika, of which the first was probably the original corruption of his Sanskrit name, whatever that may have been.⁴ His appellations are given most fully in the Adaragnūchi inscription of A.D. 971, which mentions him by the name of Koṭṭigadēva, with the *birūdas* of Nityavarashadēva, Rājamārtanḍa, Baṭṭakandarpa, and Ohitravedeṅga, "a marvel among marvels" (?).⁵ And an inscription at Hirē-Handigōl in the Gadag tāluka,⁶ which again presents his name as Koṭṭigadēva and uses the *birūda* Nityavarashadēva, adds Yasakenallāta, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of fame." An inscription at Nāgāvi, in the same tāluka,⁷ again presents his name as Koṭṭigadēva, and again mentions him as Nityavarashadēva. The Kardā grant of his successor's time, issued

¹ *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57.

² Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. — The passage giving the date (lines 6 to 9) runs — Sa(sa)ka-varsha 884 Dundubhi-samvatsar-āntargata-Pausa-su(su)ddha-trayōdasi(śi) Ādityavāram-Uttarāyana-samkrānti-andu. — By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, Dundubhi was Śaka-Samvat 684 expired, = A.D. 962-63. In that year, Pausa śukla 13 ended at about 3 hrs. 58 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 12th December, A.D. 962; and the solstice occurred at 12 hrs. 38 min. on Tuesday, 23rd December. — By the northern luni-solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Dundubhi was Ś.-S. 884 current, = A.D. 961-62. In this year, Pausa śukla 13 ended at about 17 hrs. 47 min. on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 961; and the solstice occurred at 6 hrs. 25 min. on the next day. The date is, thus, not quite correct. But we need not hesitate, I think, about accepting the result for the *tithi* as the real date of the record.

³ Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. — The passage giving the date (lines 4 to 7), runs — Sa(sa)ka-bhūpāla-kāḷ-ākṛānta-samvatsara-sa(sa)taṅga[-eṇ]-nū[-e]patt-āraṇya Ānanda-samvatsarada Vaiśākha-su(su)ddha-bidige Sōmavāramuṃ Mṛigaśira-nakṣatramum-āge(?) gi. — By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, Ānanda was Śaka-Samvat 876 expired, = A.D. 954-55. In that year, Vaiśākha śukla 2 ended at about 21 hrs. 16 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 7th April, A.D. 954, and cannot be connected with a Monday at all. — By the northern luni-solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Ānanda was Ś.-S. 876 current, = A.D. 953-54. And, in this year, Vaiśākha śukla 2 ended at about 6 hrs. 18 min. on Monday, 18th April, A.D. 953; and the moon entered Mṛigaśiras at about 11 hrs. 8 min. or 12 hrs. 15 min.

⁴ I can suggest only Krōshṭu, which occurs as the name of one of the sons of Yadu (*Vishṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. IV. pp. 53, 61), and might perhaps turn into Khoṭṭiga, Koṭṭiga, Khōṭika, in the Prākṛit of the Kanarese country. I notice, however, that Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives Kōṭika as the name of the son of a prince, from the *Mahābhārata*.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 255 f., text lines 1 to 5.

⁶ Noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 422, note 3. — It records a grant that was made at the Uttarāyanasamkrānti or winter solstice (line 16); but the details of the (month and) *tithi* and week-day, by which the exact date might have been fixed, were not given. Line 1 contains the Śaka year, in figures, and the *samvatsara*; again, without any details: but the passage is much damaged, and all that can be said from the ink-impression, is that, while the first figure, 8, is quite unmistakable, the other two are altogether uncertain, — that then there comes the usual ordinal ending *śaya* (= *śaya*), — and that then we may perhaps have either Prabhava, Pramōda, or Prajāpati. This would give a date in December, A.D. 967, 970, or 971, with the southern luni-solar system of the cycle.

⁷ At the temple of Kannūra-Basappa; noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 422, note 3, where I have wrongly represented it as giving the name with the aspirated *kā*.

in A.D. 972, is the first record to present his name as **Khottigadēva**, with the aspirated *kh*.¹ This form is presented again in the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997.² But the Khārēpāṭaṇ Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 gives **Khōṭika**.³

Khottiga was succeeded by a nephew, who is most conveniently known as **Kakka II**. His Kardā grant of A.D. 972 seems to present his proper name first, in verse, as **Kakkarāja**;⁴ but it is possible that we ought to find there a superscript *r*, imperfectly formed or damaged, and that we ought to take the name to be **Karkarāja**, which seems more likely to be the Sanskrit form of it: further on, in prose, it presents it as **Kakkaladēvarāja**,⁵ which, from the practice noted further on regarding the ending *dēva*, we must take to be its Prākṛit form. The form **Kakkaladēva** was used in the Guṇḍūr inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 973.⁶ The Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 calls him **Kakkalēśa**, "the lord **Kakkala**."⁷ And the Khārēpāṭaṇ Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 calls him simply **Kakkala**, without any ending.⁸ Among other later extraneous records, the Kanṭhēm Western Chālukya grant of A.D. 1009 gives his name as **Karkara**;⁹ and the Kaḷachurya inscription of A.D. 1161 at Managōḷi presents it as **Kakkara**.¹⁰ His Kardā grant of A.D. 972 gives him, in some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand just before the usual preamble of the prose passages, the *biru-das* of Amōghavarsha, Nūtanapārtha, Ahitamārtanḍa, Viranārāyaṇa, Nṛipatuṅga, and

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 25.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 272, text line 16-17.

³ *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 18.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 26.— There is not, apparently, any such word as *kakka*. And the name seems to be certainly *karka*, 'white, good, excellent; a white horse; a crab; the sign Cancer,' etc.— The name occurs in four instances among the Rāshtrakūṭas before Kakka II. We meet with it first in the cases of **Kakkarāja II** of the first Gujārāt branch, and of his ancestor **Kakkarāja I**, in the grant of A.D. 757 from the Surat district; and there, in all three passages, the first component of the name is distinctly written *Kakka*, without the *r* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 107, text line 3, and p. 108, lines 15, 23). We meet with it next in the case of **Karka** or **Kakka I**, father of Kṛishṇa I. of the main line: the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754 gives his name as **Kakkarāja** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 111, text line 9); the Paithāṇ grant of A.D. 794, however, gives it as **Karkarāja** in using the same verse, and again in a subsequent verse (above, Vol. III. p. 106, text lines 7, 17); the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, using a new verse, gives it again as **Kakkarāja** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 5); the Ellōrā inscription at the Daśavatāra cave, using again a new verse, apparently gives it in the same form, **Karkarāja** (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text line 8); so, also, apparently do the Nausārī grant of A.D. 817 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 142, 143, verses 5, 11) and the Kāvī grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 146, verses 5, 11), both using the two verses of the Paithāṇ grant, though the Baroda grant of A.D. 868 or 867, using again the same two verses, seems to give it as **Kakkarāja** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 182, text lines 5, 11); the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, uses again the two verses of the Paithāṇ grant, and gives it as **Karkarāja** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66 f., text lines 5, 10); and, finally, the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as **Karkarāja**, in a new verse of its own (above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 3). And we meet with the same name again in the case of the feudatory prince Sovarnavarsha-Karkarāja of the second Gujārāt branch: the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 gives his name as **Karkarāja** in the verse which introduces him and in the usual preamble of the prose passages (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text lines 36, 42), but seems rather to give it as **Kakkarāja** in the passage that purports to be his signature (*ibid.* p. 161, text line 68); the Nausārī grant of A.D. 817 apparently gives it as **Karkarāja** in the verse, a new one, which introduces him, and also in the preamble of the prose passages (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 139, text lines 52, 55; in respect of the signature, the translation shows **Karkarāja**, p. 148, but the text has **Kakkarāja**, p. 141, text line 86); the Kāvī grant of A.D. 826 or 827 apparently gives **Karkarāja**, in a new verse (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 31); the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 does the same (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 199, text line 14), in reproducing the verse of the Nausārī grant of A.D. 817; the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 866 or 867, using both the verse of A.D. 826 or 827 and then the verse of A.D. 817, apparently gives it, in both places, as **Kakkarāja** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 183, text line 6); and the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, using the verse of A.D. 817, gives it as **Karkarāja** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, plate ii. a., text line 9).

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 266, text line 47.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271, text line 5.

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 272, text line 18.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 17.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, text line 41.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 12.

Rājatrinētra;¹ and the formal preamble of the prose passages, using first Amāghavarsha with the ending *dēva*, adds the *biruda* Prithvivallabha, and further styles him Vallabhanarēndradēva, "his majesty the king Vallabha."² The Guṇḍār inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 973, uses his Prākṛit name Kakkaladēva, as already noted, and presents the *biruda* Prithvivallabha in the *tadbhava*-form Prithuvivallabha.³

Kakka II. was the last Rāshtrakūṭa king of Mālkḥēd. After his overthrow in the latter part of A.D. 973 or early in the next year by the Western Chālukya Taila II., an attempt was made by the great Western Gaṅga prince Nōlambāntaka-Mārasimha II. to continue the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty by crowning Indra IV., grandson of Kṛishṇa III.⁴ But, though Indra IV. lived on till A.D. 982, there is nothing to shew that the attempt was even temporarily or locally successful; doubtless, because Mārasimha II. was either dead, or else had abdicated and passed into religious retirement, before June-July, A.D. 974,⁵ and because before August, A.D. 975, another Western Gaṅga prince, Pañchaladēva, had set himself up as paramount sovereign, in opposition to Taila II., in the southern provinces of what had been the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom.⁶ Indra IV. eventually died, starving himself to death in the performance of the *sallēkhanā*-vow, on the 20th March A.D. 982.⁷ The record which furnishes that information,⁸ mentions him by the proper name of Indrarāja, and puts forward for him the *birudas* of Raṭṭakandarpadēva, Rājamārtanḍa, Chaladaṇḍakāra, "the champion of firmness of character,"⁹ Ahitarajava, "the Death of enemies," Chaladaggali, "the door-bar of firmness of character," Kirtinārāyaṇa, Kaligaḷgaṇḍa, "the hero among brave men," Birarabira, "the bravest of the brave," and Ejevabedeṅga, "a marvel among those who take by force (the property of others)."

Some special features in the use of the appellations.

We have now to notice certain special features, attending the use of the appellations of the members of the family, whether they were actually reigning kings or not, which are disclosed by the technicalities that are recognisable in the diction employed in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.

And first as regards the proper names in their Sanskrit forms. It has been mentioned that the verse in the Sāmāgaḍ grant which first introduces Dantidurga, gives his name as Dantidurgarāja, while the formal prose passage adds *dēva* and styles him Dantidurgarājadēva. The habitual earlier practice, and evidently the correct etiquette, was that the verses of the records should be constructed in such a way that the Sanskrit names should have the ending *rāja* and nothing else,—in the case, not only of the paramount sovereigns and other members of the main line of Mālkḥēd, but also of the feudatory princes of the Gujarāt branch. This was done so constantly, that it is necessary to notice only the cases in which it was not done. And I have found at present only the following exceptions, most of which occur in records which were

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text lines 38 to 41.

² *Ibid.* text lines 44, 45. This appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*.

³ *Ibid.* p. 271, text lines 3, 5.

⁴ See above, Vol. V. p. 170, and note 4. An allusion to the attempt is to be found in the Western Chālukya Kanthēm grant of A.D. 1009, which presents an imaginary item of ancient history in asserting that Jayasimha I., the original ancestor (about A.D. 500) of the earlier Chalukya dynasty of Bādāmi, re-established his line, after a period during which its power had been in abeyance, by conquering a Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 17). The assertion is certainly based (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342) upon nothing but the overthrow of Kakka II. by Taila II., and on the names of Kṛishṇa III. and Indra IV. and the crowning of the latter.

⁵ Above, Vol. V. p. 152.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 172.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 124, No. 64.

⁸ *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57.

⁹ This is to be added to the two instances given above, page 57, and note 8, of the occurrence of *aṇḍakāra* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name.

independent compositions not following standard drafts, or else in additional passages which were not integral parts of standard drafts. A verse in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807 presents the name of Dhruva without the ending *râja*.¹ A verse in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 brings forward the name of Stambha without the ending *râja*.² Similarly, a verse in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ, which appears to be of the period of Amôghavarsha I., speaks of Dantivarman I. as simply Dantivarman.³ The Nausârî grants of A.D. 915,—the first, as far as our present knowledge goes, with the exception of the Daśâvatâra inscription, of a series of later official compositions which departed completely from the early standard drafts,—use for Dantidurga an altogether new verse which omits the *râja* and speaks of him as “the king, the glorious Dantidurga;”⁴ the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, using another new verse (which stands also in the Karhâd grant of A.D. 959), mentions him as simply Dantidurga;⁵ and so also, in still another new verse, does the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972.⁶ The Sânglî grant of A.D. 933 speaks of Indra III. as “king Indra;”⁷ and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972 speaks of Kṛishṇa II. as “king Kṛishṇa” and of Indra III. as “king Indra.”⁸ On the other hand, the ending *dêva* after *râja* is used, in verses, in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja (the second of the name) of Gujarât, in a verse which speaks of him as Dhruvarâjadêva but which stands after the proper introduction of that form of the name in the formal prose passage,⁹ and in the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, in the introductory verse which speaks of Indra III. as Indrarâjadêva,¹⁰ and in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa III. as Kṛishṇarâjadêva,¹¹ and in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa III., again, as Kṛishṇarâjadêva.¹² The double ending *râjadêva* with proper names was properly restricted to prose passages. And, just as we find it in the case of Dantidurga in his Sâmângaḍ grant, so also we find it in the formal prose passages in the Wanî grant of Gôvinda III. of A.D. 807,¹³ and in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 of the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât,¹⁴ and in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 of the same prince,¹⁵ and in the Kâvî grant of A.D. 826 or 827 of the feudatory prince Prabhûta-varsha-Gôvindarâja,¹⁶ and in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja,¹⁷ and in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 of the second feudatory

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 26, and Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. a, text line 13; and see note 7 on page 173 above.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 133, text line 40. Regarding Stambha, who has not been mentioned in the preceding pages, see pages 195, 197, below.

³ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text line 4.

⁴ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 257, B., text line 8, and p. 261, A., text line 7-8. The actual expression is *îrî-Dantidurga-nripatiḥ*. The composer perhaps found it inconvenient to introduce the *râja* here. But he employed it, as usual, in the case of Kṛishṇa I., whom he mentions as *îrî-Kṛishṇardja-nripatiḥ*, B. line 15-16, A. line 14.

⁵ Above, Vol. V. p. 193, text line 13, and Vol. IV. p. 282, text line 12.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264, text line 6.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 22,—*Indra-narêndra*.

⁸ *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 265, text line 17,—*Kṛishṇa-nripa*, and line 19,—*Indra-nripa*.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, plate ii. b, text line 6.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.* (note 4 above), B. text line 5, and A. text line 4.

¹¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text line 31. In this same verse as used in the Karhâd grant of A.D. 959, *nripatiḥ* was substituted for *dêva* (above, Vol. IV. page 284, text line 37).

¹² *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 265, text line 24.

¹³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, text line 35.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text line 42. In the prose passage near the end of the grant which records the signature, *dêva* is not attached to the name either of Karkarâja or of his father. It appears first, in that part of a record, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835, mentioned further on, and then again in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867.

¹⁵ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. page 139, text line 55.

¹⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, plate ii. b, text line 18.

¹⁷ *Id.* Vol. XIV. p. 199, text line 25.

prince Dhāravarsha-Dhruvarāja.¹ In the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued by a feudatory prince Akālavarsha-Krishnarāja in A.D. 888, the *dēva* is omitted in the formal prose passage;² and this omission now furnishes another point against the genuineness of that record. In the formal prose passages of the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, of the Rādhapur grant of A.D. 807, of the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915, of the Sānglī grant of A.D. 933, of the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940, of the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, and of the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, other appellations are used, instead of the proper names: but the ending *dēva* is attached to them in the same way; and, in the Paiṭhaṇ and Rādhapur grants, Gōvinda III. is styled Śrīvallabhanarēndradēva,³ — in the Nausārī grants, Indra III. is styled Nityavarshanarēndradēva,⁴ — in the Sānglī grant, Gōvinda IV. is styled Vallabhanarēndradēva,⁵ — in the Dēōlī and Karhād grants, Kṛishṇa III. is similarly styled Vallabhanarēndradēva,⁶ — and in the Kardā grant, Kakka II., again, is styled Vallabhanarēndradēva.⁷ From all these facts we gather, in the first place, that the authors of the later records, — from about A.D. 900 onwards, — in abandoning the drafts that had been followed in the introductory passages of the earlier records, and in adopting a more florid style of composition in verses of their own invention, freely neglected, whenever it suited their convenience, certain rules that had been previously observed, with almost unfailing uniformity, in respect of the proper names in their Sanskrit forms. But we also learn that the ending *dēva* was not an integral part of those names, but was only a honorific termination used, properly, only in prose passages for an enhancement of dignity. And we also learn that the ending *rāja* was not an essential part of those proper names. In dealing with the records, whether in editing fresh ones or in revising published versions, it may be convenient sometimes to translate those endings, — *rāja* by “king,” and *dēva* by “his majesty,” — or sometimes, and in fact more usually, to let them stand as parts of the proper names. But, for other purposes, — for genealogical tables, general historical accounts, etc., — it is most convenient, and most conducive to an easy discrimination between different persons of the same name, to drop those endings altogether in the case of the paramount sovereigns (whom we have occasion to mention most frequently), retaining them in the case of the feudatory princes (whom it is not necessary to refer to so often). Only one instance is as yet forthcoming, of the use of any special word, except *rāja*, in immediate combination with a proper name in its Sanskrit form; it is found in the Muḡund inscription of A.D. 902-903, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa II. as śrī-Kṛishṇavallabha-nṛipa, “the glorious king Kṛishṇavallabha,” or “the glorious king Kṛishṇa, the Vallabha.”⁸ And there is one instance in which, after the word *rāja*, there is added the ending *indra*, which seems to have been more properly restricted — (except, of course, in the word *narēndra*) — to the combination *vallabhēndra*;⁹ it occurs in the inscription of A.D. 982 at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa,¹⁰ in the verse which mentions Kṛishṇa III. as Kṛishṇarājēndra: this appellation — (if it is sought to translate it) — may be taken as meaning either “Kṛishṇa, the chief of kings,” or “Kṛishṇarāja, the chief of Kṛishṇarājas.”

Secondly, as regards the proper names in their Prākṛit forms, by which I mean, not simply and strictly such forms as would be recognised as technically Prākṛit forms by

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, plate ii. b, text line 2.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, plate ii. b, text line 2.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text line 43-44; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. b, text line 4.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* (note 4 on page 183 above), p. 259, B. plate ii. b, text line 13, and p. 264, A. plate ii. b, text line 13.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, text line 40.

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 195, text line 45-46, and Vol. IV. p. 235, text line 55. In the Dēōlī record, something else was written first; and, in the corrections that were made, the syllables *llabha* were not brought out quite clearly.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text line 44-45.

⁸ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 190, text line 3. A revised version of this inscription will be given in the present selection of Rāshtrakūṭa records.

⁹ See page 187 below, and note 10.

¹⁰ *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57, verse 2.

Prākṛitists, but all the corrupted or more familiar forms¹ of the Sanskrit names, which we meet with mostly in the vernacular records, and some of which cannot, perhaps, be exactly accounted for by any of the regular rules of Prākṛit grammar. These Prākṛit names were not used at all freely in the verses: in fact, we can only quote a verse in the Wapī grant of A.D. 807, repeated in the Rādhānpur grant of the same year, which speaks of Dhruva as Dhōra, without any ending to the name,² and some verses in the Kaḷas inscription of Gōvinda IV., of A.D. 930,³ of which three present his name as Gojjigadēva, one gives it as Gojjigavallabha or "Gojjiga, the Vallabha,"⁴ one speaks of him as Gojjigabhūpāla or "king Gojjiga," and the remaining one calls him simply Gojjiga, without anything attached to it, and a verse in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, which mentions Khoṭṭigadēva.⁵ The Prākṛit names do not appear to occur anywhere in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, from which we have quoted above the usage of those passages in respect of the Sanskrit forms of the names and of some appellations that were sometimes substituted there for the proper names. In the prose records on stone, the Prākṛit names are sometimes found without any ending; for instance, Dōra, in the case of Dhruva, in the Naregal inscription,⁶ and Gōyinda, in the case of Gōvinda III., in his Kanarese grant of A.D. 804,⁷ and Kannara, in the case of Kṛishṇa II., in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 911-12.⁸ We more usually find the ending *dēva* attached to the Prākṛit names; for instance, we have Kannaradēva, in the case of Kṛishṇa III., in the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50,⁹ and in the Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951,¹⁰ and in the Tirukkaḷukkugram inscriptions of his seventeenth and nineteenth years,¹¹ and in the Vellore inscription of his twenty-sixth year,¹²—Kotṭigadēva, in the Adaraguñchi inscription of A.D. 971,¹³ and in the Hirē-Handigōḷ inscription and the Nāgāvi inscription at the temple of Kannūra-Bassappa,¹⁴—and Kakkaladēva, in the Guṇḍūr inscription of A.D. 973:¹⁵ and so again, in the Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Gaṅga record, we have Kannaradēva and Baddegadēva.¹⁶ Evidently, the more formal official practice was to attach the ending *dēva* to the Prākṛit names. But we can readily see that it was not an integral or essential part of those names, and that it may be disregarded for all general purposes. To the rule of using the ending *dēva* with the Prākṛit names in prose passages, only one exception, substituting another ending, is forthcoming; it is found in the Kaḷas inscription,¹⁷ which

¹ It can hardly be imagined that a Vikramāditya, a Vishṇuwardhana, a Jayasīdha, a Dantidurga, a Parakṣarivarman, a Narasimhavarman, and so on, would be habitually addressed by such formal appellations in the domestic circle and in other spheres of private life. There must have been more familiar names for use in such circumstances. In the present day, the Chiefs of the Southern Marāṭhā country have *cydvahdrika*-names, 'practical, current, or familiar names,' or *aliases*,—such as Appā Sāheb, Appā Sāheb, Bābā Sāheb, Bāpū Sāheb, Dādā Sāheb, Nānā Sāheb, Rau Sāheb, Tātyā Sāheb, *etc.*,—by which they are in fact better known, even officially, than by their real Sanskrit, Marāṭhī, or Kanarese names. These *cydvahdrika* names, however, are distinctly *aliases*, not corruptions of the real names. In former times, probably the Prākṛit corruptions of the formal Sanskrit names were used as the *aliases* are used now; primarily in private life, and then finding their way into the official records.—For another note on Prākṛit names, ancient and modern, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410, note 1. The modern forms given there would, I think, be used, not by Chiefs and other persons of rank, but only by ordinary people.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6; and Vol. VI. p. 65, text line 5.

³ Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249; not yet published.

⁴ Compare the solitary instance, among the Sanskrit names, of Kṛishṇavallabha, which, also, occurs in verse (see page 184 above).

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 25.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, text line 5.

⁷ Page 54 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 284, text line 1-2, and p. 285, text line 2. And so also in the Ukkal inscription of his sixteenth year (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12).

⁹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 82, text line 1.

¹⁰ See page 180 above, notes 7, 8.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 852, text lines 2, 5.

¹² Page 163 above, text line 1.

¹³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222, text line 2.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257, text line 2.

¹⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 256, text line 5.

¹⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271, text line 5.

¹⁷ See note 3 above.

gives us Gojjigavallabha again in the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details of the record, though here, of course,—no metrical conveniences being involved,—the form Gojjigadēva might have been used just as easily. We do not anywhere find the ending *rāja* used in direct connection with a Prākṛit name. The only approach to an instance of that is found in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, in a prose passage (standing after the usual formal preamble) which speaks of Kakka II. as Kakkaladēvarāja;¹ and here the *rāja* was only added after the customary ending *dēva*.

Finally, as regards the principal *birudas*, most of which occur in both the Sanskrit and the Kanarese records. In the first place, it may be remarked that these must be the *gauna*-names, 'the secondary or subordinate names, or the names relating to and indicative of qualities,' which are spoken of in contrast to the *mukhya* or principal names in a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812.² As to the use of them, in the verses of the earlier records they occur without any endings; for instance, we have the plain unqualified Śubhatūṅga, Akālavarsha, and Nirupama, in the Paiṭhan grant of A.D. 794,³ Nirupama and Kalivallabha, in the Wapī grant of A.D. 807,⁴ Śrīvallabha, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812,⁵ Janavallabha, Prithvivallabha, Mahārājāśarva, and Amōghavarsha, in the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817,⁶ Prabhūtavarsha, Jagattuṅga, Kirtinārāyaṇa, and Atiśayadhavala, in the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866,⁷ and Mahārājāśaṇḍa, Śubhatūṅga, and Akālavarsha, in the Kāpaḍwapaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910.⁸ The Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 first present an occasional practice of attaching the ending *dēva* to the *birudas* in verses; thus, they give us Jagattuṅgadēva and Raṭṭakandarpadēva:⁹ but it was plainly nothing but a matter of convenience for the purpose of filling out the verses; and the only instances that can be found in the subsequent records, are Nṛpatattuṅgadēva, in a verse in the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940 (repeated in the Karhād grant of A.D. 959),¹⁰ and Akālavarshadēva, in a verse in the Sālōtgi inscription of A.D. 945,¹¹ though the preceding verse has Amōghavarsha without any ending. On the other hand, the prose passages indicate that the proper practice was to use in prose the ending *dēva* with the leading *birudas*,—doubtless because in prose they were generally introduced under conditions of greater ceremony. In the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, the ending *dēva* is invariably found attached, as a mark of respect, to the *biruda* that was used to denote the king who was referred to as the immediate predecessor of the reigning king, though it was not always attached to the corresponding *biruda* of the reigning king himself: thus, the Paiṭhan grant of A.D. 794 describes Prabhūtavarsha-(Gōvinda III.) as meditating on the feet of Dhārāvarshadēva-(Dhruva),¹² and the Wapī grant of A.D. 807 describes Prabhūtavarshadēva-(Gōvinda III.) as meditating on the feet of Dhārāvarshadēva-(Dhruva);¹³ and the same rule was observed, in the case of the predecessors, in the Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807, the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915, the Sānglī grant of A.D. 933, the Dēōlī grant of

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text line 47.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 4, 5; and see also another verse which first appears in the Tōrkhēd grant of A.D. 813 (above, Vol. III. p. 55, text lines 10, 11). I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for reminding me of this.

³ Above, Vol. III. pp. 106, 107, text lines 19, 20-21, 35, 37.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text lines 14, 15.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text line 35.

⁶ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 36, and p. 139, lines 44, 45.

⁷ Pages 102, 103, above, text lines 5 to 8.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, text lines 14, 16.

⁹ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 258, 259, B. plate ii. a, text line 12, and plate ii. b, lines 4, 5, and pp. 262, 263, A. plate ii. a, line 10, and plate ii. b, lines 1, 2.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 198, text line 18; and Vol. IV. p. 283, text line 19. It may be noted that the Dēōlī grant gives Jagattuṅgadēva in prose in line 49, but immediately afterwards uses Jagattuṅga, without any ending, in verse in line 51.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 60, text line 10.

¹² Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text line 43.

¹³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, text lines 34, 35.

A.D. 940, the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972.¹ Among the stone records, a similar formal preamble is found in the Kanheri inscription of A.D. 851, which duly describes Amoghavarshadēva I. as meditating on the feet of Jagattuṅgadēva-(Gōvinda III.);² and, though a formal preamble was not used in the Âtakûr inscription of A.D. 949-50, still that record duly follows the same rule in describing Kṛishṇa III. as a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of Amoghavarshadēva-(Vaddiga).³ In the other prose records on stone, we find sometimes the ending *dēva*, and sometimes the plain *biruda* without any ending; the instances on each side are about equal in number: we might expect to find the honorific ending used in all cases in which the *biruda* was used alone, without the proper name; but that was not done in, for instance, the Hattî-Mattûr inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa I., which employs for him no appellation except that of Akālavārsha,⁴ and the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva, which uses only the appellations Dhārāvārsha and Kalivallabha;⁵ and, though these two happen to be private records, not requiring any official drafting or approval, some of the others are official records, and, accordingly, we cannot determine the existence of any custom in this matter, dependent on the nature of the record and its liability to official scrutiny. It seems evident, however, that the better general practice was to use the ending *dēva* with the *birudas* in prose. No instance has as yet been found, in which the word *rāja* is used as the ending of a *biruda*, either in verse or in prose: other words meaning "king" occur in some of the verses; for instance, Amoghavarsha-nṛpati, "king Amoghavarsha," in the Dêlî grant of A.D. 940,⁶ and Jagattuṅga-nṛpa, "king Jagattuṅga," Amoghavarsha-nṛpati, and Amoghavarsha-nṛpa, in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972;⁷ but the more special word *rāja*, used so pointedly with the Sanskrit proper names, is not met with anywhere. Another ending used with a *biruda* in prose, is *indra*, which we have in Lakshmiṣvallabhendra, in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866:⁸ an exceptional instance of its use with a proper name, in Kṛishṇarājendra, has been noted on page 184 above; and another exceptional instance of it with a *biruda* is found in Nirupamendra, in the case of the feudatory prince Dhārāvārsha-Dhruvarāja (the second of that name) of Gujarât, in a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867;⁹ but it seems to have been, properly, restricted to the combination *vallabhendra*, as an honorific form of *vallabha*.¹⁰ And other endings, used in prose, were *narendra*, in, for instance, Śrîvallabhanarendra, in the Torkhêdê grant of A.D. 813,¹¹ and *narendradēva*, in, for instance, Śrîvallabhanarendradēva, in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794.¹² But the manner in which the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866 speaks of Amoghavarsha I. as, indifferently, Amoghavarsha,

¹ The Sāmāṅgaḍ grant does not mention any predecessor of Dantidurga; because he was the first paramount Rashtrakûṭa king. The Kanarese grant of A.D. 804, and the Torkhêdê grant of A.D. 813, and the Kāpaḍwāṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910, do not include the formal preamble mentioning predecessors. The other copper-plate grants are records of the feudatory Gujarât branch of the family; and in the records of that line it was not the custom to name the previous princes in the preambles of the prose passages.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 16, text line 2.

³ Page 53 above, text line 2.

⁴ Page 161 above, text line 1.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text lines 1, 2.

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text line 81.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 264, 265, text lines 12, 13, 24-25.

⁸ Page 104 above, text line 17, and see page 106, note 2; see also page 188 below.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, text line 17; the appellation was there translated by "king Nirupama" (p. 188, verse 37).

¹⁰ For the appellation Vallabhendra, see page 189 below, page 190, note 1, page 191.—The ending *indra* is met with once, in a Western Chalukya record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 17, text line 8), in the paramount epithet of which the customary form was simply *śrîprithivîvallabha*; the epithet is there presented as *śrîprithivîvallabhendra*.—There is a miscellaneous use of *vallabhendra*, otherwise than in a regal *biruda* or epithet, in a record at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 3), which describes the Kalbappu hill as "worthy to be praised by gods, Vidyāvallabhdra (i.e. those who are the chiefs of favourites or husbands of Learning, those who are eminently learned people), demons, men, and saints."

¹¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 54, text line 5.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 103, text line 43-44.

Amôghavarshadêva, Atisayadhavala, and Atisayadhavalanarêndradêva,¹ is enough to shew that all these endings, also, were not integral and essential parts of the *birudas*, and are to be disregarded for all general purposes. In editing records, it may be convenient to retain the ending *indra*, rather than to translate it by rendering, for instance, Lakshmivallabhêndra by "Lakshmivallabha, the chief of Lakshmivallabhas or of favourites of Fortune." But the other two will be better treated by translation,—*narêndra* being rendered by "king," and *narêndradêva* by "his majesty the king."

We have next to note that the most distinctive and leading *birudas* of the Râshtrakûtas were those ending in *varsha*. Not only are they found most frequently in the stone records, and often without any other appellation accompanying them, but also, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate charters of the kings of the main line, it is always the *biruda* ending in *varsha* that is used,—and without any other appellation,—to denote the predecessor, and the *biruda* ending in *varsha* of the reigning king is always presented with such others of his appellations as are put forward; and, in the corresponding passages of the copper-plate charters of the feudatory princes of the Gujarât branch, the *biruda* ending in *varsha* is always prefixed to the proper name of the prince. We may find, hereafter, an exception to this rule about the designation of the predecessor in the copper-plate charters of the main line, when we obtain any such record of Amôghavarsha I.; for, the Kanheri stone inscription of A.D. 851 describes him as meditating on the feet, not of Prabhûtavarshadêva, but of Jagattuṅgadêva,² and, as we shall see further on, there are other indications that Gôvinda III. was best known as Jagattuṅga after his death, though, as we shall also see, in his lifetime he was best known as Prabhûtavarsha. But, after the Sârnâṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, all the copper-plate records of the main line that we know at present, conform, with such variations as have been indicated above in the actual selection (without omitting the *biruda* ending in *varsha*) and order of the appellations of the reigning king, to the practice of the Paiṭhaṇ grant of Gôvinda III., which describes him as Prithivîvallabha, Prabhûtavarsha, his majesty the king Śrîvallabha, meditating on the feet of Dhârâvarshadêva;³ and the Âtakûr stone inscription uses only the *biruda* Amôghavarshadêva to denote the predecessor of Kṛishṇa III.⁴ And another special feature of the *birudas* ending in *varsha* is that we cannot trace back the conception of them to any predecessors of the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêḍ,⁵ nor even to the first Gujarât branch of the Râshtrakûtas which was represented by Karkarâja II. son of Gôvinda-râja in A.D. 757, nor to the early Râshtrakûtas of Central India whose existence is disclosed by the grants of Abhimanyu and Yuddhâsura-Nandarâja.⁶ They were plainly first devised by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêḍ. The fashion seems to have been set by Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇa I., as we have no *biruda* ending in *varsha* for his predecessor Dantidurga. And it seems likely that each subsequent member of the family was invested with a *varsha*-appellation at the time when he was selected for the succession and was formally appointed as *Yuvarâja*.

Other special Râshtrakûta *birudas* were those ending in *avalôka* and *tuṅga*. Of the former, we have two instances in the Mâlkhêḍ line, namely, Khadgâvalôka in the case of Dantidurga, and Raṇâvalôka in the case of Stambha, son of Dhruva;⁷ and we find two instances

¹ Pages 103, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text lines 43, 44.

⁴ Page 53 above, text line 2.

⁵ But, when once they had been started by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêḍ, the fashion was followed, probably as the result of intermarriages, in other families also; for instance, we have the Kalachuri king Kêyûravarsha-Yuvarâja I., at some time about A.D. 925 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 61, No. 429), and the Paramâra king Amôghavarsha-Vâkpatirâja, with the date of A.D. 974 (*ibid.* p. 8, No. 46), and Karivarsha-Sâhilladêva, a king of Chanpakâ-(Chambâ) (*ibid.* p. 81, No. 593), and the Paramâra chieftain Dhârâvarsha, with the date of A.D. 1209 (*ibid.* p. 28, No. 193).

⁶ See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 386.

⁷ See pages 195, 197, below.

in another branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa stock, in the case of Guṇāvalōka-Nanna and his grandson Dharmāvalōka-Tuṅga, whose names are disclosed by an inscription at Bōdh-Gayā.¹ The *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* start, like those ending in *varsha*, with Kṛishṇa I., who, accordingly, seems to have set the fashion in both respects. Both the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* and those ending in *avalōka* appear to be, originally, exclusive appellations of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, since, as in the case of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*, we cannot trace the conception of them to any other source.² But any similarity between them and the *birudas* ending in *varsha* ceased there. The *birudas* ending in *avalōka* appear to have soon gone out of fashion. Of the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga*, we have only one instance in the feudatory Gujarāt branch, in the case of Akālavarsha-Śubhatuṅga (proper name not yet disclosed) between A.D. 834-35 and 866-67. In the main line, we have not as yet obtained any such *birudas* in the cases of Gōvinda II., Dhruva, Indra III., Amōghavarsha II., Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga, Kṛishṇa III., Khottiga, and Indra IV. And, except in the single case of the use of Jagattuṅga, in the Kapheri inscription of A.D. 851, to denote Gōvinda III. as the predecessor of Amōghavarsha I., there is no evidence that the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* could be used for official purposes in the particular manner in which the *birudas* ending in *varsha* were constantly used, namely as substitutes taking entirely the places of proper names.³ That was the special characteristic of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*.

The remaining leading *birudas* are those ending in *vallabha*. Of these, there is apparently only one, Śrīvallabha, which could be used, like the *varsha*-appellations, to take entirely the place of proper names. And there is another feature in which they differ from the *birudas* ending in *avalōka* and *tuṅga* as well as those ending in *varsha*; namely that, together with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharāja, they were not first devised by the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, but the idea of them was taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from their predecessors.

We will examine first the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharāja, which were taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. In the Western Chalukya records themselves, we find⁴ the plain appellation Vallabha used, as a substitute for their proper names, to denote both Pulakēśin I. and his grandson Pulakēśin II.;⁵ we find it attached after the names of the original ancestor Jayasimha I., and of Pulakēśin I., Kirtivarman I., and Pulakēśin II.; and it is given as an appellation of Raṇavikrānta-Buddhavarmanarāja of the first Gujarāt branch of the Western Chalukyas.⁶ With the honorific ending *indra*, that is, in the form Vallabhēndra, we find it once, in the same series of records, attached after the name of

¹ See Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 85, No. 630.

² But, the fashion having once been set, *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* were, like *varsha*-appellations, adopted by other families; again probably as the result of intermarriages. Thus, we have Mugdhatuṅga as a *biruda* of the Kalachuri king Prasiddhadhavalā, father of the Kēydravarsha-Yuvarāja I. who has been mentioned in note 5 on page 188 above (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 58, No. 407, and p. 61, No. 429); and elsewhere we have the name of Jayatuṅgasimha of the Kāmā country (*ibid.* p. 79, No. 575), and, doubtfully, the name of Sidhituṅga with the date of A.D. 1347 (*ibid.* p. 38, No. 267).

³ And for these reasons, I think, the words *Tuṅgaśi kṣhitibhujāḥ pratihā babhūvuh*, "the kings became known in the world as Tuṅgas," which occur first in the Dēolī grant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 192, text line 10 f.; and see Vol. IV. p. 279), are to be taken, not as implying — (at any rate, correctly) — that the family-name was Tuṅga, but simply as seeking to draw attention to one of the leading appellations of some of the members of the family. The family-name was Rāshtrakūṭa in its Sanskrit form, and Raṭṭa in Prākṛit; we have, for instance, *Rāshtrakūṭa-śreya* in verse in the Wanī grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 17), and *Raṭṭa-vaśīśa* in prose in the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866 (page 108 above, text line 16).

⁴ See *Lyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 342 f. The exact references may be given in full on some future occasion, in a separate note on the appellations of the Western Chalukya kings; here it is only necessary to give a few of them in special cases.

⁵ Respectively, in the Nerūr grant of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161, text line 5), and in the Nerūr grant of Pulakēśin II. himself (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 48, text line 8).

⁶ It is also attached after the name of Vijayāditya in the Guḍigere inscription of A.D. 1076-77 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 39, text line 20).

Jayasimha I.¹ So thoroughly was the appellation Vallabha identified, for that period, with the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, that we find Vallabharāja and Vallabha used as substitutes for their proper names to denote Pulakēśin II. and Vikramāditya I. in one of the Pallava records.² And, by the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves, the appellation Vallabha was first used to denote the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., as is shewn by the verse in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, which tells us that Dantidurga acquired the sovereignty by conquering Vallabha.³ The appellation itself was promptly adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas; and it became, in the same way, thoroughly identified with them. As we have seen above, the next record that enters into details, the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, styles Dantidurga Vallabharāja, and gives to Gōvinda II. the appellation Vallabha. The Wapi grant of A.D. 807 gives the same appellation, Vallabha, to Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 888, mentions a Vallabhanripa, or "king Vallabha," who must be either Amoghavarsha I. or Kṛishṇa II.⁴ The Mulgund inscription of A.D. 902-903 attaches Vallabha after the name of Kṛishṇa II. The Kāpaḍwapaḥ grant of A.D. 909 or 910 speaks of (probably) Kṛishṇa II. as Vallabharāja. The Sāṅgli grant of A.D. 933, the Dēōlī and Karhād grants of A.D. 940 and 959, and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, apply the appellation "his majesty the king Vallabha" to Gōvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II. And, from the Prākṛit forms Ballaharāya and Ballarāya,⁵ the Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. used the name Balharā to denote, generally, the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of Mālkḥēḍ.⁶ The Kaḍaba grant,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, text line 2. — In the Eastern Chalukya records, sometimes Vallabha is attached to the *biruda* Satyāśraya which in them takes the place of the proper name of Pulakēśin II., and sometimes Vallabhendra is used instead of it (see, for instance, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 41, 48). In that series, Vallabha is sometimes attached after the name of Jayasimha I., son of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana I. (see, both ways, the same references); but it is not found with any subsequent names.

² Namely, in the Udayēndiram grant of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 370, 371). This record says that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. frequently conquered Vallabharāja at Pariyala, Manimaṅgala, Sūramāra, and other places, and that his grandson Paramēśvaravarman I. defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvala-Nallūr. The identities are established by the Kūram Pallava grant, which tells us (*ibid.* Vol. I. p. 152 ff.) that it was Pulakēśin (II.) whom Narasimhavarman I. conquered at Pariyala, etc., and gives (though without mentioning the name of the place) a very vivid description of a great battle in which Paramēśvaravarman I. inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of Vikramāditya (I.).

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 23. — The Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867 says that the feudatory prince Dhāravarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarāja of Gujārāt (the first of that name) put to flight the army of Vallabha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 188, verse 32), and that his son Akālavarsha-Subhatunga quickly recovered his paternal territory that had been attacked or invaded by the army of Vallabha (verse 34), and that the second Dhāravarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarāja quieted in one direction the army of the Gurjaras that hurried up to encounter him, and in another direction the hostile Vallabha (verse 37). These allusions, I think (see *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 408, notes 2, 4), — as also the statement in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835, that Suvarnavarsha-Karkarāja, of the same branch of the family, vanquished some tributary Rāshtrakūṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army, and that he speedily placed Amoghavarsha I. on his throne (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 201, verse 10), — refer to some persistent attacks on the dynasty of Mālkḥēḍ, in their northern provinces, by descendants of the Kakkarāja II., of the first Gujārāt branch, for whom we have the date of A.D. 757. If so, these passages would shew that the members of that line, also, were classed among the Vallabhas; to which there is no apparent objection. Or, perhaps, these passages containing Vallabha refer to some descendants of one or other of the Gujārāt branches of the Western Chalukya family.

⁵ The latter may be assumed from Vallarāja, which one document gives as a form of the name of the Aṅghilwāḍ Chaulukya king Vallabharāja, son of Chāmuṇḍarāja son of Mūlarāja I. (see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1883-84, p. 10). — An inscription of A.D. 866-87 at Soratūr, in the Gadag tāluka, gives one of the *birudas* of Amoghavarsha I. in the form of Pṛithiviballava. This perhaps gives us *ballava*, as another Prākṛit form of *vallabha*. But it is possible that the writer may have formed *va* by mistake for *bha*, or that he may have carelessly used *ballava*, 'a man who knows,' instead of *ballaha*.

⁶ See Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, edited by Prof. Dowson, Vol. I. pp. 8 to 40. In later times, the Arabs used the name Balharā to denote the Chaulukya kings of Aṅghilwāḍ (e.g. Al-Idrisi, towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.; *ibid.* pp. 85, 86, 87); and, as we have seen in the preceding note (see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 198, 200, 213), Vallabharāja occurs as the name of a king in that dynasty with the date of A.D. 1009-10.

which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, uses the appellation Vallabhendra, in the place of his proper name or of the *biruda* by which he was most customarily mentioned, to designate Gōvinda III.¹ And the Piṭhāpuram inscription of A.D. 1202, which recites the early Eastern Chalukya pedigree and history, uses the same appellation Vallabhendra, in the same way, to denote either Amoghavarsha I. or Kṛishṇa II.²

The *biruda* Prithivivallabha, "favourite of the earth,"³ was, similarly, taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35 specially speaks of it as the title of the Chalukyas.⁴ And, in their records,⁵ we find it applied to Kirtivarman I., Maṅgalēśa, Pulakēśin II., Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya I., and Kirtivarman II. It is mentioned in the Nausāri grant of A.D. 739, as one of four "other names" or titles which were conferred as a mark of favour by the paramount sovereign upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of Gujārāt.⁶ And it is, doubtless, under similar circumstances that we find it used before the name of the Sēndraka prince Nikumbhallaśakti in the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 655.⁷ In the Rāshtrakūṭa period, we meet with it at the outset, in the earliest record, the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, which applies it to the first paramount king, Dantidurga; and, in the subsequent records, we find it used in the cases of Gōvinda III., Amoghavarsha I., Gōvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II.

And so, also, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Fortune,"⁸ was in the same way taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The origin of this *biruda*, however, is carried back to earlier times; as it appears first, as a general epithet of the Pallavas, in the grant of Simhavarman II., which describes him as "a *Mahārāja* of the Pallavas, who are Śrīvallabhas or favourites of Fortune."⁹ It was evidently obtained by the Western Chalukyas from the Pallavas. It does not occur often in the Western Chalukya records. But we do find it in them. In the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35, we are told that, though Pulakēśin I. was Śrīvallabha or favourite (here, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, he became also the bridegroom of the city of Vātāpipurī.¹⁰ In a record of the time of Pulakēśin II., it occurs before the name of his maternal uncle, the Sēndraka prince Sēnānandarāja,¹¹—probably under circumstances similar to those in which the *biruda* Prithivivallabha occurs in connection with the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of Gujārāt.¹² And the passage in the Nausāri grant

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 344, text line 82.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 227, and p. 239, verses 9, 10.

³ For the rendering of this *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6.

⁴ Page 8 above, verse 4. And see note 9 below, about the original idea of this *biruda*.

⁵ See page 189 above, note 4.

⁶ Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Āryan Section, p. 232, text line 34.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 268, text line 15.

⁸ For the rendering of the *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, text lines 16, 17. The original inception of the idea is perhaps found in the grant of his father Viśṇugōpavarman, which speaks of the Pallavas as "the abodes of the Fortune (*śrīnilaya*) of other kings who have been overcome by their valour" (*ibid.* p. 51, text lines 15, 16).—The *biruda* Prithivivallabha has not yet been traced to the Pallavas, actually in that form; but the idea of it, among them, is found in the Kūram grant, which speaks of "the family of the Pallavas who are favourites of the whole world (*sakala-bhuvanavallabha*)" (*South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. I. p. 148, text line 11): this record, however, is later in date than the first use of the *biruda* by the Western Chalukyas.

¹⁰ See page 8 above, verse 7.

¹¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 51, text line 10.

¹² See above.—In the appellation, Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, of the governor who is mentioned in the Goa grant of the time of Pulakēśin II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365; regarding the identity of this person, see page 72 above), the *biruda* Satyāśraya is probably to be accounted for in the same way. And so also, the first component of the appellation Śembiyaṇ-Māvalivānarāyaṇ, which is applied to the Gaṅga-Bāna prince Hastimalla-Prithivipati II. in the Udayēndiram grant (*South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. II. p. 390). Two other instances of feudatories having appellations the first components of which were the *birudas* of their paramount sovereigns, are furnished by the names of Āhavamalla-Bhūttēyadēva, an officer of Āhavamalla-Taila II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 98), and of the Sinda prince Jagadēkamalla Permaḍi I., a feudatory of Jagadēkamalla II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 256).

of A.D. 739, which speaks of the conferring of the four titles upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of Gujarāt, denotes the paramount sovereign, who conferred them, by the appellation Śrīvallabhanarēndra, "the king Śrīvallabha,"¹ meaning, no doubt, Vikramāditya II., of the main line of Bādāmi. It may be added that, in the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 655 of the Sēndraka prince Prithivīvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, the name of the *Dūtaka*, or messenger for the conveyance of the grant, is given as Śrīvallabha-Bappa;² this, again, is perhaps to be accounted for by an explanation similar to that suggested above for the possession of the *biruda* Prithivīvallabha by Nikumbhallaśakti himself.

These two special *birudas*, Prithivīvallabha and Śrīvallabha, were thus unquestionably taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēd, with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharāja, from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. How far the amplification of the list of *birudas* ending in vallabha,—of which we have also Kalivallabha in the case of Dhruva, Janavallabha in the case of Gōvinda III., and Lakshmīvallabha in the case of Amoghavarsha I.,—was a Rāshtrakūṭa idea, will probably become more clear hereafter. But a passage in the Nerūr grant of Maṅgalēśa can hardly be construed except as establishing for Pulakēśin I. the *biruda* of Lōkavallabha,³ which is of practically the same purport as Janavallabha. And it thus appears not impossible that we may find, on closer scrutiny, that the Western Chalukyas themselves had a more extensive list of *vallabha*-appellations than now seems to have been the case.

The appellations by which the earlier members of the family were remembered in later times.

We wind up this study by noting the appellations by which the earlier members of the family were best remembered in later times. For this purpose we have to quote, among the Rāshtrakūṭa records themselves, certain compositions which, as already remarked, depart altogether from the early standard drafts; namely, the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915,⁴ the Sānglī grant of A.D. 933,⁵ the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940,⁶ the Karhād grant of A.D. 959,⁷ and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972,⁸ and, among extraneous records, the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997⁹ and the Khārēpāṭa Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008.¹⁰

In the case of the first paramount king, Dantidurga, there is curiously revived in the Bhādāna grant the variant of his name, Dantivarman, which is presented by the verse at the end of his Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, and of which there is at present, in his case, no trace in any of the intervening records. In the other seven records, he is mentioned by only the name of Dantidurga or Dantidurgarāja.

His paternal uncle and successor Kṛishṇa I. is mentioned, in all the eight records, by only his proper name, as Kṛishṇarāja.

Gōvinda II., the elder son of Kṛishṇa I., is not mentioned, or in any way alluded to, in the Nausārī grants. The other six records all mention him as Gōvindarāja.

Dhruva is mentioned by his proper name in only the Bhādāna grant, which speaks of him as *Dhruv-āṅka adhirāja*, "the king who had the mark, stigma, or brand, of Dhruva," and does not exhibit any of his other appellations. The other seven records all mention him as Nirupama. But the Dēōlī and Karhād grants use also his well established *biruda* Kalivallabha. And the Sānglī grant puts forward for him a very questionable new *biruda* in the form of Iddhatējas.

¹ *Loc. cit.* (page 191 above, note 6), text line 38-34.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 269, text line 38.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161, text line 5.

⁴ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257, 261.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 247.

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 188.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 278.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

⁹ Above, Vol. III. p. 267.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. III. p. 292.

To be issued as an Appendix to an early volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* :—

The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, from the earliest historical times to the Musalman conquest of A.D. 1318. By Dr. J. F. Fleet.

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Gôvinda III. is mentioned, in all the eight records, only as Jagattuṅga and Jagattuṅga-dêva, without any allusion to his proper name or to any of his other *birudas*.

Amôghavarsha I. is mentioned in the Nausâri grants as Śrīvallabha, who then became Viranârâyana. The Sâṅglī, Kardâ, Bhâdâna, and Khârêpâṭa grants mention him as Amôghavarsha,—the Bhâdâna record putting forward also a very questionable new *biruda* for him, in the form of Durlabha. The Dêôlī and Karhâḍ grants use only his *biruda* Nripa-tuṅgadêva.

And Kṛishṇa II. is mentioned by his proper name only, as Kṛishṇarâja, in the Nausâri, Dêôlī, Karhâḍ, and Bhâdâna grants, and by only his *biruda* of Akâlavarsha in the Sâṅglī and Khârêpâṭa grants; while the Kardâ grant presents both his proper name and the same *biruda*, mentioning him first as Akâlavarsha, and then supplying his proper name as Kṛishṇanripa, "king Kṛishṇa."

It is rather curious that Gôvinda III. was thus remembered only as Jagattuṅga; for, as we shall see further on, this *biruda* was certainly not the appellation by which he was best known in his own time. It appears first in the Torkhêḍê grant of A.D. 813, issued in his time. And all that we know as to the origin of it, is the assertion in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866, of the next reign, that he, Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja, conquered the whole world and so became known as Jagattuṅga. It evidently became his leading *biruda*, supplanting the *biruda* that was at first his distinctive appellation; because it was used, most exceptionally, in violation of the custom of using the *biruda* ending in *varsha*, to denote him in the Kapheri inscription of A.D. 851, in the formal passage which mentions him, as Jagattuṅgadêva, as the predecessor of the then reigning king Amôghavarsha I.¹ His assumption of the *biruda*, and the fact that it eventually became his most well known appellation, are evidently to be attributed to something or other that occurred when his reign was well advanced, and after A.D. 807 because there is no allusion of any kind to the *biruda* in the Wanī and Râdhanpur grants of that year.

* * * * *

The use of the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in the Râshtrakûṭa records.

We have now to consider who is most likely to be intended by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha as used to denote the reigning king,—without any other appellation, or any other hint,—in a Râshtrakûṭa record which, like the Lakshmêshwar inscription, C. above, is not dated but is referable to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

We have first to note that from Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Śrī or Fortune," we have the derivative *śrīvallabhatâ*, "the condition of being a Śrīvallabha." In the Râshtrakûṭa records, this word *śrīvallabhatâ* is met with as the equivalent of *râjâdhirâjaparamêśvaratâ*, "the condition of being an over-king of kings and a supreme lord." And these two words were used in the general sense, according to free translation, of "supreme sovereignty;" for instance, a verse in the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754 describes Dantidurga as acquiring the *râjâdhirâjaparamêśvaratâ* by conquering Vallabha,²—which appellation denotes there, and in the passage quoted below, the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II.,—while another verse in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ says that, by defeating the army of Vallabha and subjugating certain other kings, he acquired the *śrīvallabhatâ*.³ And, in view of this, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha might, without any objection, be applied to any paramount king without exception.

¹ As already said, we may expect to find it used, in the same way, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of copper-plate records of Amôghavarsha I., if we ever obtain any such records.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 24, 25.

³ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text lines 10, 11.

But we do not find it used in that general manner, at any rate in the Rāshtrakūṭa records. In those records, as far as they have been considered at present, we perhaps find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha suggested in the case of Kṛishṇa I.; but, if so, it is put forward for him in verse, in a very unusual and inconclusive fashion, and not in a record of his own time. We have it first apparently established¹ in the case of Gōvinda III., by the formal prose passages of his own records; and it is certainly used to denote him in a verse in the Baroda grant of his time. We next find it put forward, in verse, for his son Amōghavarsha I.; but this is done in a late record of A.D. 915, and under circumstances which suggest that it was used simply as a convenient metrical substitute for his formal *biruda* Lakshmīvallabha, which, though synonymous in meaning, is not the same appellation in form. We meet with it next in the case of Indra III., in the formal prose passage of one of the records of his time. We find it last used to denote Kṛishṇa III., in a verse which stands in his records of A.D. 940 and 959. And we thus have it established as a distinctive official appellation,—by formal prose passages, which, as has already been said, are far more decisive in any points of this kind than the verses are,—only in the cases of Gōvinda III. (apparently) and Indra III.

From this, we might conclude that, in a Rāshtrakūṭa record referable to about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the *biruda* Śrīvallabha must denote Gōvinda III., for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from his Paiṭhaṇ grant. And, if we accept the indication that is given in the formal prose passage in the Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807, it certainly was a well established *biruda* of him, and an important and distinctive one because there, and in the corresponding passage in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, it takes the place that is occupied by his proper name in the Waṇi grant of A.D. 807.

Nevertheless, Śrīvallabha was not the principal and most distinctive appellation of Gōvinda III. As we have already seen, in later times he was remembered only as Jagattuṅga. A verse in the Nausārī grant of A.D. 817 seems clearly to single out Pṛithivīvallabha as his special *vallabha*-appellation. But even that was not his most distinctive appellation. His most distinctive *biruda* during the earlier part of his reign was, evidently, Prabhūtavarsha. Even the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 of his successor's reign,—written at a time when there was, plainly, a preference for speaking of him as Jagattuṅga, tells us that he was Prabhūtavarsha, who became Jagattuṅga; and the only other of his *birudas* that it mentions, is Kīrtinārāyaṇa. In the records of his own time, the *biruda* Prabhūtavarsha occupies a prominent position in the Paiṭhaṇ, Waṇi, and Rādhanpur grants, and also in even the Tōrkhêdê grant; standing, in all of them, before either his proper name or the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and, in the Tōrkhêdê grant, also before the introduction of the *biruda* Jagattuṅga. In the grant of A.D. 804 from the Kanarese country, the *biruda* Prabhūtavarsha is used, and no other, with his proper name. The same is the case in an undated inscription in the Shimoga district, Mysore, which refers itself to the reign of a Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindarasa, and is, no doubt, to be referred to his time.² And an inscription at Shisuvinhāl in the Baṅkāpur tāluka, Dhārwar district,³ which can only be referred to his time, mentions him, as the reigning king, as “the favourite of Fortune and the Earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Bhaṭāra*, Prabhūtavarsha,” without presenting any other *biruda*, and without even finding it necessary to give his proper name.

And there are records in Mysore, which shew unmistakably that Dhruva was distinctively known by the *biruda* of Śrīvallabha, at least as well as was his son Gōvinda III. One of them is an inscription at Maṭakere in the Heggaḍadêvankôte tāluka, Mysore

¹ See page 173 above, and note 2.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, and note 1.

³ Not published; I quote from an ink-impression. The record is so much damaged that it can hardly be edited; but the first two lines are fortunately quite legible.

district,¹ which refers itself to the time when Dhârâvarsha-Śrīvallabha was reigning over the earth, and Kambharasa was [governing] the (Gaṅgavāḍi) ninety-six-thousand province : here, the immediate collocation of the two *birudas* admits of no interpretation except that they belonged to one and the same person, and that he was both Dhârâvarsha and Śrīvallabha ; and Dhârâvarsha, as we have already seen, was Dhruva. And another is an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa,² which, mentioning the Kambharasa of the preceding record as Raṇāvalōka-Kambayya and describing him as reigning over the earth, speaks of him as the son of the *Paramēśvara* and *Mahārāja* Śrīvallabha. For these two records we are indebted to Mr. Rice. In connection with the second of them, we take another record, also brought to notice by him ; namely, a copper-plate grant from Maṇṇe, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 802.³ It expressly mentions Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva as the elder brother of Prithuvīvallabha-Prabhūta-varsha-Gōvindarājadēva, who, it says, meditated on the feet (*i.e.* was the successor) of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Dhârâvarshadēva. The Gōvindarājadēva of this passage is shewn, by the verses in the genealogical introduction of the record, to be Gōvinda III., son of Nirupama-Kalivallabha-Dhōra, *i.e.* Dhruva. His elder brother Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva was, therefore, also a son of Dhruva. Accordingly, in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription, again, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha denotes Dhruva. And thus we have the *biruda* Śrīvallabha thoroughly well established as a leading and distinctive appellation of Dhruva also, and so pointedly that it is most probably he who is intended by that *biruda* in the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C. above.

* * * * *

The date of Dhruva.

The importance of the point that Śrīvallabha was a leading and distinctive *biruda* of Dhruva lies in the fact that we are thereby enabled to fix an actual date for him.

That date is supplied by a passage in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasēna, which tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Saṃvat 705 (expired), = A.D. 783-84, when there were reigning, — in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with the modern Waḍhwān in the Jhālāvāḍ division of Kāthiāwār, — in the north, Indrāyudha ; in the south, Śrīvallabha ; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93. — In answer to a reference, Mr. Rice has been kind enough to assure me that the *Śrīvalla*[*ḍha*] follows *Dhârâvarisha* without any interval ; that line 1 contains less matter than the other lines because the letters are larger ; and that there is no doubt whatever about the word *Kambharasar*. There can, of course, be no question about the correctness of supplying *ḍha* as the *akṣhara* which is more or less damaged and illegible after *śrī-Dhârâvarisha-Śrīvalla*. And the damaged and illegible *akṣhara* after the *ḍha* must be a final *s* or *r*.

² *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 24. — I have to make the following remarks on this record, from an ink-impression. Line 2 ends with *Śrīvallabha*. At the beginning of line 3, five *akṣharas* are (judging by the impression) hopelessly damaged and illegible. Then we have, distinctly, *jddhi*. And then, after a space representing three full-size square *akṣharas* such as *ja*, *dha*, *ma*, *etc.*, — apparently equally damaged and illegible, — we have *m[ḍ]śvara-mahār[d]jard* *vagandir Raṇāvalōka-śrī-Kambayya*, *etc.* The lacunæ may be appropriately and exactly filled in by reading *Śrīvallabha*-[*Dhruva-mahārā*] *jddhi*[*rāja-para*] *m[ḍ]śvara-mahār[d]jard* ; to which the only objection is the use of both titles, *mahārājādhirāja* and *mahārāja* : and I do not see any other way in which they can be appropriately and exactly filled in, unless we should read *Śrīvallabha*-[*Dhârâvarsha-rā*] *jddhi*[*rāja-para*] *m[ḍ]śvara-mahār[d]jard*, which is open to a similar objection and, further, does not adapt itself to such marks as are discernible. But, of course, it is by pure conjecture that the actual name Dhruva is supplied here ; except that there is a mark, in exactly the proper place, which does look like an *r* attached to an *akṣhara* consisting of a consonant with its vowel. — On the subject of this record, see also *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 397, note 1 ; the view suggested there is, of course, now withdrawn.

³ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5. I have photographs of this record, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Rice.

(Ujjain); and, in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha,¹ in the territory of the Sauryas. It is to be remarked that, of the two kings Indrāyudha and Śrīvallabha, one or the other is specified in the passage as the son of a king Kṛishṇa. But we determine the application of the passage without taking that point into account either way.

When this passage was first brought to notice, the translation that was put forward was—"when Indrāyudha was ruling over the North;—when Śrīvallabha, the son of king Kṛishṇa, was governing the South," *etc.*² And I suggested that Śrīvallabha was "perhaps the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda II., the son of Kṛishṇa I."³

Subsequently, however, it became plain, in the first place, that the *biruda* Śrīvallabha is not identical with the appellation Vallabha, which is the only name of that kind that we have for Gōvinda II., and in the second place, that Gōvinda II. did not actually reign.⁴ And then, as the word meaning "son of king Kṛishṇa" may be construed at least as well with the word that gives us the name of Indrāyudha as it may with the word that gives us the name of Śrīvallabha,⁵ I abandoned that view and transferred the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" to Indrāyudha, and took the passage as referring to Gōvinda III., son of Dhruva, and as establishing the date of A. D. 783-84 for him.⁶

There is nothing inherently impossible, in the way of allotting the date of A. D. 783-84 to Gōvinda III.; except that it would perhaps give him too long a reign,—at least thirty years,—

¹ The original passage has *jaya-yudh vīrē Vardhā*; and Dr. Peterson considered (Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Index of Authors, p. 43, and note), that the meaning is, not "the victorious and brave Varāha," but "the brave Jayavarāha,"—just as the name of Vatsarāja is expressed in the preceding line by *Vatsa-dī-rājā*. It is not possible to settle that point off-hand, either way. But, in support of Dr. Peterson's view, we may quote two other names in which *vardha* is found as the termination. One is Ādivarāha, a name of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, which occurs in verse 22 of the Gwalior inscription of A. D. 875 or 876 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 155, 158). The other is Dharanivarāha, which we meet with most notably in the case of a Chāpa prince, with the date of A. D. 914, whose residence was Vardhamāna, and who was ruling the territory round Haddālā on the south-east of the above-mentioned Waḥwān in the Jhālāwāḍ division of Kāṭhiāwār (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 194, 195); and it is not impossible that, in this prince, we have a descendant of the Varāha or Jayavarāha of A. D. 783-84, though his pedigree is not carried back beyond a certain Vikramārka who would have to be placed, roughly, about A. D. 825.—It may be noted here that the name Dharanivarāha seems to have been rather a favourite one. We meet with it again in the case of a prince referable roughly to about A. D. 925, in the Bulandshahr plate of A. D. 1176 or 1177 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 25, No. 170), and again in the case of a prince who was contemporaneous with a Rāshtrakūṭa king or prince named Dhavala who held the country round Hatōṇḍi in Mārwar just before A. D. 997 (see *ibid.* p. 9, No. 53). We perhaps have the same name Dharanivarāha in the case of a king or prince, of uncertain date but apparently referable to "a period not long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion," who ruled more to the east, in the Jaunpur district, North-West Provinces (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 635, 636); but, here *dharanī* may be a mistake or misreading for *dharanī* as the accusative with *santōshayan-nija-guṇair*, and in that case the name is simply Varāha. We certainly, however, have Dharanivarāha as a *biruda* of some princes, of the sixteenth century A. D., who claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttuṅga I. (Report of the Government Epigraphist for 1899-1900, p. 16). And apparently we have it again as a *biruda* of one or other of the kings of Vijayanagara in a record of A. D. 1528 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 2).

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142. For the text, see now, preferentially, Peterson's Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Extracts, p. 176.

³ *Loc. cit.* note 3.

⁴ And, on this point, see now, more fully, page 170 ff. above.

⁵ The text runs—*uttarāṁ pṛthī-indrāyudha-nāmaṁ Kṛishṇa-nripa-jē Śrīvallabhē dakṣiṇāṁ*. We know that Dhruva was a son of Kṛishṇa I. And, now that we know what we did not know until recently,—namely, that Śrīvallabha was one of his leading *birudas*,—it is easy enough to say that the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" were meant to qualify the Śrīvallabha of the passage, and not the other person. But it is impossible to say, simply from the text itself, whether *Kṛishṇa-nripa-jē* was intended to be in apposition with the locative which immediately precedes it, or with the locative which immediately follows it; and it is fairly arguable that, Śrīvallabha being a complete appellation in itself, whereas Indrāyudhanāman is an adjective rather than a noun, the latter wants something, namely, the next following word, to complete its meaning.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 394 f., and see note 1 on p. 395.

before so very long a reign as that of his son Amôghavarsha I., who was on the throne for not less than sixty-two years. But we can now recognise a distinct reason for which that date should not be allotted to Gôvinda III. We know, from the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807, that the first important event after the death of Dhruva was the formation of a confederacy against Gôvinda III. by twelve kings and princes, whom he had to overthrow before his succession to the throne was made secure.¹ We may note that we learn from the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 that the confederacy was headed by a certain Stambha,² in respect of whom Mr. Rice has made the suggestion,³ quite soundly, that he is to be identified with the Rapâvalôka-Kambayya, Kambharasa, or Kambhadêva of the Mysore records, son of Śrîvallabha-Dhruva and elder brother of Gôvinda III. And we trace the motive for it to the fact, stated in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794, that Gôvinda III. had been selected for the succession from among several sons,—to the exclusion, therefore, of at least Stambha-Kambayya,—because he surpassed his brothers in merit.⁴ But, what we have to note in particular, is, that this confederacy was the first important event after the death of Dhruva and the accession of Gôvinda III., and that there is no allusion of any kind to it in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794. We must understand, then, that that record gives a very early date in the reign of Gôvinda III., before the occurrence of the events connected with the confederacy, and that it is, therefore, not permissible to carry him back ten years earlier, to A.D. 783-84.

The only other Śrîvallabha of that period, distinctively known by that appellation, was Dhruva. And, irrespective of the question whether the Śrîvallabha of the passage quoted above is described in that passage as "the son of Kṛishṇa," or whether he is not so described,⁵ we need not hesitate, now, about deciding that it is to Dhruva that the passage refers by the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and that it is for him that it establishes the date of A.D. 783-84.⁶

As regards another of the kings who are mentioned in that passage, it may be noted that Vatsarâja of Ujjain is mentioned again in connection with Dhruva in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807, in a verse which tells us that Vatsarâja, who had easily seized the kingdom of Gaṇḍa (in Bengal), was driven away by Dhruva (from his possessions in Mâlwa, round Ujjain) into the path of misfortune in (the deserts of) Maru (Mârvar).⁷ Varâha or Jayavarâha, who was ruling the territory of the Sauryas,—which apparently means Saurâshṭra or Kâthiâwâr,—remains to be exactly identified, but may, as has been suggested above,⁸ very possibly have been a Châpa king. Indrâyudha, the king of the north, may be safely referred to the family to which belonged Chakrâyudha, to whom Dharmapâla, after defeating Indrarâja

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 13. The event has been wrongly placed by Paudit Bhagwanlal Indrajî in the life-time of Dhruva (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 123). The text of the record distinctly says that Dhruva was then dead.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 145, verse 27.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Intro. p. 5.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text line 37 f.

⁵ See page 196 above, note 5.

⁶ In following my original proposal as to the application of the passage, and in accepting it as meaning Vallabha-Gôvinda II., Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 197) has overlooked the point that the appellation is, not Vallabha, but Śrîvallabha, which is quite a different thing; and, when he wrote, he was of course not aware that Śrîvallabha was a *biruda* of Dhruva.—As regards the hysterical outburst, in connection with this matter, to which Mr. K. B. Pathak has given vent on page 5 f. of the Introduction to his edition of the *Kavirâjamaṛga* (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 26), it is sufficient to remark that, in his second-hand and crude dissertation on Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I., Gôvinda II., and Dhruva, he has put forward nothing new of any historical value, and, in re-asserting the date of A.D. 783-84 for Gôvinda II. according to my original proposal, he has, from sheer ignorance of the subject and incapability of dealing with it, simply reiterated a mistake and missed the very point on which there was an useful correction to be made. His paroxysmal note 3 on page 5 of the Introduction (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 25, note 18) is, except in the first line of it as far as the words "A.D. 750," nothing but an attribution to me of statements that I have not made and views that I have not formed.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 8.

⁸ Page 196 above, note 1.

and other unnamed enemies, gave back the sovereignty of **Mahôdaya (Kanauj)**;¹ but we have still to determine what may have been the relations between his family and the family of **Mahârâjas** in which we have **Prabhâsa-Bhôja I.**, **Bhâka-Mahêndrapâla**, and **Harsha-Vinâyakapâla**, who issued charters from **Mahôdaya (Kanauj)** in A.D. 706, 761, and 794.²

NO. 17.—TWO BHUVANESVAR INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The two inscriptions³ of which I give an account here from excellent impressions, prepared for Dr. Hultzsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri, are on two slabs of dark stone which are now in the western wall of the court-yard of the temple of **Ananta-Vâsudeva**⁴ at **Bhuvanêśvar** in the Puri district of Orissa. The stones were taken away from **Bhuvanêśvar** and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837.⁵ In the latter year, the inscriptions were both edited, with specimen facsimiles of the characters by Mr. Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 89 ff. and p. 280 ff., the one here marked A. with a translation by the Rev. Wm. Yates, and the other, marked B., with a translation by Captain G. T. Marshall, Examiner in the College of Fort William; and the inscription A. has been edited again, *ibid.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11 ff., by Mr. Nagendra Natha Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before. A. records the foundation of a temple of (Śiva) **Mêghêśvara** by **Svapnêśvara**, a connection and general of the (Eastern) **Gaṅga** king **Aniyâṅkabhîma** (**Anaṅgabhîma I.**) of **Trikaliṅga**; and B. gives a eulogistic account of a scholar named **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva Bâlaavalabhîbhujâṅga**, of whom some literary works are still extant.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SVAPNÊŚVARA, OF THE TIME OF ANIYÂṅKABHÎMA.

This inscription contains 26 lines of writing which cover a space of 3' 6" broad by 1' 6½" high. The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and with the exception of a few letters, in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ½". Many of the characters are the same as those of the ordinary **Nâgarî** alphabet used in Northern India during about the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.; but there are some by which this inscription would be undoubtedly referred to the eastern parts of Northern India. To shew this, I would draw the reader's attention, *e.g.*, to the initial **î** in **îti**, l. 1; the initial **ê** in **êkô**, l. 1; the **kh** in **êkhi**, l. 1, and **kharuvîkarôti**, l. 2; the **ñ** in **ratnâṅkura**, l. 10, **piṅgala**, l. 1, and **vaṅsa**, l. 6; the **ñ** in **śitañ=cha**, l. 21, and **vâñchhita**, l. 13; the **ṭ** in **jaṭāṭavi**, l. 1, **paṭu**, l. 6, and **-dviṭ**, l. 15; the **ṭṭ** in **paṭṭê**, l. 26 (twice); the **ṇ** in **raṇa**, l. 9, *etc.* One point in which the alphabet differs from that of other eastern inscriptions is, that, while in the latter special signs (without the superscript **r**) are generally used⁷ to denote the three conjuncts **rgg**, **rṇṇ** and **rth**, the present inscription has such a sign only for **rth**, and employs the superscript **r** in the two other conjuncts. See *e.g.* the **rth** of **=ârthatô**, **=ârthibhir** and **=ârthini** in line 10, as compared with the **th** of **prithivîm** in line 8; on the

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for this point. For the necessary references, see his List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 86, No. 638; and see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 187, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 245.

² See above, Vol. V. pp. 209, 210, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110.

³ Government Epigraphist's collection of 1899, Nos. 227 and 228. Compare my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 669 and 670.

⁴ See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11.

⁵ See *ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 279 f.

⁶ The form of the initial **î** here used is identical with one of the two forms of **i**, used in the **Kamali** plates of **Vaidyadeva**, No. 644 of my *List of North. Inscr.*

⁷ See above, Vol. V. p. 182.

other hand, see the *rgg* in *durgg-ālayō mārggaḥ*, l. 22, and the *rnn* of *-dvakīrṇna-*, l. 8, and compare with the latter the *nn*¹ of *kshunṇa-*, l. 8. For the rest, it may suffice to state that *anusvāra* is often denoted by a circle with the sign of *virāma* below it, placed after the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *nirvabharaṃ*, l. 6, and *palabhujām*, l. 7; and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed no less than 13 times, as in *°bhujā snēna*, l. 9, and *vriddhō snujam* and *rājyē bhishiktam=*, l. 11, etc.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory *Om om namaḥ Śivāya*, the text is in verse. The orthography calls for few remarks. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *rasmi-* and *vans-* (for *vaṃś-*), l. 3, *śasāsa*, l. 8, *yasaśa*, l. 12, *sāsvata-*, l. 13, *saśvan=*, l. 22, and *saśvad=*, l. 24, and the palatal for the dental in *śrōtaḥ-*, l. 1, and *surasārit-*, l. 21; and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been employed in *vaṃśa-*, l. 6, and *-sudhāṃśū*, l. 25, and the dental nasal in *vans-ōttansa-*, l. 3. Besides, the rules of *sandhi* have now and then been neglected. The language is not always grammatically correct. The ablative cases in construction with adjectives in the positive (instead of the comparative) degree in verse 28 might of course be justified by analogous constructions in the epics; for the wrong position of the word *mallī* in the compound *mallikīrttivallī* (for *kīrttimallivallī*) at the end of line 3 the Prākṛit of the author might possibly be held responsible; and to account for the employment of the Present participle *hasat* (instead of *hasita*) in the compound at the end of verse 22 one or two similar instances may be quoted from Jaina poetry; but *śri-Svapnēśvara-nāma* (for *-nāmā*) in line 5 is an offensive blunder that should not have been committed even *chhandō-bhaṅga-bhayāt*. The poetry of our author strikes me as being poor. His poetical conceptions as a rule are of the tritest, and more attention has been apparently paid by him to the sound of the words than to their exact meanings or effective employment. As a translation would be as tiresome to write as it might be tedious to read, I content myself with giving a short abstract of the contents.

After the words 'Om, om! Adoration to Śiva!', verse 1 invokes the protection of the moon which is on Śiva's head, and v. 2 glorifies the sage Gautama (Akshapāda). In that sage's family (*gōtra*) was born the king's son (*rāja-putra*) Dvārādēva (v. 3). From him Mūladēva was born (v. 4), and from him, Ahirama (v. 5) who, besides other children, had a son named Svapnēśvara, and a daughter named Suramādēvi (v. 6). Verses 7-9 then eulogize a king of the lunar race, named Chōdaganga. When he was dead, his son king Rājarāja victoriously ruled the earth (vv. 10-12). He married Suramādēvi, the lady already mentioned (v. 13), and in his old age installed in the government his younger brother Aniyāṅkabhima, 'a moon of a Gaṅga prince,' 'a lord of Trikalīṅga' (vv. 14-17).—Verses 18-21 then praise (Rājarāja's brother-in-law) Svapnēśvara-dēva, in war 'a divine weapon of the kings of the Gaṅga lineage,' a man 'more powerful than a complete army' (and apparently therefore a general of the Gaṅga kings); and verses 22-32 record the acts of piety performed by him which occasioned this *prasaṣti*. He founded a magnificent temple of the god (Śiva) Mēghēśvara, 'the lord of the clouds' (vv. 22-24), gave a number of female attendants to the god (v. 25), laid out a garden near the temple (vv. 26 and 27), built a tank near it (v. 28), and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall (v. 29). He also provided wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vēdas, etc. (v. 30); and to the pious Brāhmaṇs he gave a *brahmapura* which was superintended by the Śaiva teacher Viṣṇu (v. 31), who also consecrated² the Mēghēśvara temple (v. 32).—By Viṣṇu's order this *prasaṣti* was composed by the poet Udayana (v. 33); it was written on the stone at the Mēghēśvara temple by Chandradhavalā, the son of Diśidhavalā (v. 35), and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Śivakara (v. 36).

¹ A comparison of the signs for *nn* and *rnn* will shew that in the latter the superscript *r* is really superfluous. Even without it, the sign used by the writer would have to be read as *rnn*, and is actually employed in other inscriptions to denote that conjunct.

² As *pratishṭhita* is occasionally used for *pratishṭhāpita*, so I would take *pratyatishṭhat* in verse 32 to have been employed in the sense of the causal *pratyatishṭhipat*.

Though the inscription is not dated, the connection of Svapnēśvara with the (Eastern) Gaṅga kings Rājārāja and Aniyāṅkabhīma permits us to fix its age with confidence. From No. 367 of my *List of North. Inscr.* we know that the great king Chōḍagaṅga was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava, who was anointed king in Śaka-Saṁvat 1064 = A.D. 1142-43 and reigned for 10 years; that Kāmārṇava again was succeeded by another son of Chōḍagaṅga, named Rāghava, who reigned for 15 years; he again by Chōḍagaṅga's son Rājārāja [II.], who reigned for 25 years; and he by his younger brother Aniyāṅkabhīma (or Anaṅgabhīma I.), who reigned for 10 years. Taking these figures to be approximately correct, it follows that Aniyāṅkabhīma, the last king mentioned in the present inscription, ascended the throne about A.D. 1192, and that this inscription therefore must have been composed about the end of the 12th century A.D.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² ōm namaḥ Śivāya || ³Vidyutpiṅgala-bhālalōchana-śikhi-jvālā-galat⁴ svāmṛita-śrō(śrō)taḥ-sparśana-jīvitāḥ śavaśiraḥ-śrēṇīḥ Śivē nṛityati ||(1) ēkō Rāhur=anēkatān=gata iti trāsād=iva prēkshya tās=Chandraḥ sāndra-jaṭāṭavi-surasarid-durgg-āsritāḥ pātu vaḥ || [1*]
- 2 ⁵Kō=yam lla(la)llā(lā)tatata-nētrapuṭasya garvvāt kharvvīkarōti jagad=ity=abhidhāya Śambhau | yaḥ sābhyasūyam=akarōch=chacha(ra)pē=kshi-lla(la)kshmtm jlyāt=sa Gautama-munir=mmuni-vṛinda-vandyaḥ || [2*] ⁶Tad-gōtrē rāja-putraḥ samajani jagatī-maṇḍanaḥ paṇḍitānām mānyaḥ puṇy-aikadhāma prativa(ba)la-jaladhi-
- 3 kshōbha-manthāchala-śrīḥ | śrīmān=satkṛttivalli-valayita-vasudhāmaṇḍalaś=chanda-rasmi(śmi)-sphūrijat-tējōbhīr=ugra-glāpita-ripuyasāḥ-kairavō **Dvārādēvaḥ** || [3*] Samajani⁷ nija-vans-ōttansa-lakshmīr=alakshmīkṛita-nikhila-virōdhi-sphūrijat-ambhō-dhir=asmāt | dalita-lalita-mallikīrttiva.⁸
- 4 lli-vitāna-prasrita-⁹hasita-chandrō **Mūladēvaḥ** kṛit-indraḥ || [4*] ¹⁰Tasmāt=puṇy-aikarāśēr=abhavad=Ahiramō nāma dhāma stutnām=ārāmaḥ sāma-nītēr=aparimita-yaśāḥpūrachandr-ōdayādriḥ | yasy=ōdyad-dānadharm-ōtsava-janita-mahōtsāha-kālē trilōka-prāsād-āgrē sphuranti sphurad-a-
- 5 malayaśō-vaijayantyō jayantyāḥ || [5*] ¹¹Tasmān=naika-sutād=va(ba)bhūvatur=apān=nāthād=iv=ēndu-Śriyau śrī-Svapnēśvara-nāma¹² nāma Suramādēvi cha sārth-āhvayā | ēkaḥ kshmatāla-maṇḍanāya sakal-ādharas=tath=ānyā jagad-dāridrajvara-nāsanāya jagatī-chintāmaṇi-śrīr=abhūt || [6*] ¹³Nata-nṛipati-kirīṭa-kō-
- 6 ti-ratna-dyuti-pātu-¹⁴pīṭha-śayālu-pādapadmaḥ | ajani Rajanijāni-vaṇśa-¹⁵chōḍāmaṇir=apim-ādi-guṇēna Chōḍagaṅgaḥ || [7*] ¹⁶Yātrā-vāji-khura-prahāra-visarad-dhōli-samudrē sphurattējō-bhāskaramaṇḍalē kshītibhujām=astāngatē nirvbha(rbbha)raṁ | yam saṅgrāma-gṛihōdarēshu vijaya-śrīḥ sārddham=ā-
- 7 śā-sakhī-vṛindair=bhinna-gajēndra-mauktikavati bhūyō=bhisarttūn=gatā || [8*] Rē vā(bā)llāḥ kula-vṛiddha kin=nu bhavatān=durbhiksham=āyāsyati sphitān=kiṁ sa tu sa[t*]tra-daḥ palabhujām svarggāya sannahyatē | yasy=ēti

¹ From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read -galat-svāmṛita-.⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁷ Metre: Mālinī.—Read *nija-vamī-ōttansa-*.⁸ For the sake of the metre *mallikīrtti* has been put for *kīrttimallī*.⁹ The *akshara ta* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹¹ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.¹² This word (which has been misread as *pada* and *paṭa*) is quite clear in the impressions; it is used in the sense of *sphuṭa*.¹³ Read -vamīa-.¹⁴ Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

- śrutim-ākalayya samarē nirvbbhi(rbbhi)nna-vira-dvishām=¹vallūraiḥ paripōrayanti
paritaḥ prētāḥ ku-
- 8 śūl-ōtkarān || [9*] Tasmin² Purandarapuri-tilakāyamānē dānē samunnata-matis=
tanayas=tadīyaḥ | sāmrajya-bhāra-vahan-aikadhuripa-vā(bā)huḥ śrī-Rājarāja-
nripatiḥ prithivīm śasā(śā)sa || [10*] ³Yasy=ōdyad-vāji-rāji-khura-śikhara-
bhara-kshuṇṇa-bhūchakra-sarppad-dhūli-jāl-āvakīrṇa-tridaśapurāsari-
- 9 d-bhūri-paṅkē vilagnam | nīrakrīḍā-nimajjat-surapatikariṇam vyākulāḥ Śakra-
bhṛityā dhṛitvā lāṅgūlam=ēkē karatalam=aparē tīram=uttōlayanti || [11*] ⁴Raṇa-
bhūvi yadi nityan=n-āhataḥ śatru-sārthaḥ⁵ tulita-Haribhujēna kshmaḥbhujā
śnēna nūnam | katham=iha kali-kālē kalpit=ānalpa-pāpa-praṇayi-
- 10 ni sura-śiṣṭiḥ srashtur=asyān=divi syāt || [12*] ⁶[Tē]n=ōḍhā purushōttamēna
Suramādēvi Ram=aiv=ārthato nāmā śntaḥpurasundarijana-śirōratnāṅkura-śrīr=
iyam | pratyāruhya tulāḥ priyēna saha śā yat=⁷svarṇa-śailān=dadāv=ētai[h]⁸
sphitatarā dhar=ārthibhir=ahō jāt=ārthini kēvalam || [13*] ⁹Sarvvan=na-
- 11 rēndra-tilakāḥ kalikāla-kalpāśākh[¹⁰ sukh-au]gham=anubhūya chiram sa rājā |
vriddhō śnujam manujarāja-nat-āṅghriyugmam rājyē śbhishiktam=akarōd=Aniyanāka-
bhīman || [14*] Sa¹¹ śrīmān=Aniyanākabhīma-nripatiḥ sāmrajyalakṣmī-patiḥ
pratyarthi-kṣhitipāla-mauli-tilakāḥ¹² tyakt-ārikānt-āla-
- 12 kaḥ | samprāpy=aiva samudra-mudrita-mahāchakraṇ=karāgra-sphurach=chakraṁ Śakra-
parākramas=samakarōd=Gaṅgēndra-chandraḥ kṣhaṇāt || [15*] Hē bhōgīndra kim=
āttha kūrma dharapī-bhāraḥ sa tuchchhō mahān¹³ jānāsi Trikalinganātha-
yasa(śa)sā khyātan=na jānē śrīṇu | dēvē śmin=vijaya-prayāna-rasikē prēm-
- 13 [kha]t-turaṅga-khura-kshōbh-ōddh[ū]ta-rajōbhīr=amva(mba)ram=agād=arddham kshamā-
maṇḍalam || [16*] Jātā saṅgara-nīradhēḥ sphurad-asivyālēndra-bhāsvad-
bhujāmanthādrēr=asat=iḥ vāñchhita-[va(ba)]hu-prītiḥ sadā śrīr=iyam | asminn=
ēva narā[dhi]nātha-tilakē sthairyān=gatā yat=punar=vvījan=tatra kil=āśya
śā(śā)śvata-
- 14 [m=a]sau jāgrad=yasāś-chandramāḥ || [17*] Udyad-digvijay-ārtha-sādhana-vidhau
Gaṅgānvaya-kshmaḥbhujān=divy-āstram chaturāṅgato=dhikatarāḥ sainyāt=sa ēkō=
bhavat | śrī-Svapnēśvaradēva ēva vilasat¹⁴ śāstra-kṣhat-āri-kṣharat-kilālaugha-
vinirmmit-āṣṭamamahābhōdhir=nnay-āmbhōnidhiḥ || [18*] Lakṣmīdēvyāḥ¹⁵
patir=a-
- 15 yam=adhō=nēna¹⁶ chakrē vali-dvi¹⁷ gōpālaya pri[ya]-suhṛid=ayam sarvva-kāryē=
chyutō śsau | Viśvaksēnō dharapir=iyam=apy=uddhṛitā yēna magnā [sō] śmin(ū)=
janmany=api sura(cha)ritair=ēśha¹⁸ Viśvambharō śbhūt || [19*] ¹⁹Yad-dāna-
rigalad-vāri-mātrikā bhūtāmātrikā | sasya-sampatti-sambhārair=ddīna-hīn=ābhavan=mahī
- 16 || [20*] ²⁰Kailāśādri-Himāchala-stanataṭa-vyāsaṅgi-Mandākinī-hāra-śrīr=yadi kirttir=asya
tilakam chandraṇ=kalaṅk-āśayāt | jyōtanā-hāsa-mukhī payōdhivasanā-kunda-dyuti[r*]=
nn=ātyajat kv=āyam syād=iha Chandrasēkhara-pad-ārūḍhō Mṛḍānī-patiḥ || [21*]
Bhaktiprahva-surāsurēndra-vilasan-maulistha-ratnāva-

¹ Read -*deśhām*.⁴ Metre : Mālinī.⁷ Read *yda*.⁹ Metre : Vasantatilakā.¹⁰ Read -*kalpāśākh*; the sign of *visarga* in this word seems to have been struck out already in the original.¹¹ Metre of verses 15-18 : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹² Read *mahān*.¹³ The *akṣura* na was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.¹⁴ Read *ba* (or *Ba*) *śi-dvī*.¹⁵ Metre of verses 21-23 : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.² Metre : Vasantatilakā.⁵ Read -*śrīthas*.⁶ This sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.³ Metre : Śragdbarā.⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹⁶ Read -*tilakās*.¹⁷ Metre : Mandākrāntā.¹⁸ Metre : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 17 li-chchhâyâ-sâkradhanu-sphurat-pada-lasan-Mêghêśvarasy-âmunâ | unnatyâ spara-parvvatô va(ba)hutara-dravya-vyayam kurvvatâ prâśadô rachitas=sudhâ-chchhavihasat-Kailâsa-sailêśvarah¹ || [22*] Svarṇâdriḥ sa sur-âlayô hari-khura-kshupṇas=cha pûrvvô girir=vvârūpyâ parichumvi(mbi)tô śsta-sikhari mânyah sa Gauri-
- 18 [gu]ruh | ity=ady=âpi parâṃśisha(śa)n=nava-nava-sthânām chalan-mandirô Lanikêndrêpa śil-ôchchayam griham=adaḥ prâptô śnavadyam Śivah || [23*] Iha² vijayinâ prâkâra-śrîr=mmahôpala-nirmmitâ jaladhara-gatir=atyunnatyâ nirôddhum=iv=ôddhatâ | kali-jalanidhêr=mmaryâdâli-bhayâd=iva tasya vai śarapa-
- 19 m=avisâd=dharmmô yatra Trinêtra-surakshayâ || [24*] ³Yâśân=netrâñchala-taralimâ viśvavaśy-aikamantraḥ pâda-nyâśas=tribhuvana-gati-stambhanam samvidhattê⁴ | nṛity-ârambhê valaya-maṇibhir=nnirmitâśyatna-dîpâs=tasmai dattâs=Tripura-jayinê tēna tās=tâ mṛigâkshyah || [25*] ⁵Upavanam=atha chakrê tēna Mêghêśva-
- 20 rasya sphurita-kusuma-rêṇu-śrêṇi-chandrâtapa-śrî | avirata-makaranda-syanda-sandôhavarashair=ddhṛita-Ratipati-lilâ-yantradhârâgrihatvam || [26*] ⁶Vanaśrî-muktâ-srak⁷ dara-dalita-pushp-ôtkara-milat-parâgair=bhṛing-âli kalita-sitimâ yatra japani⁸ | munêḥ Pushpâstrasya sphaṭika-ghaṭit-âkshâva-
- 21 lir=iyam=⁹vasant-ôdyan-matta-dvipa-śirasi nakshatra-vitatiḥ || [27*] Atyachchham¹⁰ śarad-amva(mba)rât=suraśa(sa)rit-tôyâch=cha pâp-âpaham gambhîran=naya-śâlinô=pi hṛidayât¹¹ | śitañ=cha chandra-dyutêḥ | hṛidya-svâdu sudhâ-rasâd=api sarô vâran=nidhêḥ sôdaran=tēn=âkhâni narêśvara-prapayinâ Mêghêśvarasy=â-
- 22 layê || [28*] Ânand-aikanikêtanam nayanayôḥ sa(śa)śvan=manahkairava-jyôtsnauḥ khalu Viśvakarmma-nipuṇa-vyâpâra-vaidagdhyâ-bhûḥ | grīshma-grāsa-bhaya-âtibhita-janatâ-śautīrya-durgg-âlayô mârḡgaḥ kīrtti-vijrimbhaṇasya jayinâ prôttambhitô maṇḍapah || [29*] Apâm¹² śâlâ-mâlâḥ pathi pathi tadâgâḥ prati-
- 23 puram pradîpâḥ sampûrṇâḥ prati-suragriham yasya vimalâḥ | mathâ vêd-âdinâm dvijapura-vihârâḥ prati-diśam virâjantê sa[t*]trâṇy=api cha paritas=sêturnivahâḥ || [30*] ¹³Ârâd=vra(bra)hmapuram Vṛi(bṛi)haspati-pura-sparddhi Smarârêḥ sad=âchâryam Viśṇum=abhisphura[d*]=dvijavara-grāmâya dharmmâtmanê | dattam tēna mudâ sad-ôdi-
- 24 ta-makha-prâravdha(bdha)-dhûmadhvaja-sphûrjjad-dhûma-chayēna yatra sa kali-vyâlah samutsâryatê || [31*] Tam¹⁴ pratyatishṭha[d*]=dvijarâja-pûjyah prâśadam=îśasya sa-nandaka-śrîḥ | sudarśanēn=ânvita ēsha Viśṇur=âchârya-râjah sa prithak¹⁵ na Viśṇôḥ || [32*] ¹⁶Udayana-kavis=tasy=âdêśât=praśasti-vilâsinim sulalita-padanyâsaiḥ sa(śa)śvad=vi-
- 25 [dagdha]-manôharâm | dhvanibhir=anîśam kapthê ślishtâm=alamkṛiti-hâripim=atirasatayâ śayy-âyâtâm prasâdhitavân=imâm || [33*] ¹⁷Yâva[j*]=jyôtsnâ-sudhânâś¹⁸ dharapi-phanipati yâvad=ambhōja-Lakshmyau yâvad=yâvach=cha Gaṅgâ-Himadharanidharau yâvad=êv=ârṇav-ôrmmi | vâg-artṇau yâvad=asminâ=chiram=anuvastô śdvaita-rûpê-
- 26 na lôkê tâvat=prâśada-kīrtti tribhuvana-kuharê râjatâm=asya nityam || [34*] Śrî || ¹⁹Disidhavalâ-dhîra-tanayah sa Chandradhavalah prâśastim=iha patṭê | saral-âkshara-mâlâbhir=Ililêkha Mêghêśvara-dvârê || [35*] Sûtradhârâ²⁰ Śivakaras=

¹ This compound (formed with *hasat* instead of *hasita*) is incorrect ; compare *-hasita-chandrô*, l. 4.

² Metre : Hariṇi.

³ Metre : Mandâkrântâ.

⁴ Read *samvidhattê*.

⁵ Metre : Mâlini.

⁶ Metre : Śikhariṇi.

⁷ Read *-srag-*.

⁸ This word might be (and has been) read *jayanî*.

⁹ Read *=iyam*.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 28 and 29 : Śârdûlavikṛidita.

¹¹ Read *ôgdch=chhî*.

¹² Metre : Śikhariṇi.

¹³ Metre : Śârdûlavikṛidita.

¹⁴ Metre : Upajâti.

¹⁵ Read *prithag-*.

¹⁶ Metre : Hariṇi.

¹⁷ Metre : Sragdharâ.

¹⁸ Read *-sudhânâś*.

¹⁹ Metre : Âryâ.

²⁰ Metre : Ślôka (Anushtubh).

sadvṛittām-akṣharāvalīm | nichakhāna śilā-paṭṭā muktāphala-nibhām=
iha || ॐ || [36 ||*]

B.—EULOGY OF BHATTA-BHAVADĒVA BĀLAVALABHĪBHUJAṄGA.

This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' broad by 1' 4½" high. The writing, here too, is carefully executed and, with the exception of about a dozen effaced *akṣaras* at the end of line 24, well preserved. The size of the letters is about ¼". The characters are similar to those of the inscription A. Contrary to what is the case in that inscription, *ṛṇ* as well as *rṭh*—*rgg* happens not to occur—are here denoted by signs without the superscript *r* (except perhaps in *samartham*-, l. 7). Moreover, *anusvāra* is written only by the superscript circle, and the sign of *avagraha* is nowhere employed. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the introductory *Ōm ōm namō bhagavatē Vāsudēva*, the effaced passage at the end of line 24, and the short line 25, the text is in verse. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental nasal is employed instead of *anusvāra* in the word *mīmāṃsā*, ll. 16 and 17, and in *tamānsi*, l. 16, and *līlāvataṃs-*, l. 19; and the word *śrīvatsa* is written *śrīvachchha*, l. 20. In a few places the rules of *saṃdhi* have been neglected by the writer; and in line 6 the author himself has written *śrī-Ādidēva* instead of *śrī-Ādidēva*, which would not have fitted into the verse. Otherwise the text is correct; and, for a *prastāvi*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.

The poem in line 25 is described as a eulogy of the *Bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious *Bhavadēva*, surnamed *Bālaivalabhibhujaṅga*. It was composed by his friend, the Brāhmaṇ Vāchaspati (v. 33). After the words 'Ōm, ōm! Adoration to the holy Vāsudēva!', the author in verse 1 invokes the blessing of the god Hari (Viṣṇu), and in verse 2 appeals to the goddess of speech to favour his task of proclaiming the praises of *Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadēva*'s family. Verses 3-14 give a sketch of *Bhavadēva*'s descent; vv. 15-26 eulogize him, chiefly for his scholarly achievements; and vv. 27-32 record the pious works which furnished the occasion for writing this *prastāvi*. The details are as follows:—

Of the villages granted to, and the homes of, Brāhmaṇs learned in the Vēdas who are born in the family of the sage Sāvarṇa, a hundred may adorn the lands of Āryāvarta; but foremost among all is Siddhala, which is the ornament of the country of Rāḍhā¹ (v. 3). At that village prospered a family to which belonged a certain *Bhavadēva* (v. 5), whose elder and younger brothers were *Mahādēva* and *Aṭṭahāsa* (v. 6). He, to whom the king of Gauḍa granted (the village of) *Hastinibhiṭṭa*, had eight sons, the chief (or eldest) of whom was *Rathāṅga* (v. 7). From *Rathāṅga* sprang *Atyāṅga*; and his son was *Budha*, surnamed *Sphurita* (v. 8). From him *Ādidēva* was born (v. 9), who became minister of peace and war (*saṃdhiyagrāhin*) of the king of *Vaṅga* (v. 10). His son was *Gōvardhana* (v. 11), distinguished as a warrior and a scholar (v. 12). He married² *Sāṅgokā*, the daughter of a *Vandyaghaṭṭiya*³ Brāhmaṇ (v. 13), and begat on her the person in whose honour this *prastāvi* was composed, *Bhavadēva* (v. 14), whom the poet glorifies as a divine being, while he indicates his worldly position by telling us that, aided by his counsel, (the king) *Harivarmadēva* long exercised the government, and that his policy rendered prosperous the reign of that king's son also (v. 16). More interesting is the

¹ Generally speaking, that part of Bengal which is west of the Hūgli and south of the Ganges. Like *Vaṅga*, it belonged to the Gauḍa country. In a *Khajurāhō* inscription it is stated that the wives of the kings of Kāñchi, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga were imprisoned by the Chandōlla *Dhaṅgadēva*; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 138.

² From verse 11 it appears that *Gōvardhana*'s mother was *Dēvaki*, and that he himself had another wife named *Sarasvatī*.

³ A member of that high family or class of Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇs which Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 189, note) calls 'Bandyagati, vulgarly Banoji.' *Vandyaghaṭṭiya* occurs as the surname of *Sarvānanda*, the author of a commentary on the *Amarakōśa*; see Prof. Aufrecht's *Cat. Cat.* Vol. I. p. 703, and Dr. Burnell's *Tanjore Cat.* p. 46.

account of Bhavadēva's attainments as a scholar (vv. 20-25), which as far as possible may be given in the author's own words :—

(V. 20.) A pattern of those who know the Brahma's non-duality, a creator of wonder to those (even) who are learned themselves, a sage who comprehends the deep meaning of Bhaṭṭa's¹ lays, a very Agastya to the Bauddha sea, clever in refuting the devices of cavilling heretics, he playfully acts the part of the Omniscient on earth.

(V. 21.) Seeing across the ocean of the *Saṃhitās*, *Tantras*² and computation, causing wonder to all by his knowledge of astrology,³ himself the author and promulgator of a new work on horoscopy (*hōrā-śāstra*), he clearly has proved another Varāha.⁴

(V. 22.) In the several branches of law he has eclipsed the old expositions by composing suitable treatises of his own; by a good comment elucidating the verses on law of the sages, he has swept away all doubt regarding the rites taught by the *Smṛitis*.

(V. 23.) In the *Mīmāṃsā*, by following the lead of Bhaṭṭa, he has composed that well-known guide whose thousand maxims, like the rays of the sun, do not endure darkness. What need is there to say more? Proficient in the whole range of sacred hymns, in all the arts of the poets, in every traditional lore, in the works on worldly affairs, in the sciences of medicine and of arms, *etc.*, he indeed is without a second.

(V. 24.) By whom, indeed, is his (other) name Bālavālabhībhujaṅga not honoured—a name, heard and celebrated and chanted with rapture even by the *Mīmāṃsā*?

(V. 25.) Restoring to life all the world by his magical spells which are like the morning tunes of music to the night of stupefaction caused by the bites of fanged furious serpents, he, a new vanquisher of death, in sporting with poisons has proved (a very) Nīlakaṇṭha.⁵

This Bhavadēva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Rāḍhā (v. 26). Moreover, at the place where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) (v. 27); and founded a temple of the god (v. 28), in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v. 29). He also gave to Harimādhya (Viṣṇu) a number of female attendants (v. 30), and had a tank dug in front of his temple (v. 31), and a garden laid out in its neighbourhood (v. 32).

The interest of this inscription lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar of whom, so far as we know, at least two literary works are still extant. From the more definite statements in the verses which have been translated above, it appears that, in astronomy and astrology, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva was the author of a *Hōrā-śāstra*; that he wrote one or more treatises and a commentary relating to law or to religious rites; and that, as a student of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, he composed a work connected with the writings of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila. His *Hōrā-śāstra* has not been traced yet in the published catalogues. But as regards his other works, Prof. Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* under No. 1725 describes a Ms. of the '*Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa*'⁶ (or *prakaraṇa*), 'a treatise on expiatory rites, 'composed by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva, surnamed Bālavālabhībhujaṅga'; and under

¹ I.e. Kumārila, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā-tantraśrītiika*, *etc.*

² *Saṃhitā* in its wider sense denotes a complete course of the *jyōtiṣśāstra*, of which *tantra* is the special branch treating of the motions of the heavenly bodies; in a narrower sense the word denotes that branch of astrology which is also called *śākhā*. See Dr. Thibaut's *Astronomie*, p. 64.

³ *Phala-saṃhitā* apparently is equivalent to *phala-grantha*, 'a work describing the effects (of celestial phenomena on the destinies of men).'

⁴ I.e. the well-known writer on astronomy, *etc.*, Varāhamihira.

⁵ I.e. the god Śiva, on whom the poison which he swallowed at the churning of the ocean, beyond leaving a blue mark on his throat, had no effect whatever.

⁶ The second of the introductory verses of this work is: *Manu-dīpī-smṛiti-mādhya-sa-viśvāya yathā-kramam | kriyātī Bhavadēva prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇam ||*

No. 2166 a Ms. of the 'Tautātīmatatīlaka, a gloss on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*,' by the same author.—What is the exact meaning of the surname *Bālavālabhibhujāṅga*, and why Bhavadēva was so called, is not apparent.

Our inscription is not dated. It has indeed been stated¹ that line 24, part of which is effaced, ends with *samvat 32*; but this by itself would be of no value, and besides it seems more probable to me that the line really ended with *samkhyā 33*, a statement which I should take to refer to the number of verses of this *prastāvi*. On palaeographical grounds I do not hesitate to assign this record, like the preceding one, to about A.D. 1200.

The villages *Siddhala* and *Hastinibhīṭṭa* which are mentioned in the inscription, and the king or chief *Harivarmadēva*, who was a contemporary of *Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva*, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm³ ōm namō bhagavatē Vāsudēv[ā]ya⁴ || ⁵Gādhōpagūḍha-Kamalā-kucha-kumbha-pattra-mudr-āṅkitēna⁶ vapushā parirīpsamāna[h] | mā lupyatām=abhinavā vanamālik=ēti Vāgdēvat-ōpahasitō=stu Hariḥ śriyē vaḥ || [1*] Vā(bā)lyāt=prabhṛity-ahar=ahar=yyad=upāsīt=āsi Vāgdē-
- 2 vatē tad=adhunā phalatu prasīda | vaktāsmi **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadēva-kula-praśasti-sūktāksharāṇi** rasan-āgram=adhiśrayēthāḥ || [2*] **Sāvarṇṇasya⁷** munēr=mmahīyasi kulē yē jñūirē śrōtriyās=tēshām śāsana-bhūmayō janigriha-⁸grāmāḥ śatām santu tē | **Āryāvartta-bhuvām=vi.⁹**
- 3 bhūshapam=iha khyātas=tu sarvv-āgrīmō grāmāḥ **Siddhala** ēva kēvalam=alāṅkārō=sti **Rāḍhā-śriyāḥ** || [3*] ¹⁰Sat-pallavaḥ sthitimayō dṛiḍhava(ba)ddha-mūlaḥ śākhāgra-lagna-mukhara-dvija-ślīta-śrīḥ | na granthilō na kuṭilāḥ saralāḥ suparvvā sarvv-ōnnataḥ sukham=iha prasasāra vaṁśāḥ || [4*]
- 4 ¹¹Tadvamś-ōttamśa-manēḥ¹² kalāśyadāt=āpi¹³ tāpana-pratimāḥ | Bhava iva vidyā-tattva-prabhavaḥ prava(ba)bhūva **Bhavadēvaḥ** || [5*] ¹⁴Agraj-ānujayōr=mmadhyē **Mahādēv-Āṭṭahāsayōḥ** | sa jajñē Yajñapurushō Viriñchi-Harayōr=iva || [6*] Sa¹⁵ śāsanam Gauda-nripād=avā-
- 5 pa śrī-Hastinibhīṭṭam=abhiśhṭa-bhūmi¹⁶ | ashṭau sutān=ashta-Mahēsa-mūrtti-prakhyān vijajñē=tha **Rathāṅga-mukhyān** || [7*] ¹⁷Rathāṅgād-Atyaṅgaḥ samajani janānanda-jananāḥ śās=iva kshīrōdād=avikala-kalā-kēli-nilayaḥ | sphurat-prajñāyōtiḥ **Sphurita** iti nāmnā di-
- 6 śi diśi prakāśō=bhūt=saumya-graha iva **Vu(bu)dhas=tasya tanayaḥ** || [8*] ¹⁸Tasmād=abhūd=abhijan-ābhyuday-aikaviḥjam=avyāja-pauruṣa-mahātaru-mūlakandaḥ |

¹ See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 98, note, where Mr. Prinsep says: "the missing sentence consists of nothing more than the month (illegible) and the year "Samvat 32" distinctly visible."

² From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Originally *devaya* was engraved.

⁵ Metre of verses 1 and 2: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ Originally *akṣitō* and in the place of *na vapushā* something else (*nava-vadhūm*?) seems to have been engraved.

⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Originally *janigrihām* was engraved, but the sign of *anusvāra* has been apparently struck out.

⁹ Read *-bhuvām vi.*

¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹¹ Metre: Āryā.

¹² Read *-manīḥ*.

¹³ The *akṣaras dīdāpi* are quite clear in the impressions; the three preceding *akṣaras*, in which some correction has been made, look like *kalāṅga* or *kēlāṅga*. I can only suggest the reading *kal-dvadditō-pi*.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁶ The *editio princeps* reads here *śrī-Hastinidishṭamabhiśhṭabhūmi*, but the reading given by me is perfectly clear in the impressions. With the ending *bhīṭṭa* of the name *Hastinibhīṭṭa* I would compare *hīṭṭ* in the name *Champdhīṭṭ*, which occurs in line 44 of the Manahali plate of the Pāla Madanapāla, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIX. Part I. p. 72.

¹⁷ Metre: Śikharīṇī.

¹⁸ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- śrī-Ādideva¹ iti dēva iv=Ādimūrttir=mma[r]ty-ātmanā bhuvanam=ētat=alamkarishṇuḥ || [9*] Yō² Vaṅgarāja-
- 7 rājyaśrī-viśrāma-sachivaḥ śuchiḥ | mahāmantri mahāpātram=avandhyaḥ sandhivigrahī || [10*] Sa³ Dēvaki-garvbha(rbbha)bhavam bhuvah sthitau samartham=uchchahīpada-lavdha(bdha)-paurusham | Sarasvati-jānim=ajijanat=sutam jagatsu Gōvarddhanam=Achyut-ōpamam || [11*] ⁴Vīra-sthaliṣhu cha sabhāsu cha ti-
- 8 rthikānām⁵ dō[r]-llilayā cha kalayā cha vachasvitāyāḥ | yō varddhayan vasumatīn=cha Sarasvatīn=cha dvēdhā vyadhata nija-nāmapadam sad-artham || [12*] Vandyām⁶ Vandyaghaṭiyasya vra(bra)hmaṇaḥ prayatām sutām | Sāṅgōkām=aṅganā-ratnam=patnīm sa paripitavān || [13*] Tasyām⁷ svapna-[vi]dhā-
- 9 na-vō(bō)dhita-nij-ōtpādaḥ sa dēvō Harir-jātaḥ śrī-Bhavadēva-mūrttir=amutaḥ kshamāmapḍali-Kaśyapāt | yat-pāpi-praṇayi dvayañ=jalajayōr=ālakshitam lakshmaṇa yasy=āntar=nnihitō=sti kaustubha iti jūṭam prakāś-ōdayāt || [14*] Lakshmn=dakshina-dōshṇi mantra-vibhavē viśva-
- 10 mbharā-maṇḍalam jihv-āgrē cha Sarasvatīm ripu-tanau nāg-āntakam pattrinam | chakram=pāda-talē nivēsitavatā divyan=tad=ādyam=⁸vapur=nihnōtun=nija-chihnam=ētat=amunā nūnam=⁹viparyāsitam || [15*] ¹⁰Yan-mantra-śakti-sachivaḥ suchiram chakāra rājyam sa dharmma-vijayī
- 11 Harivarmmadēvaḥ | tan-nandanē valati yasya cha daṇḍanīti-vartm-ānugā va(ba)hala-kalpalat-ēva lakshmiḥ || [16*] ¹¹Sat-pātrasya mahāśayasya kamal-ādhārasya yasya khamām=vi(bi)bhrāṇasya guṇ-āmva(mbu)dhēr=akalitas=āntar=na dīn-ātmanah | maryyādā-mahima-prasā-
- 12 da-śuchitā-gāmbhīryya-dhairyya-sthiti-prāyāḥ prāyāśa ēva vāk-patham=atīkrāntāḥ svadantē guṇāḥ || [17*] ¹²Mahāgaūrī kīrttiḥ sphuradasi-karālā bhūja-latā rapa-kīṛḍā chaṇḍī ripu-rudhira-charchchā rapa-bhuvah || [18*] mahā-lakshmir=mmūrttiḥ prakṛiti-lali-
- 13 tās=tā gira iti prapañchah śaktinām yam=iha Paramēśam prathayati || [18*] ¹³Yad-vrā(bṛā)hma-tējasi va(ba)liyasi manda-vīryah khadyōta-pōta-karaṇim tarānis=tanōti | uchchair=udañchati yadiya-yaśah-śarirē jātas=Tushāra-sikharī nanu jānudaghnaḥ || [19*] ¹⁴Vra(bra)hmā-
- 14 dvaita-vidām=udāharapa-bhūr=udbhūtavidy-ādbhuta-srashtā Bhaṭṭa-girām gabhīrima-guṇa-pratyakshadriśvā kaviḥ | Van(bau)ddhāmbhōnidhi-Kumbhasambhava-muniḥ pāṣaṇḍa-vaitaṇḍika-prajñā-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitō=yam=avanau sarvvajñalīlāyatē || [20*] ¹⁵Siddhānta-tantra-gaṇi-
- 15 t-ārṇava-pāradriśvā viśv-ādbhuta-prasavitā phala-samhitāsu | karttā svayam prathayitā cha navina-hōrāśāstrasya yaḥ sphuṭam=abhūd=aparō Varāhaḥ || [21*] Yō dharmmaśāstra-pādaṇḍishu jaran-niva(ba)ndhān=andhichakāra rachit-ōchita-satprava(ba)ndhaḥ | su-vyākhyayā viśada-
- 16 yan=muni-dharmmagāthāḥ smārttakriyā-vishaya-samśayam=unmamārjja || [22*] ¹⁶Mimānsāyām=upāyaḥ sa khalu virachitō yēna Bhaṭṭ-ōkta-nityā yatra nyāyāḥ

¹ For the sake of the metre put for śrī-Ādideva.

² Metre: Vāmāsthā.

³ This word is quite clear in the impressions.

⁴ Metre of verses 14 and 15: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁵ Read *śānta*.

⁶ Metre: Śikharīṭi.

⁷ Metre of verses 21 and 22: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹¹ Read *ddya*.

¹² Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁶ Metre: Śragdhara. — Read *mimānsāyām*.

- sahasram ravikirana-samā na khamantē tamānai¹ | kim bhūmnā simni
sāmnām sakala-kavikalāsv-āgamēshv-ārtha-
- 17 śāstrēshv=āyu[r]vved-āstravēda-prabhṛtiṣhu kṛita-dhīr=advitīyō=yam=ēva || [23*]
Yasya² khalu Vā(bā)lavalabhibhujāṅga iti nāma n=ādṛitaṁ kēna |
mīmāṁsay=³āpi sapulakam=ākarṇita-varṇit-ōdgītaṁ || [24*] ⁴Dāmshtṛāla-dushta-
bhujaga-vraṇa-môharātri-pratyūsha-tūryya-nina-
- 18 dair=iva mantravarṇaiḥ | yō jīvayan⁵ jagad=asēsham=abhūd=apūrvva-mṛityuñjayō
garala-kēlishu Nilakaṇṭhaḥ || [25*] ⁶Rādhāyām=ajalāsu jāṅgalapatha-
grāmōpakaṇṭha-sthalī-sīmāsu śramamagna-pāntha-parishat-prāṇāsaya-prīṇanaḥ | yēn=
ākāri jalāsayaḥ pa-
- 19 risara-snāt-ābhijātāṅganā-vaktrāvja(bja)-pratīvi(bi)mva(mba)-mugdha-m a d h u p i - s ā n y -
āvji(bji)nikānanaḥ || [26*] Tēn=āyam bhagavān bhavārṇava-samuttārāya
Nārāyaṇaḥ sailaḥ sētur=iva prasādhita-dharāpīṭhaḥ pratishṭhāpitaḥ | yaḥ
prāchi-vadanēndu-nīlatilakō līlāvataṇṣ-⁷ōtpalaṁ bhū-
- 20 mēr=bhūtala-pārijātaviṭapi sāmkalpasiddhi-pradaḥ || [27*] Tēna⁸ prāsāda ēsha
Tripurahara-giri-sparddhayā varddhita-śrīḥ śrīmān⁹ śrīvachchha(tsa)-lakshma
Harir=iva vihitō visphurach-chakrachihnaḥ | jītvā yō Vaijayantaṁ viyati
vitanutē vaijayanti-vilāsān Kailāśē
- 21 n=ābhilāsham kalayati Girīśō yasya samlakshya lakshminī || [28*] ¹⁰Nyavivīśad=
vśmani tatra Viṣṇōḥ sa nirvbha(rbbha)raṁ garvbha(rbbha)grih-āntarēshu |
Nārāyaṇ-Ānanta-Nṛsimha-mūrttir=vvidhātri-vaktrēshv=iva vēda-vidyāḥ || [29*]
Ētasmai¹¹ Harimēdhasē vasumatīvisrānta-Vidyādhari-vibhrānti-
- 22 n=dadhatīḥ śataṁ sa hi dadau śāraṅgāsāvi-dṛisāḥ | dagdhasy=Ōgradṛisā dṛis=aiva
disatīḥ Kāmasya samjīvanam kārāḥ kāmī-janasya saṅgama-griham saṅgita-kēli-
śrīyām || [30*] ¹²Prāsād-āgrē sa khalu jagataḥ puṇyapaṇy-aikavīthīm chakrē
vāpīm marakatamaṇi-sva-
- 23 chchha-suchchhāya-tōyām | madhyē-vāri pratikṛiti-mishād=darsayant=iva tādṛig=
Viṣṇōr=ddhām=ādbhutam=ahi-kulasy=ādhikam yā chakāsti || [31*] Vyadhita¹³
vivu(bu)dha-dhāmnaḥ simni samsāra-sāraṁ sa khalu nikhila-nētr-ānanda-nisyanda-
pātraṁ | tribhuvanajaya-khinn-Ānaṅga-viśā-
- 24 ma-dhāma prathita-rati-vibhāva-sthānam=udyāna-ratnam || [32*] ¹⁴Tasy=aiva priya-
suhṛidā dvij-āgrimēṇa śrī-Vāchaspati-kavinā kṛitā prasastiḥ | ā-kalpaṁ śuchi-
suradhāma-mūrtti-kīrttār=adhyāstām jaghanam=iyam suva[rṇa]-kāñchi || [33*]
¹⁵ [sa]m[kh]yā [33 ?]¹⁶ [||*]
- 25 Prasastir=iyam Vā(bā)lavalabhibhujāṅg-āparanāmnō Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Bhavadēvasya ||

¹ Read tamānsi.² Metre: Āryā³ Read mīmāṁsay=.⁴ Metre: Vasantatīlakā.⁵ Read jīvayan=.⁶ Metre of verses 26 and 27: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁷ Read vātanaḥ.⁸ Metre: Śragdharā.⁹ Read śrīmān=.¹⁰ Metre: Upajāti.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹² Metre: Mandākrantā.¹³ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁴ Metre: Prabhāṣinī.¹⁵ Here about 8 akṣaras are entirely illegible.¹⁶ Of the word transcribed by [sa]m[kh]yā the signs of anusvāra and kh seem to me quite clear in the impressions, and the word is not samvat. The figures (if they are such) at the end of the line seem to me 33 rather than 32.

No. 18.—ALAS PLATES OF THE YUVARAJA GOVINDA II.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 692.

BY DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined grant were found in the village of Alās in the Kurundwād State, Bombay Presidency, while an old earth-buttress was being excavated. The Senior Chief of Kurundwād, to whom the village belongs, sent the plates to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who made them over to me for publication.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 9½" long by 5½" broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. The edges are fashioned slightly thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second plate. They are strung together by a circular ring of about 3½" in diameter and of about ⅜" in thickness, passing through holes on the left sides of the plates. The ends of the ring are joined together by means of a large knob bearing a round seal, which measures 1½" in diameter and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of Garuḍa above a floral device, seated with the palms of his hands joined close to his breast and with his wings raised.—The engraving is fairly deep, but not well executed. The letters *ka* and *ma* have been most indifferently incised. A few other letters, again, have unusual shapes and consequently are scarcely legible.—The characters are of the southern type which came into vogue at the time of the later Chalukyas of Bādāmi. For *kha* two forms are used, one in line 2 and the other in ll. 7 and 44. The letter *la* has been written in three different ways, in ll. 1, 9 and 32. The sign denoting the medial *ri* is invariably reversed in the case of *kṛi*. And lastly, the side-stroke towards the left used to signify *ḍ* is very often attached to the bottom, and not to the top, of the letter, e.g. in ll. 11 and 24.—The language is Sanskrit throughout. The grant commences with the usual word *svasti*. Then follows the curt line *sa vō=vyād=maḥā-Viṣṇuḥ*, and not the verse *sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma, etc.*, which we find at the beginning of almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants. Then nearly 20 lines are in verse, and the rest is in prose, excluding the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end. Most of the verses are found in the Sāmāgaḍ plates and in the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa grants, but all of them occur only in the Paīṭhaṇ charter of Gōvinda III.—As regards orthography, it is worthy of note (1) that the rules of *saṁdhi* are not unfrequently disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*. Thus the consonant is doubled in *sarvaśiṣhu* (l. 2), *sarva-ārti-nirmmathanē* (l. 20), etc., but not in *gōtamanir=babhāva* (l. 5 f.) etc.; (3) that there is a tendency to the substitution of *ḷa* for *la*, e.g. in *sakaḷa* (l. 22) and *Mānāvalōka* (l. 27); (4) that the final *m* of a word has been twice changed to *ñ* before *cha* of the following word, in ll. 16 and 38; and (5) that the *visarga* followed by *śa*, *sha* or *sa* is almost invariably changed to that letter, e.g. in *bhūpaś=śaśāṁka°* (l. 2), *vash=shaṣ°* (l. 29), and *yas=sahasā* (l. 12).

This grant was made by Gōvindarāja (II.),—the son of Kṛishṇarāja (I.) (vv. 7, 8) of the Rāshtrakūṭa family (v. 3), surnamed Śubhatuṅga (v. 9), Akālavarsha (v. 10) and Śrīprithivīvallabha (l. 20 f.). Gōvindarāja was Yuvarāja or crown-prince at the time (l. 24). He had the special *birudas* of Prabhūtararsha and Vikramāvalōka (l. 23 f.). Of the time of Kṛishṇa I. we have no record, and this is the first hitherto discovered that refers itself to his reign. The charter was issued by Gōvindarāja from his camp located near the confluence of the Kṛishṇaverṇā and the Musī (l. 26), after he had humbled the lord of Vēṅgi. It is dated, in words, in the six-hundred-and-ninety-second year of the Śaka era, on the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha, Saumya being the Jovian year (ll. 29-31), i.e. in A.D. 769. The grant was made, we are told, at the request of one Vijayāditya, also styled Mānāvalōka Ratnavarsha, son of Dantivarman and grandson of Dhruvarāja (ll. 26-28). The grantee was a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Jaggu, son of Śrīdhara and grandson of Kēśava, of the Bhārad-vāja gōtra (l. 31 f.).

Wars frequently took place between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas who were the kings of Vēṅgi. The Rādhapur plates¹ of Gōvinda III. inform us that, in obedience to his message, the lord of Vēṅgi attended upon him as a servant. The Śīrūr inscription² states that worship was done to Amoghavarsha I. by the ruler of Vēṅgi. Again, Kṛishṇa II. is represented to have overrun the territory of the king of Vēṅgi.³ One record⁴ also mentions that Gōvinda IV. waged war with the lord of Vēṅgi. But from these plates it appears that hostilities had sprung up between the two rival dynasties long before the time of Gōvinda III. For, Gōvinda-rāja, son of Kṛishṇa I., is herein represented, while he was prince royal, to have reduced the king of Vēṅgi, and this event came off as early as the Śaka year 692 which is the date of our grant.

The verses descriptive of the genealogy teach us nothing new. It, however, deserves to be noticed that our grant mentions **Dantivarman** as the name of the predecessor of Kṛishṇa I., instead of **Dantidurga** as we find in all the Rāshtrakūṭa records except the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates of this king, where both the names occur. Again, the early date of our grant settles a point regarding which there is a little divergence of opinion. A copper-plate charter from Kardā⁵ dated A.D. 972 states that Dantidurga, having left no issue, was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrā grant⁶ of A.D. 867 simply says that, after the death of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I. came to the throne. But the Baroda charter⁷ of A.D. 812 omits the name of Dantidurga and asserts that Kṛishṇa I. ascended the throne by ousting a relative of his who had taken to vicious courses. Since this last charter is a much earlier record and passes over Dantidurga, it has led some to suppose that Dantidurga was the relative whom Kṛishṇa I. ousted, and that the statements of the remaining two grants mentioned above must be discredited on the ground that they bear a later date.⁸ But against this it may be urged that the verse in the Bagumrā plates which says that, after Dantidurga had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇa I. became king, is also found in the Paithan grant⁹ of Gōvinda III. dated in A.D. 794. This surely is an earlier record than the Baroda charter of A.D. 812 just referred to. Nay further, the same verse also occurs in our grant, which was issued in the reign of Kṛishṇa I. himself. The assertion, therefore, that Dantidurga was the relative whose throne Kṛishṇa I. usurped, has no grounds to stand upon, and the omission of the name of Dantidurga in the Baroda charter may be explained away on the ground that the object of the writer was only to trace the genealogy of the reigning prince, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral.

As regards the rivers mentioned in the inscription, the **Kṛishṇavernā**, it need scarcely be said, is the river Kṛishṇā. The **Musi** has preserved its name unaltered to the present day; it is the last important feeder of the Kṛishṇā and joins it on the confines of the modern Kistna district of the Madras Presidency. **Alaktakā**, the name of the province (*vishaya*, l. 32), a village of which was granted, corresponds to the present **Āḷatā**, the name of a division in the Kōlhāpur State. **Arasiyavāḍa** (l. 34), the first part of which can be recognised in **Alās**, the place where the plates were found, is perhaps now represented by that village.

TEXT.¹⁰

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] स बोध्याग्रहावि[ष्णु]रासीद्विपत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो¹¹

2 ¹²ध्वस्तनयवभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [॥*] भूपश्याकवदवास-¹³

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 270.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 162.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. III. p. 106.

¹¹ Read °विष्णुः ॥ रासीद्विपत्तिः.

¹² In other Rāshtrakūṭa grants the reading is भूपः शुचिर्विचुरिवाम्.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 219.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 267.

⁶ See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 391.

¹⁰ From the original plates.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XX. p. 103.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 187.

¹³ Read अस्ति नय°.

- 3 दिगन्तकीर्त्तिः¹ गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः [॥ १*] तस्यात्म-
 4 [जी]² जगति विश्रुतदीप्तकीर्त्तिः³ आर्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारि⁴ [॥ १*]
 5 भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुक्तः कृतज्ञः श्रीककराज इति गोचम-
 6 णिर्वभूव । [२*] तस्य प्र[भि]न्नकरटच्युत[दा]नदन्तिदन्तप्रहा-
 7 र[रु]चिरोल्लिखितांसपोठः[*] । क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपित[श]चुरभू-
 8 त्तनूजः स[द्रा]ष्टकूटक[नका]द्विरिवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ३*] तस्योपार्जितयशसः(-)
 9 स्तनय[स्]तुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः [॥ १*] भो[क्ता] भुवश्चत[क्र]तुसदृश[*] श्री-
 10 'दद्विवर्माभूत् । [४*] का[क्षी]शकेरळनराधिपचोळपाण्यश्रीर्षवज्रट[वि]-
 11 भेदविधा[न]दत्तं [॥ १*] कर्णाटक⁵ बलंमनन्तमजेय[म]न्त्रैः⁶ मृत्यैः कि-
 12 य[द्वि]रपि यस्मिन्[सा] जिगाय । [५*] अश्वविभंगमगृहितनिशातशस्त⁷

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 अज्ञात[म]प्रणिहितान्न[मं]पेतयन्नं⁸ [॥ १*] [यो] वल्लभं सपदि दण्ड[बले]न
 14 जिह्वा⁹ राजाधिराजपर[मे]श्वरतामवाप [॥ ६*] तस्मिन्[न्दि]वं प्रयाते
 वल्लभराजे पि-¹¹
 15 तौ प्रजापालः [॥ १*] श्रीककर[॥ १*]ज[स्]तुर्माहीपति¹² कृष्णराजोभूत¹³ [॥ ७*]
 यस्य स्वभुज-
 16 पराक्रमनिश्शेषोत्सारितारिदिक्रकः¹⁴ [॥ १*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं च[रि]त¹⁵ श्रीकृष्णस्य¹⁶ ।
 [८*] शु-
 17 भतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरे[णू]र्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं ॥ श्रीक्षेपि¹⁷ नभो [निखि]-
 18 ल¹⁸ प्रावृट्प्रायते स्यष्टं [॥ ९*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु
 19 य[धिष्ट]वेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [॥ १*] तत्क्षणमकाल-
 20 व[र्षो] वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्मथने । [१०*] तस्याकालवर्ष¹⁹ श्रीप्रिधि-
 21 वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य(१) प्रिया-
 22 [त्स]जः²⁰ सकळभुवनाभिष्टुतयौवराज्याभिषेकपवित्रीकृतोत्तमां²¹
 23 गः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः प्रभूतवर्षविक्रमा-
 24 वलीकश्रीगोविन्दराजो युवराजः²² वैगिमण्डलीपथ्या-

¹ Read °कीर्त्तिर्गोविन्द°.

² Read °कीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्ति°.

³ Read कर्णाटकं बलम°.

⁴ Read °मपेत°.

⁵ Read °पतिः°.

⁶ Read °क्षयं चरितं°.

⁷ Read निखिलं°.

⁸ The letter *m* in *smas* is unfinished and stands at an unusual distance from the other component of the group

⁹ Read °यौवराज्या°.

² The letter जी is very badly engraved.

⁴ Read °धारी°.

⁷ Read °मैर्ध्वैः°.

¹⁰ Read जिह्वा°.

¹³ Read °भूत्°.

¹⁶ Read श्रीककराजस्य°.

¹⁹ Read °वर्षश्रीक्षेपि°.

²² Read युवराजो°.

⁵ Read °दन्ति°.

⁶ Read °गृहीतनिशातशस्तमज्ञात°.

¹¹ Read क्षितौ°.

¹⁴ Read °दिक्चक्रं°.

¹⁷ Read श्रीक्षेपि°.

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10
12 12

ii a.

14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22
24 24

ii b.

26 26
28 28
30 30
32 32

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate, between lines 30 and 32.

iii.

34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate, between lines 38 and 40.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 यातविजयस्कन्धावारे कीशदण्डात्मभूमिसमर्पणे-
 26 नानते वेगीशे कृष्णवेष्णासु[सी]संगमे ध्रुवराज-
 27 पौत्रेण दन्ति[व]र्म्मपुत्रेण माणावळोकरवर्षश्रीविज-
 28 यादित्येनाभ्यर्थितो ¹विक्रमावळोकरसर्वानाम-
 29 न्नयति सः ²[।*] विदित[म]स्तु ³वषट्कृते दिनवत्यधिके शक-
 30 वर्षे सौम्यसंव[त्स]रे⁴ आषाढशुक्लपक्षे सप्त-
 31 म्यां भारद्वाजगोत्राय केशवपौत्राय श्रीधरपुत्राय
 32 जम्बुनाम्ने ब्राह्मणाय अलक्तकाविषये हरिय-
 33 गिरेईक्षिणदिग्भागे प्रसादिनीतटे ⁵उत्तरइ-⁶

Third Plate.

- 34 ना[मा अर]सियवाडग्राम[वाने]न सह सभोगो दत्तः [।*]
 35 [पूर्व]स्यां दिशि ⁷परचुरगेनामग्रामः दक्षिणस्यां नीवीवा-
 36 ड[ब्रा]ह्मणग्रामः पश्चिमस्यां मन्जिमग्रामः उत्तरस्यां प-
 37 र्वत एव [।*] इति चतुराघाटशुद्धः [।*] एवं विदित्वास्मदंशेर-
 38 न्यैश्च स्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परिपालनीयः [।*] उक्तञ्च
 39 भ[ग]वता वेदव्यासेन (वेद)व्यासेन । बहु[भि]र्वसुधा
 40 दत्ता (।) राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः⁸
 41 तस्य तस्य तदा पलं⁹ । [११*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति
 42 भूमदः¹⁰ [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च (।) तान्येव नर[क]¹¹ वसेत् ॥
 [१२*]
 43 विभ्याटविश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] [कृष्णा]ह[यो] हि
 44 जायन्ते ¹²ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः [॥ १३*] श्रीसेनेन लिखितमिदं . ति¹³ [॥*]

¹ This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in l. 23-24.

² The letters ति स are omitted in the text, but supplied at the foot of the plate; this omission has been indicated by a cross after स.

³ First वी was engraved, and then it was corrected into व by erasure.

⁴ Here and in the following the rules of *samāhi* have not been observed.

⁵ I am not certain of the reading of the text from उत्तरइ to सह in the next line.

⁶ After उ two letters had originally been engraved, but were afterwards erased. For these the three letters चरर are to be substituted as is indicated by the cross. ⁷ परचुरगे¹⁰ is also possible.

⁸ Read भूमिपल.

⁹ Read पलं.

¹⁰ Read भूमिदः.

¹¹ Read नरकै.

¹² Read ब्रह्म.

¹³ The letter before ति looks like श्री, which perhaps is a mistake for इ.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail ! May the great Vishnu protect you !

(Verse 1.) There was a king named **Gōvindarāja (I.)**, a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, (*and*) who, raising his scimitar (*and*) facing (*them*), destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the moon, whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (*above the horizon*), (*and transmitting her rays*) straight forward, dispels darkness at night.

(V. 2.) His son, known as the glorious **Kakkarāja (I.)**, a king whose brilliant fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari,¹ who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven, (*and*) who was grateful (*for services rendered*), became a jewel of (*his*) race.

(V. 3.) His son, king **Indrarāja (II.)**, whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the strokes of the tusks of (*hostile*) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down,² (*and*) who destroyed (*all his*) enemies on earth, became, as it were, the golden mountain (Mêru) of the excellent **Rāshṭrakūṭas**.

(V. 4.) The son of him who had acquired fame, the glorious **Dantivarman (II.)**, who resembled Indra, enjoyed the earth whose garland is the circle of the four oceans.

(V. 5.) With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the countless forces of **Karṇāṭaka**, which were invincible to others, (*and*) which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of **Kāñchi**, the king of **Kēraḷa**, the **Chōḷa**, the **Pāṇḍya**, **Śrīharsha** and **Vajraṭa**.

(V. 6.) Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without (*anybody's*) knowledge, without giving orders, without effort, he suddenly conquered **Vallabha** by the (*mere*) force of (*his*) royal sceptre (*i.e.* majesty) and attained to the state of 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'³

(V. 7.) When that **Vallabharāja** had gone to heaven, king **Kṛishṇarāja (I.)**, the son of the glorious **Kakkarāja (I.)**, became the protector of (*his*) subjects on earth.

(V. 8.) The career of that glorious **Kṛishṇarāja (I.)**, during which the multitude of enemies in (*all*) directions was completely driven away by the prowess of his arms, was spotless like that of **Kṛishṇa**.

(V. 9.) The whole sky, wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of **Śubhatuṅga** (**Kṛishṇarāja I.**), looked clearly like (*the sky in*) the rainy season, though it was summer.

(V. 10.) **Akālavarsha** (*i.e.* 'the untimely rainer,' *vis.* **Kṛishṇarāja I.**) instantly rains (*i.e.* fulfills) unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of (*his*) favourites, in any way he likes, so as to remove all (*their*) distress.

¹ The second line of this verse is one long compound which we should split up, as Dr. Bühler has done, into two parts, either of which should be taken as an attribute of **Kakkarāja**. But Dr. Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words *vikrama* and *dādman*, and is therefore not likely to be the correct one.

² Both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet connect *prabhinnā-karṇa-ohyuta-dāna* with *ruchira*, and *danti-danta-prādā* with *ullikhita*; but this course is objectionable because the word *danti* occurring after *dāna* shows the preceding expression to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound and an attribute of *danti*.

³ Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet adopt *sabhrāvidhāṅgam* for their *Kāvi* and *Sāmāṅga* inscriptions respectively. Further, these plates read *daṇḍalaktina* instead of *daṇḍabailina*, the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the *Paṭṭaṇ* plates. This is a very knotty verse. First, it is very difficult to determine whether *abhrāvidhāṅgam* *etc.* are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr. Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives except *sabhrāvidhāṅgam*. Dr. Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of *daṇḍabailina* is not clear.

(L. 20.) Of this **Akālavarsha**, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, the *Mahārājā-dhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaffāraka*,—the favourite son, **Prabhūtavarsha Vikramāvalōka**, the glorious **Gōvindarāja** (II.), the heir-apparent, whose head was sanctified at (*his*) anointment as heir-apparent, which was hailed with delight by the whole world, (*and*) who had acquired the five great sounds,—from (*the camp of*) the victorious army that invaded the **Vēṅgi-maṇḍala**, when the lord of **Vēṅgi** was humbled by the cession of (*his*) treasury, (*his*) forces, and his own country, at the confluence of the **Kṛishnavernā** and the **Musi**,—being requested by **Māṇavaḷōka Ratnavarsha**, the glorious **Vijayāditya**, son of **Dantivarman** (*and*) grandson of **Dhruvarāja**,—(*this*) **Vikramāvalōka** notifies to all:—

(L. 29.) “Be it known to you (*that*), in the **Śaka** year six-hundred increased by ninety-two, in the (*cyclic*) year **Saumya**, in the bright half of **Āshāḍha**, on the seventh *tithi*, (*I*) have granted, with (*all*) enjoyments (*bhōga*), (the village) named **Uttarāi**,—(*situated*) on the bank of the **Prasādinī** (*river*), on the southern side of the **Hariyagiri** (*hill*), in the **Alaktakā-vishaya**, together with the groves of trees (*vāna*)¹ of the village of **Arasiyavāḍa**,—to a **Brāhmaṇa** of the name of **Jaggu**, of the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**, son of **Śrīdhara** (*and*) grandson of **Kēśava**.

(L. 35.) “(*The village is*) thus defined by the four boundaries:—To the east (*is*) the village named **Parachurage**; to the south the **Brāhmaṇa** village of **Nivivāḍa**; to the west the village of **Majjhima**; to the north the mountain only.

(L. 37.) “Knowing this, (*the village*) should be preserved by our descendants and others just as they would their own grants.

(L. 38.) “And it has been said by the holy **Vyāsa**, the compiler of the **Vēdas**:—

[Here follow three of the customary verses.]

(L. 44.) “This has been written by **Śrisēna**.”

NO. 19.—BELATURU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJENDRADEVA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 979.

By REV. F. KITTEL, PH.D.; TUBINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying in the field called **Addakatṭe-hola** on the eastern side of the village of **Belatūru** in the **Heggaḍadēvankōṭe tāluka** of the **Mysore** district. It has been published before by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV., Pg. 18. I re-edit it from inked estampages prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri and transmitted to me by Dr. Hultzsck.

The alphabet and language of the inscription are **Kannaḍa**. There are 23 verses in various metres, and short passages of prose in lines 33 f. and 36. Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following note. “Of the many metres used in the inscription two are particularly interesting, *viz.* **Akkaram** and **Lalitavṛittam**. On examination, these two are found to correspond to the **Piriyakkara** and **Lalitapada** which are described, respectively, in verses 302 and 233 of **Nāgavarma's Oanarese Prosody**. Of the first it may be remarked that either the description given in the *Prosody* is transgressed in the inscription, or else the verse describing it has been misinterpreted; for while, according to Dr. Kittel's translation, verse 302 says that in **Piriyakkara** there ought to be, in the first line, one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra*; in the second line, one *aja*, four *vishṇus*, one *aja* (again) in the sixth place, and then a *rudra*; and that in the third and fourth lines the same should be repeated as in lines 1 and 2,—the **Akkara** of the inscription has one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra* throughout (*i.e.* in all the four feet). It is difficult to

¹ [Or correct *grāmagrāsṇa* and compare above, Vol. V. p. 69, note 2.—E. H.]

understand how Malla, who calls himself "the friend of eminent poets," could deviate from the rule laid down by Nāgavarma. Accordingly verse 302 of the *Prosody* will have to be interpreted differently. I would translate it thus: "*Ajagana* comes in the beginning without fail; then (come) five *ganās* which are *viśṇu*; in the place called the end (i.e. at the end), the *rudragana* will remain permanently everywhere (i.e. in all the feet); in the foot counted the second,— if in the sixth (place) the *ajagana* occurs in intimate connection, at the choice of the author,— we (then) have the wonderful (i.e. rarely used metre) Piriyaṅkara, O moon-faced one!" Thus we see that, the occurrence of the *ajagana* in the sixth place being left to the option of the author, Malla adopted the *viśṇugana* throughout. As regards Lalitavṛitta, it may be noticed that the name given to it by Dr. Kittel's manuscripts, viz. Lalitapada, over verse 233 of the *Prosody*, is rather misleading. The name occurs as Lalitavṛitta in the very verse which describes it, as well as in the subjoined inscription. If this name is not given to the metre, it is likely to be confounded with other Sanskrit metres of the same name. It may be noted also that, according to a few manuscripts, Nāgavarma claims to have been the inventor of these two metres; see Dr. Kittel's Introduction to Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*, p. xix." To this I would add that there is one verse in the Piriyaṅkara metre in Argaladēva's *Chandraprabhapurāṇa* (1189 A.D.), āśvāsa iv. v. 18.¹ Other Piriyaṅkaras occur in the *Pampabhārata* edited by Mr. Rice, pp. 112, 116, 153, 343, and Akkaras on pp. 331, 343.

Verse 1 of the inscription contains the date,— a specified week-day and *tithi* in the Śaka year 979 (in words), the cyclic year Hēmalambin, and the sixth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājēndradēva. Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date and found that it corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.² A reference to Rājēndradēva's predecessor Rājādhirāja is found in Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-Permāḍi-Gāvuṇḍa, a surname of Raviga of Nugunāḍu (v. 7), which is derived from Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla, one of the names of Rājādhirāja.³ The same verse of the inscription mentions, among other kings, Siḷāmēgha who seems to be identical with one of the two Ceylon kings named Vira-Śalāmēgaṇ. The first of them was killed by Rājādhirāja,⁴ and the second by Rājēndradēva.⁵

Two families of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras) (vv. 6, 8, 9 and 22) are named in the inscription, viz. the Avacha family of Nugunāḍu (vv. 2, 6, 17, 19 and 22) and the Kuṟuvanda family of Pervayal in Navalenāḍu (vv. 13 and 17). To the first one belonged Raviga (v. 4), who was raised by the Chōla king to the rank of superintendent of a province (v. 8). Raviga's principal seat became Beḷatūru (v. 11), and he married Ponnakka, the daughter of the headman of Nālgōḍu in Eḍenāḍu (v. 10), whose name is not mentioned. Raviga's daughter Dēkabbe was given in marriage to Ēcha of the Kuṟuvanda family (v. 13). When the king killed Ēcha at Talekāḍu (v. 14), his widow committed herself to the flames (vv. 15 to 20). Before her end she granted to Śiva a garden for a perpetual lamp, and a paddy-field for oblations (v. 18 f. and l. 33 f.). Dēkabbe's father, Raviga, set up the stone which bears the inscription, as a memorial of his daughter (v. 22).

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Beḷatūru (v. 11) is identical with the village where the inscription exists. Talekāḍu (v. 14) is the old capital of the Western Gaṅgas,⁶ at which the Chōla king seems to have been staying at the time of the inscription. Nugunāḍu is, perhaps, named after the river Nugu (also called Bhṛigu), a tributary of the

¹ In my manuscript the verse reads thus:—

Toṟeyal=end=irdda rājyaman enitirdduṁ maṟeyal=end=idirdda bandhu-samūhamam
neṟapal=end=irdda sat-tavō-vṛittiyam maṟad=atirāga-vihvalateyindam |
toṟeyade maṟeyade neṟeyad=āyushyam paṟe paḍuvāgaḷe berchehid-ante
maṟaguva maruḷamg=ārayvand=ī bhavam maṟu-bhavam ||ādeyūṁ vyartham alte ||

² Above, p. 23, No. 36.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 53 and 56.

⁴ See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 299 and note 2.

⁵ *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. III. p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 59 and 63.

Kabbani, in the Nāṅjāṅṭūḍ tāluka of the Mysore district. Both Nugunāḍu and Navalēnāḍu are mentioned in a Western Gaṅga record.¹

This is perhaps the first inscription that has been discovered, concerning the self-immolation of a Śūdra's wife after her husband's death. This self-immolation is not identical with the so-called suttee (*satī*) of Brāhmanical usage, according to which a wife, on being widowed, burned herself with the corpse of her deceased husband upon the funeral pile. In this instance there is no pyre (*chitā*, *chitī*, *chityā*, the *tadbhava*-form of which is *śidige* in Kannada), but a *koṇḍa* (*tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kuṇḍa*), a hole in the ground for any fire, especially one for the fire of a burnt oblation.

The Śūdras at the time of the present inscription, worshippers of Śiva, probably in most instances disposed of their dead by cremation (instead of which the Lingavantas introduced burying), and thus the body of Ēcha may have been burned at Talekāḍu. That *sahagamana* was customary among Śūdras, does not follow from the inscription; the contrary seems to be proved, as the parents and relations of Dēkabbe strongly oppose her burning herself; she herself however (who may have been influenced at the time somehow by Brāhmanical notions), seeks to justify her act by pointing out the dishonour that would be brought upon the families by her surviving as a widow.

The *koṇḍa* into which Dēkabbe threw herself was obviously neither at Talekāḍu nor at Pervayal, but at her native place Belatūru (where she had gone in the absence of her husband and heard the report of his death), near the house of her own people, and had been filled with kindled charcoal, etc., for presenting funeral oblations.

Malla, the poet who composed the inscription, uses two epithets of a peculiar kind regarding Raviga, the father of Dēkabbe, who had the monument erected, viz. "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" (v. 22); and at the end (l. 36) the engraver quotes the very same two epithets. Malla also calls himself "a discus to those among Brāhmaṇas who fret" (v. 23). It is highly probable that these epithets are directed against Brāhmaṇas who might find fault with the erection of a monument that praised a Śūdra widow as, so to say, a suttee.

TEXT.²

- 1 [Ōm]³ [||*] Svasti⁴ śrī-Chōḷa-rājaṁ sakāḷa-vasudheyam koṇḍu Rājēndradēva[m]
⁵d[ri]st-āri-vrāta-ghātaṁ negaḷe barisam-ār-āge mattam Sak-ābdam vi[stā]-
- 2 ra[m*] tom̐bhat-ēḷ-ombhatum-ene barisam Hēmaḷambi prasiddham svastam
māsam gaḍam Kā[r*]ttikam-asi[ta]-dinam dvādasi Sōmavāram | [1*]
Kandam | Svasti śrīma-
- 3 tu sakāḷa-jaga-[stu]tar=Avach-āgraganyar=ūrjita-punyar⁶ vistāra-chāru-vīra-rasa-
stitar=īriv=īva [kā]va Nugunāḍ-adhipar | [2*] Enipa kula[da]lli puttī[da]-
- 4 n=anupaman=Ereyaṁgan-avana nija-sutan=Ēcham Manu-nibhan=avaṁge puttīda
tanūbhavam Javani[ya][r*]mman-aṇivim̐g-ārmam | [3*] Ant-ā
Javanayyaṁgam
- 5 kântājana-tīlakam=enipa Jākabbegam-oḷpan=taḷeye puttīdam ripu-santāna-nagēndra-
vilaya-pa[v]igam Ravigam | [4*] Ravigam puttīdaḍ-oḍan=udbhava-
- 6 m-āyt-aṇiv-aṇivin-oḍane puttīdud=āyam sa[va]-sand=āyadoḍam sambhavam-ādudu
chāgam=intuṭ-a[n̐ya]roḷ-un̐tē | [5*] Vṛittam | Kuḍiyara⁷ vallabham ku-

¹ See page 69 above.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The *r* of -punyar is written above the line.

⁴ Metre: Champakamāle.

⁵ From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

⁶ Metre: Śragdhare.

⁷ Read *dript*.

⁸ Read *śhilar*.

- 7 diyar=ābharanam Nugunāda Rāman=endade Kalikāla-Karṇana vinōdada chāgada
bīrad=ārppan=ī gaḍina nikṛiṣṭa-nirgupa-nikṛitya-nirāchara-[nō]ṭavitarām¹ kaḍu-
- 8 jaḍar=entu pōliparo dhanyan=enipp=Avach-āgraganyana² | [6*] Akkaram | Chōla
Pallava Pāṇḍya Siḷ[ā]m[ē]gha Kēraḷa Sōraṭar-Gōva³ Bhōja Lāla Gajapati
Hayapati
- 9 Narapatiy=enipa mahipālar=āsthānadā⁴ kēla tannane naṭa-vandi-māgadhar⁵ kai-
koṇḍ[u] pogalalke negale ballam mēla-māṇikav=o-
- 10 nipa Jayamgondā-Chōla-Permmāḍi-Gāvundam takkam | [7*] Kandaṁ |
Pallava-sattige samkam jhallali jayamaṅgalamgala[m] Chōla-mahivallabhan=ittade
- 11 kuḍiyara vallabhan=uṇe maṇḍalika-padamaṁ paḍedaṁ | [8*] Kaḍala kaḍe-varam=
Aj-āṇḍada kuḍi-varam=āśā-gajēndrad=antu varam taḷt=o-
- 12 ḍan=[o]ḍane parvv[i] baḷedudu kuḍiyara vallabhana ki[r*]tti-late kōmaladim |
[9*] Manu-nibhan=Eḍenāḍ=adhipati vineya-nidhi[m] sa-
- 13 tya-vākya Nālgōḍina mukhyana kula-vadhu Būtabbege janiyisi ⁶Kālikāla-Site-
vesaram paḍedaḷ | [10*] Vanitā-rannam Ponnakkana-
- 14 n=aḷtiye maduve-goṇḍu Beḷatūr=adhipam Manu-nibhan=ene negaḷv-itana vanitege
bhū-vanitey-oḷage peṇa[r=e]ṇey-oḷarē | [11*] Vri-
- 15 tta[m] | ⁷Nirupama-aḷladim⁸ guṇadin=uttama-dānadin=ātma-bhaktiyim Gi[risute]
Rāmba Minaki⁹ Sarasvati Rugmiṇi Satyabhāmayoḷ dore-
- 16 y=enal=allad=ī gaḍina dushta-kanishta-duṣṭa-durgguṇ-ādhareyaran=entu pōliparo
nirmmaḷa-chittada Ponnakkabbeyaṁ | [12*] Akkaram | Chār[u]-
- 17 chāritre naya-vinay-ākare gōtra-pavitre ¹⁰[s]uḷa-yukte nārijana-rannam=enipa
Ponnabbegam Ravigaṅgam puttida Dēkabbeya[m]
- 18 [vi*]raṁ Navalēnāḍ=adhipati Kuruvanda-gulada Peruvvayal-ātan=Ēcham-giye
vārij-ānane ¹¹vināya-chintāmaṇi pati-hitey-oḍa-gū-
- 19 ḍi sukhadin=iḷdu | [13*] Kandaṁ | Jeṭṭigan=ene negaḷ=ahita-gharattam sukham=
iḷdu tanna dāyigaram taḷt=ottajiyin=iḷidaḍ=avanam neṭṭa-
- 20 ne Talekāḍal=uydu kondaṁ narapaṁ | [14*] Kalikāla-Vēlan=enisida kali-
chāgiyan=iḷidu kondar=embudu mātam lalit-āṁgi kē[ḷdu] Ravi-
- 21 gana kula-dīpaki sāyal=endu koṇḍake nadedal | [15*] Tandeyum=abbeyum=
oḍaneya bandugaḷum bandu magaḷe sāyade māṇ=nīn=e-
- 22 (ne)nd=ellam kāl-vididaḍ=anindite Dēkabbe munidu baggasi nuḍidaḷ | [16*]
Nugunāḍ=adhipati Ravigana magaḷ=āgiyum=ante Navale-
- 23 nāḍ=adhipatig=ām negaḷe satiy=āgi bālp[u]du bagedappene koṭṭa koṇḍa mane yasam=
aḷiyal | [17*] Endu parichchēdisi nayadindam dēvarge
- 24 tōmṭa-khaṇḍada maṇnam nandā-dīvigeg=itt-aravind-ānane sale nivēdyak=end=anu-
nayadim | [18*] Maḍida sale gōli-gaḷd[e]ya paḍuvana kaḍeya-
- 25 lli teṁkal=ay-goḷa-bedeyam kaḍuḡ[r]ttu¹² koṭṭu Nugunāḍ=[o]ḍeyana kula-putre
pēlchi¹³ mattam mattam | [19*] Vṛittam | Nered=ellam¹⁴ bēḍa māṇ=enda-
- 26 ḍe nuḍiyadirim pōgiv=ām māṇen=end=ādaradindam bhūmi poṁ-putṭage pasu
dhanamam dānamam nīḍutūm dēvara dēvaṁg=aḷti-
- 27 yim kay-mugid=uriy=uriyam pokku Dēkabbe tannam dharey=ellam mechchi
nichcham [po]gaḷe negaḷutūm dēva-lōk[a]kke vōdaḷ | [20*] Lalitavṛittam |

¹ Nōṭavitarām is a compound of nōṭa and mīṭaram, and represents nōṭakke mīṭaram.

² Read ⁹ganyana.

³ Or =Gāva?

⁴ Read =āsthānadā.

⁵ The r of -māgadhar is written above the line.

⁶ Read Kalikāla.

⁷ The ma of nirupama is written above the line.

⁸ Metre: Champakamāle.

⁹ Read Mēnake.

¹⁰ Read suḷa.

¹¹ Read vinaya.

¹² Kaḍuḡṛttu is a compound of kaḍu and kṛttu, 'having greatly desired.'

¹³ Read pēlchi.

¹⁴ Metre: Mahāragadhare.

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- 28 Śrī-ramaṇi Gauri Sachi Dhārīṇiya putri Rati Bhū-ramaṇiy-andada sarūpav-
 āriv-olp-andāre-jaya-dhāre jasa-dhāre naya-dhā-
 29 r[e] bhaya-hāre pati-bhakte dhṛita-śaktey=ene samnd=[i]³ vīra-nidhiyaṁ chalada
 vāri-nidhiyaṁ guṇada chāru-nidhiyaṁ n[e]gaḷda Dēkaleya-
 30 n=int=i nārijana-rannamaṁn=ad=āro maṇavar *śakala-dhārīṇiyol=intu vara-kānte-
 dorey=āva[!]⁴ | [21*] Akkara[m] | Paṇḍit-āśrayaṁ Nug[u]nā-
 31 ḍa Rāghavaṁ munivara siṁga māchakadāvalaṁ chaṇḍa-vikramaṁ kuḍiyara
 vallabhaṁ Kalikāla-Karṇa machcharipavara gaṇḍaṁ vandi-
 32 chintāma[ṇi*] Śiva-pāda-sēkharaṁ nija-suteg-anurāgaḍim maṇḍalakk=ellaṁ
 paḍi[cha]ndam=āge śilā-staṁ[bha]m śāsanam=āge naṭṭaṁ || [22*] ◎
 33 Śrī Dēkabbe Mahādēva[r*]gge biṭṭa pūm-bolaṁ tōmṭa-khaṇḍamumaṁ
 Nirmmaṇama[ti-keṇya t[em]kaṇa kaḍeyal aydu-kolagaṁ gaḷdeyu-
 34 maṁ i vamsada[!]* puṭṭidavar kā[da]lisuge⁵ salisad[a]var nara[ka]-bhājanar=appar |
 Kandaṁ | Maṇpara chakraṁ dvijaroḥ kaṇ-maṇ[e]y-i-
 35 ll=enipa kuṇipin=ādityaṁ sand=aṇikeyavagāda⁶ Mallam jaṇuchada kavirāja-
 bāndhavaṁ baredan=idam | [23*] ◎
 36 Kaṇḍarisidaṁ⁷ munichara-⁸siṁg-āchāriyaṁ machcharipara-gaṇḍ-āchāriyu[m] ||*

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1.) Hail ! When the glorious Chōḷa king had taken possession of the whole earth,—(he) Rājendradēva, the slayer of crowds of proud enemies,—(and) was renowned, when six years (of his reign) had passed, and when one said : “the Śaka year in (its) extent (is) ninety-seven and nine,” (and when) the (cyclic) year (was) the well-known Hēmaḷambi, the auspicious month indeed Kārttika, (and) the day of the dark (half) the twelfth (tithi), a Monday,⁹—

(V. 2.) Hail ! Glorious, praised by the whole world, the best of the Avachas, rich in virtue, firm in extensive and beautiful heroism, piercing (enemies), giving (alms), (and) protecting (the subjects)—(such were) the chiefs of Nugunāḍu.

(V. 3.) In the said family the matchless Ereyāṅga was born ; his own son (was) Êcha, resembling Manu ; the son born to him (was) Javanīyarma,¹⁰ excelling in knowledge.

(V. 4.) Now to that Javanayya and to Jākabbe who was called an ornament of women, so that they obtained (great) good (by his birth), was born Raviga,¹¹ (who resembled) a thunderbolt of destruction to the great mountains—hostile races.

(V. 5.) When Raviga was born, knowledge was produced along (with him) ; along with knowledge (proper) income (or revenue) was born ; along with proper income liberality was generated : does so much exist among other people ?

¹ Read -ariv-.² Read sand=f.³ Cancel the anusvāra.⁴ Read sakala-.⁵ Kḍḍajisuge is kḍḍu and alisuge, this alisuge being in meaning equal to aḷavadiisuge ; see aḷavadiis under aḷa, 2, in my Dictionary.⁶ Read =aṇikeyavan=dda.⁷ Regarding the verb kaṇḍarisa (which appears also as khaṇḍarisa), ‘to engrave,’ it may be remarked that it is a tadbhava-form of khaṇḍisu, ‘to cut,’ from the Sanskrit khaṇḍana, ‘cutting,’ which noun appears also in the tadbhava-form of khaṇḍarane, ‘engraving,’ as Dr. Hultzsch informs me. Compare the corresponding formation of chātariṣa and chātaraṇa from chātana (see my Dictionary). For the use of khaṇḍarisa, with the aspirated kh, see above, Vol. V. p. 214, p. 231, notes 8 and 13 ; and for khaṇḍarane see p. 234, note 7.⁸ Read munivara-.⁹ This date must be connected with verse 15.¹⁰ Or Javanayya, v. 4. Javanīyarma stands for Javanīyārma, “the able or strong Javani” (=Javanīyārma). In aṇivam-dṛmmaṁ the rēḷa represents an r (i.e. dṛmmaṁ), as it does also in dṛppaṁ (i.e. dṛppaṁ) in v. 6.¹¹ He was surnamed “the Rāma (or Rāghava) of Nugunāḍu ;” vv. 6 and 22.

(V. 6.) When one says : " the Rāma of Nūgunāḍu, the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras), (and) the ornament of Kuḍiyas," (it refers to) one who in (this) age of sin is fully equal in happiness, liberality (and) heroism to Karṇa : how can foolish people compare the base, the bad, the dishonest, the lawless, the men of a mere appearance of greatness at the present period, with the best one of the Avachas, who is called a blessed man ?

(V. 7.) So that the kings who were called Chōḷa, Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Siḷamēgha, Kēraḷa, Sōraṣa, Gōva, Bhōja, Lāḷa, Gajapati, Hayapati, Narapati, heard (of it) in (their) courts, (and) so that actors, bards (and) minstrels fixed their thoughts on him and were zealously active to praise (him),— (so) great was Jayaṅgonḍa-Chōḷa-Permāḍi-Gāvuṇḍa,¹ who was a ruby of assemblies, (he) the very worthy man.

(V. 8.) When the Chōḷa king² presented (him) with a pearl umbrella, a conch, cymbals (and) a royal elephant, (he) the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras) got indeed the rank of a Maṇḍalika i.e. of a superintendent of a province.)

(V. 9.) To the further shore of the sea, to the end of the world, (and) also to the great elephants of the points of the compass, there approached and quickly spread and nicely grew the creeper of the fame of the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras).

(V. 10.) To Būtabbe, the virtuous wife of the headman (of the village) of Nālgōḍu, who resembled Manu, (and who was) the chief (of the district) of Eḍenāḍu, a mine of refinement, (and) a voracious man, was born one who got the name of " the Sītā of the age of sin."³

(V. 11.) (Her), Ponnakka,⁴ a pearl of women, the chief of Beḷatūru, from love, took in marriage,— he who was so renowned that he was called an equal of Manu : are others of the wives on earth equal to his wife ?

(V. 12.) How could one compare Ponnakabbe of pure mind with the vicious, worthless, reprobate, ill-natured, low women of the present day, who are unfit to be called equal to Pārvaṭī, Rambhā, Mēnakā, Sarasvatī, Rukmiṇī (and) Satyabhāmā in matchless character, virtue, excellent liberality (and) innate devotion ?

(V. 13.) When (they) gave Dēkabbe,⁵— who was born to Ponnabbe that was of pleasing conduct and decorous behaviour, a purifier of (her) family, of an amiable disposition, (and) a pearl of women, and to Raviga,— (in marriage) to the brave Êcha, (the headman) of Pervayal, the chief of Navalēnāḍu, (and) of the Kuruvaṇḍa family, he lived happily with the lotus-eyed one, the gem of good conduct, who was devoted to (her) husband.

(V. 14.) When (he) the grinding-stone of (his) enemies, who was renowned as a wrestler, (thus) lived happily, (but in course of time) grappled with his kinsmen⁶ and by (his) superiority pierced (and killed them), the king took him off straight to Talekāḍu and killed (him).

(V. 15.) When the beautiful woman, the light of the family of Raviga, heard the report that they had pierced and killed the strong hero who was called " the Vēḷa (Skanda) in the age of sin," she walked to the (fire-)pit in order to die.

(V. 16.) When (her) father, mother and near relatives came, said : " Daughter, do not die ! ; desist !," and all embraced (her) feet, the blameless Dēkabbe became angry and loudly spoke :—

(V. 17.) " As I am known as the daughter of Raviga, the chief of Nūgunāḍu, and as the wife of the chief of Navalēnāḍu, can I wish to live while the house which gave (me and that) which took (me) loses (its) good name ?"

¹ I.e. " the village-chief of His Majesty Jayaṅgonḍa-Chōḷa," viz. of Rājādhirāja ; see above, p. 214 and note 8.

² Probably Rājādhirāja, the predecessor of Rājēndradēva.

³ Viz. Ponnakka, v. 11.

⁴ Or Ponnakabbe, v. 12, or Ponnabbe, v. 13.

⁵ Or Dēkale, v. 21.

⁶ " His kinsmen " might be grammatically applied either to the kinsmen of the Chōḷa king or to those of Êcha.

(V. 18 f.) Thus the lotus-faced one spake, made a final decision, presented with propriety the soil of a garden-plot to the god for a perpetual lamp, and gave, with reverential deportment (and) with great desire, for oblations regularly repeated, after (she) would have died, the Gôji-paddy-field on the south-western side (which requires) five *koḷas* (i.e. *koḷagas*) of seed; and (she) the noble daughter of the lord of Nugunâḍu ordered (thus) again and again.

(V. 20.) Then all united said: "Do not (die)!; desist!;" (but) Dēkabbe said: "Speak not, but go!; I will not desist;" and respectfully giving land, gold(-embroidered) clothes, cows and money as a present, she piously put the palms of (her) hands together (in obeisance) to the god of gods, entered the blazing flames, and went with glory to the world of gods, so that the whole earth will be pleased (with her) and continually praise her.

(V. 21.) She who is known as possessing the beauty, knowledge, goodness, liberality and victory of the goddess Śrī, Gaurī, Śachī, the daughter of the earth (Sītā), Rati, (and) the goddess of the earth, (and) as being rich in renown, intelligent, dispelling fear, devoted to (her) husband, (and) firm in strength,—this mine of heroism, (this) ocean of resoluteness, (this) beautiful mine of good qualities, (viz.) the renowned Dēkale, this pearl of women,—who can forget her?; what woman on the whole earth (is) therefore equal to (this) excellent woman?

(V. 22.) The Rāghava (Rāma) of Nugunâḍu, the refuge of the learned, a lion to the angry, a chastiser of knaves,¹ ardent in prowess, the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras), a Karṇa in the age of sin, powerful over the envious, a wishing-stone to the bards, (and carrying) Śiva's feet on (his) head,² erected for his daughter from affection (this) stone-monument for the whole province, as a document (and) as a representation (of what his daughter had done).

(Line 33.) Hail! May those who are born in this family, protect and keep up the garden-plot (that is) a flower-field, and on the southern side of the Nirmapamaḷti-tank the paddy-field (requiring) five *koḷagas* (of seed), which Dēkabbe left to Mahādēva! Those who do not fulfil (this), will become victims to hell.

(V. 23.) A discus to those among Brāhmanas who fret, a sun the (distinguishing) mark of which is that it has neither spot nor veiling, Malla, who has recognised knowledge, who is never (excessively) verbose, and who is a friend of eminent poets, wrote this.

(L. 36.) The Āchāri³ of "the lion to the angry," the Āchāri of "him who is powerful over the envious,"⁴ engraved (this).

No. 20.—BHIMAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1037.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription (No. 473 of 1893) is engraved on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Nārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Bhimavaram in the Cocanada division of the Gōdāvari district. It consists of two Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose.

¹ This is a translation of the compound *māchakaddvaḷam*. *Māchaka* stands for *mājaka* and *tāvaḷam* is a *tadbhava* of *tāpasa*, *v* having taken the place of *p* (compare *kavaḍa* for *kapaṣa*, *kavile* for *kapile*, etc.) and *l* that of *n* (compare *chandaḷa* for *chandanā*, *lambaḷa* for *lambanā*).

² I.e. 'a worshipper of Śiva'; see *South-Ind. Insar.* Vol. II. p. 388, note 7.

³ *Āchāri* may be translated 'artificer'.

⁴ According to verse 22, "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" were surnames of Raviga.

The date is Śaka-Saṃvat 1037 (l. 14 f.) and the 45th year of the reign (l. 13 f.) of a Chālukya king who bore the surnames *Parāntaka*¹ (l. 1), *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārāja* (l. 11 f.). If the regnal year is deducted from the Śaka year, the result is Śaka-Saṃvat 992 = A.D. 1070 as the date of the king's accession to the throne. Consequently he must be identical with the Chālukya-Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla II. *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. whose reign is known to have commenced in A.D. 1070.²

The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift of a lamp to *Nārāyaṇa*³ (l. 18), the deity of the temple in which it is still found, and which is stated to have been built by a Vaiśya named *Maṇḍaya*⁴ (ll. 7 and 18). *Bhīmavaram* bore the name of *Chālukyabhimāpura*⁵ or *°vura* (ll. 6 f. and 17) and belonged to the district of *Sakaṭamantani-nāṇḍa* (l. 16 f.). The date of the grant was the vernal equinox (l. 15 f.). The donor of the lamp was a minister of the king, named *Mādhava* (l. 3) and surnamed *Rājavallabha* (l. 2). He was a native of the Chōla country (l. 19), and his full Tamil name was *Vēlāṇ Mādhavaṇ, alias Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ* (l. 21 f.). The small Leyden grant (ll. 11 f. and 49), which was issued in the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I., contains the name of a minister (*samdhivigrahin*) *Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ*, who is perhaps identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription.

The following is a list of other inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I. which contain both a Śaka date and a regnal year. All are in the *Bhīmēśvara* temple at *Drākshārāma*,⁶ with the exception of No. 1 which is near the *Nāgēśvara* temple at *Chēbrōlu*.⁷

A.—Inscriptions in which the king is designated only by his titles *Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārāja*.⁸

1.—No. 151 of 1897.

- 1 Svasti ⁹Śakha-varshaṃblu 998 n=ēṃṭi Nala-saṃvatsa-¹⁰
- 2 ra śrāhi svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-
- 3 ¹¹Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula pravarddhamā-
- 4 na-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsara[mblu]¹² 7 n=ēṇḍu . . .
- 6 Māgha-māsamuna
- 7 punnamayu ¹³Sukravāramuna sōmagrahaṇa-
- 8 nimittamunan=

2.—No. 190 of 1893.

- 1 ¹⁴Saka-var[sha]mulu 1006 svasti [Sa]rvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula pravar[ddha]mā-
- 2 na-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsaramu 15 gu [śrā*]hi dina 307 ṇḍum

3.—No. 374 of 1893.

- 1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r*]shaṃbulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula¹⁵

¹ This had been the name of two Chōla kings; see *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 112.

² See above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

³ According to other inscriptions the name of the temple was *Rājanārāyaṇa-Vinnagara*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 230 and note 3.

⁴ In the Donepūṇḍi grant the temple is referred to as *Maṇḍe-Nārāyaṇa*; above, Vol. IV. p. 358.

⁵ This name is derived from that of Chālukya-Bhīma I.; see above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁶ See above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

⁷ See above, Vol. V. p. 142, and Vol. VI. p. 38.

⁸ Prof. Kielhorn's calculations of the dates 1 and 3 will be published shortly.

⁹ Read *Śaka*.

¹⁰ Read *-saṃvatsa*.

¹¹ Read *Vishṇu*.

¹² The syllable *śa* is engraved below the line; read *-saṃvatsa*.

¹³ Read *Śukra*.

¹⁴ Read *Śaka*.

¹⁵ Read *-mahārājula*.

- 2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-samvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-
pa[kshamu]na śkāda-
3 [ś]iyu Budhavāramu-nāṇḍu Uttarāyana-vyatiyipāta-¹nimittamuna

B.—Inscriptions in which the full titles and names of the king are given as follows:—
Samastabhuvanāstraya Śrīprithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara paramabhāṭṭ[ā]-
raka Ravikulatilaka Chōḍakulaśekhara Pāṇḍyakulāmtaka Samastarājāstraya Rājārājēndra
Viramahēndra Vikramachōḍa Vijayābharaṇa Rājakēsarivarmma-permmanadigalu² Gaṅggā-
Kāvēri-paryamta-dharitri-pati³ saptamō Vishṇuvarddhanul-aina⁴ tribhuvanachakravartti⁵
śri-Kulōttungga-Chōḍadēva.*

4.—No. 365 of 1893.

- 7 Śāk-ābdē nayan-ākshi-kh-ēṁdu-gapitē⁶
12 vat[sa]⁷ 31 ṇḍagu śr[ā]hi dina 300 ṇḍa

5.—No. 389 of 1893.

- 3 Śāk-ābdā[nām pra]-
4 māṇē nidhi-nayana-viyach-chaṁdra-gē⁸ [sa]m[k]rāmtiām Vaishu-
vatyām=
11 rājya-sam[va]tsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa Vishuvu-samkr[ā*]m-
12 ti-[ni]mittamuna

6.—No. 386 of 1893.

- 4 Śāk-ābdē nidhi-nē[tra]-kh-ēṁdu-[gapi]tē⁹
8 [rā]jya-samvatsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa Vishuvu-sam[krāmti-
nimi]ttamuna

7.—No. 403 of 1893.

- 4 Śaka-va[rusha]mbulu 1034
8 rā-
9 jya-samvatsa [4]2 śrāhi dina 220 ṇḍan=Uttarāyana-samkr[ā*]mti-nimitya-
munam

8.—No. 415 of 1893.

- 1 Svasti Śaka-varusha[m]bulu [10]37
4 rājya-divya-samva-
5 tsa 45 śr[ā]hi

9.—No. 194 of 1893.

- 3 Śāk[k]-ābdē vyōma-vēd-āmba[ra-śāsi]-ga[ni]tē¹⁰
4 Śaka-va[r*]shambulu 104[0] ṇḍa
7 jya-divya-samvatsa 49 yagu śr[ā*]hi dinamulu 250 =Uttarāyana-
samkr[ā*]m[ti-ni]-
8 mtittamuna¹¹

¹ Read -vyatipāta-.

² No. 386 of 1893 omits this compound and inserts *śrī-śaṅkṣa-śrī-jīta-* before *Gaṅggā*.

³ Nos. 194, 365, 403 and 415 of 1893 omit *dharitri-pati*.

⁴ No. 365 of 1893 reads *śaṅgā-aina* (singular instead of plural).

⁵ No. 365 of 1893 inserts *śrīmat-* before *tribhuvana*.

⁶ Read *rājya-samvatsara*.

⁷ I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1029.

⁸ I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1040.

⁹ Read *rājya*.

¹⁰ I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1023.

¹¹ I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1029.

¹² Read *mittamuna*.

TEXT.¹

A.— West Face.

- 1 स्वस्ति [ओ]ग्रसमे परांतकनृपे चालुक्यराज्य-
- 2 त्रियं प्राप्तां रक्षति राजवत्सभ इति [स्थी]-
- 3 तः कृतो माधवः [१*] तन्मन्त्रिप्रवर[ः*] स्वयम्भुस-
- 4 दृ[शो] लोक[स्य] लो[को]त्तर[ओको]त्ति[ः*] श्रितरक्षणे-
- 5 कनिष्ठो लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतिमान् [॥ १*] श्रीचा-
- 6 लुक्कधरासरोबुजसमे^२ चालुक्यभी-
- 7 मापुरे ओमन्मण्डयवैश्यवर्धर-
- 8 चिते लक्ष्मीपतेर्दामनि [१*] दत्वादाय-
- 9 द्विषीस्तु विंशतिमतिस्नाय्या^३ बभूवो-
- 10 रिणीराचंद्रार्कमनश्चरं स्थिरयशा
- 11 दीपं प्रदीपो भुवः [॥ २*] स्वस्ति सर्वलो-
- 12 काश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्धनमहाराज-
- 13 ल प्रवर्धमानविजयराजसं-
- 14 वत्सरंबुलु ४५ गु आदि सक^४

B.— South Face.

- 15 वषंबुलु^५ १०३७ गुनेण्डि^६ चै-
- 16 अविषुवसंक्रांतिनि[मित्त]मुन सक-
- 17 टमंतनिनाण्डि चालुक्यभीमावुरमुन
- 18 मण्डयगुडि नारायणदीवरकुं
- 19 [जो]डमण्डलमुन बिहदराजभयं^७
- 20 करवलनाण्डि मन्निनाण्डि कडंबगुडय-
- 21 [ण्डु] वेलाण्डु माभकुण्डैन राज्यसत्तभप-
- 22 जवरयण्डु भाचंद्रार्कमुन[कु]नखण्ड-
- 23 वत्तिगां वेष्टिन दीप[सु]न[कु] गुण्डि[य]-
- 24 [बो]युनि कोडकु पापन[बो]युनियुं गो-
- 25 सनबीयुनि कोडकु गु[ण्डि]यबीयुनि-
- 26 [यु] वसमुनं वेष्टिन[न] एनुमुलु २० [१*] वीनि-

¹ From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.² Read 'सरोबुज'.³ Read 'वह'.⁴ Read 'सक'.⁵ Read 'वषंबुलु'.⁶ Read 'वेष्टि'.⁷ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

27 कि निम्नपदि [कोयं]मम नेति राज-

28 राजमानयीकु[ण्ड] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

A.—Sanskrit portion.

Hail ! While king Parāntaka, who resembled (Vishnu) the lord of Śrī, was protecting the fortune, acquired (*by him*), of the Chālukya kingdom,—the best of his ministers, the pious Mādhava, who was renowned by the name of Rājavallabha, who seemed to be a near relative of (*all*) men, whose prosperity and fame were extraordinary, who was excessively skilled in protecting refugees, who was devoted to (Vishnu) the lord of Lakshmi, whose fame was constant, (*and who was*) the light of the earth,—having given a lamp, which was not to cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to the temple of the lord of Lakshmi, which had been built by the illustrious Maṇḍaya, the best of Vaiśyas, in Chālukyabhimāpura, which resembles a lotus in the tank (*that is*) the prosperous Chālukya country,—gave twenty most excellent buffalo-cows which supplied much milk.

B.—Telugu portion.

Hail ! In the 45th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāstraya*), the glorious Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja, (*and*) in the Śaka year 1087, on the occasion of the Vishuva-saṁkrānti in Chaitra,—Vēlāṇḍu Mādhavaṇḍu, *alias* Rājavallabha-Pallavarayaṇḍu,¹ the lord of Kaḍambaṅgu[ḍi]² in Manni-nāṇḍu,³ (*a subdivision*) of Birudarājabhayaṁkara-valanāṇḍu,⁴ (*a district*) of Chōḍa-maṇḍala, gave a lamp, whose wick must not cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to Nārāyaṇadēva, (*the god*) of the Maṇḍaya temple at Chālukyabhimāpura in Sakāṣamantani-nāṇḍu. For (*this lamp he*) gave 20 buffalo-cows into the possession of Pāpāna-Bōya, the son of Guṇḍiya-Bōya, and of Guṇḍiya-Bōya, the son of Gōsana-Bōya. From these (*buffalo-cows*) one Rājārāja-measure⁵ of ghee has to be supplied daily (*for feeding the lamp*).

No. 21.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—Chēbrōlu Inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1049.

This inscription (No. 153 of 1897) is engraved on a slab in the Kēśavasvāmin temple at Chēbrōlu in the Bāpaṭla tāluka of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu, and the language is likewise Telugu, with the exception of one corrupt Sanskrit *śloka* at the end of the inscription.

¹ The Telugu nominatives *Vēlāṇḍu* and *Pallavarayaṇḍu* represent the Tamil *Vēlāṇ* and *Pallavaraiyaṇ*. *Mādhavaṇḍu* is the Telugu nominative of *Mādhava*.

² *Kaḍambaṅguḍayaṇḍu* corresponds to the Tamil *Kaḍambaṅguḍaiyaṇ*, an abbreviated form of *Kaḍambaṅguḍi-ndaiyaṇ*.

³ The district of Manni-nāṇḍu is mentioned in Tamil inscriptions; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 125, 324, 336, and Vol. III. p. 162.

⁴ This territorial designation is derived from a surname of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. which occurs in the *Kalīṅgattu-Parani*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 152.

⁵ This measure may have been named after the Eastern Chālukya king Rājārāja I.

The date is the day of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Jyaisht̥ha* in the cyclic year *Plava*, which corresponded to the *Śaka* year 1049 and to the 9th year of the reign of *Vikrama-Chôladêva* (l. 11 f.).¹ *Śaka-Saṃvat* 1049 (expired) corresponds to the cyclic year *Plavaṅga* (not to *Plava* as the inscription has it) and to A.D. 1127-28. As this was the 9th year of the king's reign, he must have ascended the throne about A.D. 1119. This result is in accordance with the fact that his father *Kulôttuṅga-Chôla* I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1070² and reigned for 49 or 50 years³ to about A.D. 1119. According to Professor Kielhorn's calculations, the inscriptions of *Vikrama-Chôla* in the *Tamiḷ* country seem to show that his reign began on the 18th July A.D. 1108.⁴ This discrepancy may be explained by assuming that 1108 was the year in which he was appointed *yuvârāja*, while his actual accession to the throne took place after his father's death in A.D. 1119.

The name of the king is preceded by a list of his *birudas*. These are identical with the surnames borne by his father *Kulôttuṅga-Chôla* I.⁵ Among them we find *Vikrama-Chôla* (l. 7 f.), which was one of the *birudas* of his father, but is rather out of place here because it is identical with the name of the king himself, and *Râjakêsarivarman* (l. 8 f.), which is known to have been a surname of the former, while *Vikrama-Chôla* in his *Tamiḷ* inscriptions bears the title *Parakêsarivarman*.⁶

The inscription records the grant of a lamp to the temple of *Kumârasvâmin* (l. 18 f.) or *Mahâsêna* (l. 33) at *Chembrôlu* (l. 18), the modern *Chêbrôlu*. Hence it appears that the slab containing the inscription, which is now in the *Kêśavasvâmin* temple, was originally set up in the temple of *Kumârasvâmin*, which is now called *Nâgêśvara*.⁷

The donor was a feudatory of *Vikrama-Chôla*,—the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Nambaya* (l. 30 f.) of the *Durjaya* family (l. 23 f.). Among his surnames are 'the lord of the city of *Kollipâkâ*' (l. 22 f.), 'the lord of the country of six-thousand (villages) on the southern bank of the *Krishnavennâ* river' (ll. 25-27), and 'the scent-elephant of *Malla*' (l. 28). *Kollipâkâ* is mentioned as *Kollipâke* in an inscription of the Western *Châlukya* king *Jayasimha* II.⁸ and as *Kollippâkkai* in the inscriptions of *Râjendra-Chôla* I.⁹ and of *Râjâdhirâja*.¹⁰ The second surname of *Nambaya* was borne later on by the chiefs of *Amarâvatī*.¹¹

From another inscription of the same chief in the *Bhimêśvara* temple at *Drâkshârâma* (No. 266 of 1893)¹² we learn that he ruled over the district of *Oṅgêrumârga*:—[Svasti] sa[madhi]gata-paṇchchamah[â]śabda-mahâmaṇḍalêśvara *Kollipâkâ-puravarêśvara* *Durjjayakula-kumuda-chandra* ripuga[ja]-mri(mri)gêmdra mallikâ-vallabha [pa]râṅgganâ-durllabha vilâsa-Vidyâdhara bhôga-Puraṇḍara *Kri(kri)shn[a]vonnâdi-tiradakshipa*—¹³ *shat[s]ahasra-vishay-âdî(dhî)śvara vira-Mahêśvara kirtti-sudhâkara guṇa-ratnâkara Vêṅggi-Châlukya-râjya-mu(mû)lastambha* ¹⁴*ripudalitakumbhikumbha Jayâṅgganâ-gri(gri)ha-tôraṇa Mallana-gaṇn[dh]avâraṇa nâma-âdi-samasta-prâśasti-sah[i]tamb[u]na śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalêśvaray=Oṅgêrumârggamuna Nambirâju Śaka-[va][r*]shamulu 1052 nḍ=agun=ēmti Vaisâkha-punnamayu Sôma-vâramu Vyatipâta-ni[m]ittamunamdu "On the*

¹ Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

² See above, p. 220, note 2.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 55, and above, Vol. IV. p. 227. ⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

⁵ See page 221 above. The only *biruda* which was not taken over by *Vikrama-Chôla*, is *saptamê Viṣṇu-vardhana*.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 68, and above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 263 f.

⁷ See above, Vol. V. p. 143.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 67 and 68, and Vol. II. Nos. 9-20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 53.

¹¹ See above, p. 147 and note 4.

¹² This inscription is noticed by Dr. Fleet from Sir Walter Elliot's transcript; *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 487 f., note 6.

¹³ Read *-daktshinâtra*.

¹⁴ Read *dalitaripu*.

occasion of Vyatipāta on Monday, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1052," *etc.*

The same slab bears an inscription of Trailōkyamalla, the son of Nambhirāja (No. 267 of 1893):— Svasti samadi(dhi)gata-pañchamahāśha(śa)bda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kollipākā-puravar-ādhiśvara Durjjayakula-kumud[a]-chandra ripugaja-mri(mṛi)gēndra mal[ī]ikā-vallabha pa[r]āṅganā-rdullabha¹ [vilā]sa-V[i]dyādharma bhōga-Puram[da]ra Kr[i](kṛi)shpaverṇṇānādi-tiradakshipa-shaṭṣahasra-vishay-ādhiśvara vīra-Mahēśvara kī[r̥tti]-sūdā(dhā)kara guṇaratna-ratnākara V[ē]m[gg]i-Chālukya-[rā] [ri]pu[da]litaku[m]bhikumbha Ja[y]ā[m]gganā-gr[i](gṛi)ha-tōraṇa [sat]ya-Harīś[ch]andra dīnānādhā(tha)jana-sasya-pramēghavarsha Nambbhana-gaṇḍa(dha)vāraṇa nām-ādi-samasta-prasasti-sah[it]ambuna śrīman-[m]ah[ā]maṇḍa r[gg]a[m]una Nambh[i]rāju koḍu[ku] Trailōkyamallerāju svasti [Śa]ka-[va][r*]shambulu 1081 n-ēmtti Vaiśākha-bah[u]lapaksha aṣṭamiyu Śa[ni]v[ā]ramuna "On Saturday, the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1081," *etc.*

It will be noticed that in this inscription Trailōkyamalla is called 'the scent-elephant of Nambha,' i.e. of his father Nambaya or Nambirāja. Consequently it may be assumed that the latter, who bore the surname 'the scent-elephant of Malla,' was the son of Malla. In this way we obtain three generations of the chiefs of Oṅgērumārga:— Malla; his son Nambha, Nambaya or Nambirāja; and his son Trailōkyamalla.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks. "The date of No. 266 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Samvat 1052 current, to Sunday, 5th May A.D. 1129, and for Śaka-Samvat 1052 expired, to Friday, 25th April A.D. 1130. In Śaka-Samvat 1053 expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th April A.D. 1131, when the *yōga* was Vyatipāta for about the last quarter of the day. I believe this to be the day intended, but can give no reason why the writer should not have quoted Tuesday (the 14th April) on which the full-moon *tithi* ended. The date of No. 267 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Samvat 1081 current, to Wednesday, 23rd April A.D. 1158; for Śaka-Samvat 1081 expired, to Tuesday, 12th May A.D. 1159; and for Śaka-Samvat 1082 expired, to Saturday, the 30th April A.D. 1160, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. In both dates the given Śaka year is short by 1 of the year of our Tables. This is not uncommon in dates from the eastern part of Eastern India."²

TEXT.³

A.— Front of Slab.

- 1 क्षस्ति समस्तभुवनान्नय
- 2 'त्रोपिष्ठीवत्तम मङ्ग[ī*]राजा-
- 3 धिराज राजपरमेश्वर प-
- 4 रममङ्ग[ī*]रक रविकुलतिलक चो-
- 5 ८०कुलसिखर⁴ पाण्ड्यकुलां⁵
- 6 तत्त समस्तराजान्नय राजरा-
- 7 जेद्र वीरमहेन्द्र विक्रमचो-

¹ Read -*durilabha*.

² "See e.g. my *List of North. Ins.* Nos. 367 and 370.

³ From two inked stampages.

⁴ Read वीपुष्ठी⁵.

⁵ Read 'सिखर.

⁶ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 8 ८७ विजया[भ]रन¹ श्रीराजके-
- 9 ²सरिवन्मपेर्ननडिगलु गंगा-
- 10 कावेरीपय्यांत(क)³ श्रीम[त्*]प्ति[मु]-
- 11 वनचक्रवर्त्ति विक्रमचो-
- 12 ८७देवर ⁴प्रवर्द्धमानवि-
- 13 जयराज्यसंवत्सरंबु-
- 14 लु ८ अगुने[ष्टि] ⁵सक्त[व]-
- 15 रुपंबुलु १०४८ अ-
- 16 गु ⁶ध्रुवसंवत्सर जेष्ट⁷
- 17 मास सोमग्रहननिमित्त⁸
- 18 सुन चेंब्रोत्ति श्रीकुमा-
- 19 [रस्त्रा]मिदेवरकुनख-
- 20 [ण्डव]त्तिदिवियकु स्वस्ति
- 21 समधिगतपंचमह[१]श-
- 22 व्दमहामण्डलेखर कोत्तिपा-
- 23 कापुरवरेश्वर दुर्ज[य]-
- 24 कुलकुलाचलमिर्गेद्र⁹ स-
- 25 त्यहरिसंद्र ¹⁰क्रिष्णवेन्नान-
- 26 ¹¹दीदक्षिनतीरपट्सह¹²
- 27 महीवन्नभ मज्जिका-

B.—Back of Slab.

- 28 वन्नभ मन्ननगंधवारन¹³
- 29 नामादिसमस्तप्रसस्तसहि¹⁴
- 30 तं ¹⁵श्रीमनुमह[१*]मण्डलेख-
- 31 र नंबय यिच्चिन गोठिय
- 32 ५० [१*] वीनिं चेकीनि संत्तानक्र-
- 33 मंबुनं गाचि मह[१*]सेन-

¹ Read °भरन्.

² Read °वन्म°.

³ Read °प्रयत्त and add °परिषीपवि in accordance with some inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga-Chōja I.; see above, p. 221.

⁴ Read प्रवर्द्धमान°.

⁵ Read मक्त°.

⁶ Read ध्रुव°.

⁷ Read ज्येष्ठ° or, more correctly, ज्येष्ठ°.

⁸ Read °ग्रहण°.

⁹ Read °मर्गेद्र.

¹⁰ Read लक्षधरणा°.

¹¹ Read °दक्षिण°.

¹² Read °सहस्र°.

¹³ Read °वारन्.

¹⁴ Read °प्रमत्ति°.

¹⁵ Read श्रीमन्°.

- 34 सुन नित्य मानेणु नेयि
 35 वीयंगलवाणु सूरवो-
 36 युनि कीचय [1*] इंदुल
 37 स्थानपतुलु मुबूर्खु
 38 सानुलु मुबूर्खुय्यलु न-
 39 तिपालिपंगलवाह । खदत्त¹ प-
 40 रदत्तं ग्वा यो इरेतु ख-
 41 सुंदर [1*] षणिं वरुषय-
 42 इन्ननि मिष्टयां जा-
 43 यते क्लिमि ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! In the 9th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the front-ornament of the race of the Sun, the crest-jewel of the Chōla family, the destroyer of the Pāṇḍya family, the asylum of all kings, *Rājārājendra*, *Vīra-Mahendra*, *Vikrama-Chōla*, he whose ornament is victory, the glorious *Rājakesarivarma-Permanaḍi*, [the lord of the earth] as far as the Gaṅgā and the Kāvērī, the glorious emperor of the three worlds, *Vikrama-Chōladēva*,—

(L. 14.) On the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyēṣṭha in the *Plava-samvatsara* which was the Śaka year 1049,—

(L. 20.) Hail! the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nambaya, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of *Kollipākā*, the best of cities; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a *Hariśchandra* in truthfulness; the lord of the country of six-thousand (*villages*) on the southern bank of the *Kṛishṇavenṇā* river; the lover of the jasmine flower; (and) the scent-elephant of *Malla*,—

(Ll. 18-20 and l. 31 f.) gave 50 sheep to the temple of the god *Kumārasvāmin* at *Chembrōlu* for a perpetual lamp.

(L. 32.) Having received these (*sheep*), *Kommaya*, (*the son*) of *Sāra-Bōya*, with (*his*) descendants in succession, has to tend (*them*) and to supply daily to the *Mahāsēna* (*temple*) one *māna*² of ghee.

(L. 36.) The three-hundred temple servants (*sthānapati*) (and) the three-hundred dancing-girls of this place have to protect (*this grant*).

[Ll. 39-43 contain one of the usual minatory verses.]

B.—*Ševilimēḍu* Inscription of the Sixteenth Year.

This inscription (No. 43 of 1900) is engraved on the west wall of the *Kṣilāsanātha* temple at *Ševilimēḍu*, a village on the northern bank of the *Pālāru* and about 2 miles south-west of *Conjeeveram*.

¹ This well known Sanskrit verse is here full of mistakes.

² See above, p. 156, note 3.

The inscription consists of eight verses in quaint Sanskrit. The alphabet is Grantha. The Tamil letter *r* is used in *Kōmpura* (vv. 4 and 7). Final *m* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *chiram*, *vidushām* (v. 2) and *labdham* (v. 5). Instead of *prōdghriṣṭa* and *udbhava* we find *prōtghriṣṭa* (v. 1) and *utbhava* (v. 3). *Āmhvaya* occurs twice (vv. 1 and 2) instead of *āhvaya*, and *sā[r*]ddha* (v. 5) instead of *sārthā*. The Tamil names *Kirāñji*, *Ōdimākki*, *Kodi*, *Ponnambi* and *Kōmbura* are spelt *Kirāñchi* (v. 8), *Ōtimākki* (v. 4), *Koti* (v. 5), *Ponnampi* (v. 6) and *Kōmpura* (vv. 4 and 7), with *ch*, *t* and *p* instead of *j*, *d* and *b*.

The date is Monday, the day of Uttara in the second fortnight of Vaiśākha during the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōladēva (v. 3).¹ This king bore the surnames *Akalaṅka* and *Tyāgavārākara* (v. 1). According to Mr. Venkayya, the former is applied to Vikrama-Chōla in the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, an unpublished Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulōttuṅga II., and *Tyāgasamudra*, with which *Tyāgavārākara* is synonymous, occurs in the *Vikkirama-Śōlaṅ-ulā*² and in the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva.³

The inscription records that three persons assigned to the Śiva temple in the village of Rājasundari (v. 2) or Nṛipāsundari (v. 3) some land (v. 3) and a garden (v. 5). The village of Rājasundari is evidently identical with Śevilimēḍu, and the temple of Śiva, to which the grant was made, is the Kailāsanātha temple⁴ on which the inscription is engraved.

Besides the subjoined inscription, six Tamil inscriptions have been copied in the same temple, the ancient name of which was Mūlasthanā. In three of them (Nos. 40-42 of 1900) the village is named Śevāpamēḍu. It belonged to Virpēḍu-nāḍu⁵ or Virpēṭṭu-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam,⁶ a district of Jayāṅgōḍa-Chōla-maṇḍalam, and bore the surname *Nagarisvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*.

TEXT.⁷

1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥— राजा विक्रमचोळ एव ज[य]ति प्राणेश्वरी भूत्रि-
योर्मयस्मन्तत राजमौलिमकुटप्रोत्पृष्टपादाम्बुजः⁸ [1*] दूरीत्सारि[त]पापराशिरतुल-
श्रीस्थायाराकरस्वत्सम्पत्तिविपृष्टितुरनिगन्देवोकाळकाङ्क्षयः⁹ ॥— [१*]

2 पुण्यपण्यविपण्यस्वरस्वतीवासभूमिरमला मुनीन्द्रधीः¹⁰ [1*] राजसुन्दरि-
समाङ्गयशिरम्¹¹ ग्राम एव विदुषाम्¹² विराजते ॥— [२*] श्रीमद्विज[म]चोळदेव-
नृपतेर्वि[र्ष] शमे षोडशे ग्रामे श्रीनृपसुन्दरीति विदिते वैशाखमासपरे [1*] पक्षे
शीततरचन्द्रवारविदिते काले शिवा-

3 यादिशन्¹⁴ कुण्डूभवकृष्णभट्टनिखिल[ल]यादेन स्वाम् महीम् ॥— [३*]
कम्मत्तिप्रभवः कृष्णपुरदेवोदकाळकः [1*] आत्[त]कीम्पु[ळ]जी भट्टावोतिम्[क्ति]-

¹ Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 309 and note 1.

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 228.

⁴ The present name of the temple is perhaps alluded to in verse 5 by the words "the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailāsa (mountain)."

⁵ The same *nāḍu* is mentioned also in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117, and Corrigenda on p. 184. Virpēḍu is the modern Vippēḍu, 2 miles west of Śevilimēḍu.

⁶ The same district is referred to in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 84, 85, 147, 148, and Vol. III. pp. 2, 128, 142.

⁷ From three inked estampages.

⁸ Read °प्रोत्पृष्ट°.

⁹ Read °काङ्क्षयः°.

¹⁰ Read °षि°.

¹¹ Read °समाङ्गयशिरं°.

¹² Read विदुषां.

¹³ The *m* of °विज[म]° is engraved below the line.

¹⁴ Read °शिव°.

तुसर्वेकटौ¹ ॥— [४*] प्रादुस्योपि चितयं स्वप्रं कैलासवासाय चिर[न्त]नाय
[1*] आदेन लक्ष्मं² कोतिवीरवस्थीः कृष्णाश्रया-

४ अं सतुरीयसाधम्³ ॥— [५*] पोन्नम्पि[न]ात्ता यामोणमज्जस्येन मया
त्विदम् [1*] साधुप्रियेण लिखितम् प्रमा[णं] साक्षिणः परे ॥— [६*] 'दक्षि-
णामूत्तिभट्टोयमळ्ळूईजवरसुधीः [1*] कृष्णदेपायनो यच्चा वेदकोम्पु⁴ज्जयः
[॥ ७*] दत्तित्⁵ किराक्षिणनितावळ्ळुसंज्ञो तो ताणकप्रभव-

५ रामयुतावितोमे [1*] लेख्यं ग[त]ास्सुक्तसाक्षिण एव धम्मं⁶ रक्ष-
न्निवमवृपवराशिवभक्तकाश्च ॥— [८*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Victorious is this king Vikrama-Chôla, the husband of the Earth and of Fortune, whose lotus-feet are frequently rubbed by the diadems on the heads of bowing kings, who has driven far away all sins, whose glory is matchless, the ocean of liberality (*Tyāgavārāhaka*) who continually causes the increase of the prosperity of good men, the king named *Akalanika*.

(V. 2.) Resplendent for a long time is this village of learned men, named *Bājasundari*, a market for the trade in good deeds, the pure place of residence of the goddess of learning, (and) the seat of lords of sages.

(V. 3 f.) In the auspicious sixteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladēva, in the month of *Vaiśākha*, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with *Uttara*,⁷— the two *Bhāṭṭas* *Kṛishṇapuradēva* *Arulālaka*, born at *Kammatti*, and *Ōdimūkki*,⁸ born at *Āttañ-Kōmbura*, together with *Vēṅkaṭa*, assigned to *Śiva*, at the village known as the prosperous *Nṛipāsundari*, land which (they) had received through the great piety⁹ of *Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa*, born at *Kuṇḍūr*.¹⁰

(V. 5.) The same three persons gave to the ancient (god) who resides on the *Kailāsa* (mountain) their three-fold garden,¹¹ which (they) had received through the piety of *Kodi* and *Viravali*,¹² in which *kōkilas* (*kṛishṇa*) lived on mango-trees, (and) which possessed a number of men of the fourth (caste) (as attendants).

(V. 6.) By me, the village arbitrator (*madhyastha*)¹³ named *Ponnambi*, the friend of good men, this document (*pramāṇa*) was written. Witnesses (are) the following.

¹ Read °सर्वेकटौ.

² Read लक्ष्मं.

³ Read °साधम्.

⁴ Read °मुम्पि.

⁵ Read दत्तित्.

⁶ Read धम्मं.

⁷ *Uttirām* is the usual Tamil form of *Uttara-Phalgunī*. The Tamil form of *Uttara-Bhādrapadda* is *Uttirāṭṭṭi*, and that of *Uttarāṣāḍhā* is *Uttirāḍḍam*.

⁸ The same name, which seems to mean 'narrow-nosed,' occurs in an inscription at *Ukkal*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 6.

⁹ *Īrāḍḍha* seems to be used incorrectly for *īrāḍḍā*.

¹⁰ A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at *Maṇimaṅgalam*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 75.

¹¹ I take this meaning of *vapra* from Dr. Kittel's *Kanada-English Dictionary*. The meaning 'field' does not fit here because mango-trees are stated to have grown in the *vapra*.

¹² The same name occurs in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74.

¹³ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 2.

(V. 7 f.) Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Bhaṭṭa, a wise Brāhmaṇa of Allūr,¹ Kṛishṇa-Dvaipāyana Yajvan, Jannaya Rītvij of Vēda-Kōmbura,² (and) the two persons named Aruḷāla, who were born at Kirāñji,³ together with Rāma, born at Tāpaka. These were written down as the only witnesses of (this) pious gift. Let the best of kings and the devotees of Śiva protect this grant!

No. 22.— KONDAVIDU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1442.

By H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of this inscription⁴ were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn with the following note: "On four faces of a pillar near the *agrahāra* at Kondaividu. The pillar is supported on two sides (north and south) by stones which made it impossible to copy and ink the top lines of the inscription in full."⁵

The inscription contains 166 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ ".—The alphabet is Telugu and, with few exceptions, resembles that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.⁶ Several times *ka* appears here in the old form; see e.g. ll. 3, 6, 15, 16, 30, 43, 118, 145 (*ka*); 27, 111 (*kā*); 142, 146 (*ki*); 11 (*kī*); 17, 157 (*ku*); 7 (*kṛi*); 11 (*kṣ*); 142 (*kku*), while such forms as *ka* in ll. 7, 64, *ku* in l. 46, *kṣ* in l. 92, *kau* in l. 39, may be called transitional. The *sha* occasionally shows the younger form occurring also in the Vānapalli plates; see ll. 69 (*sha*); 24 (*shṣha*); 33 (*kshma*). *ḷa* appears throughout in the form of the Bitraguṇṭa grant and the Vānapalli plates. In *dha* the *ottu* is used only in *dhi* in l. 19 (*vārdm nidhir*), *dhi* in l. 72, and in the subscript *dh* of *dhdha* in l. 34. But in *gha* and *ḍha* it is used quite regularly, and in *bha* it is only missing in *bhā*, *bhu*, *bhō* in l. 163, and in *bhṛi* in ll. 5, 59 and *bhyā* in l. 7 on account of the subscript sign. In the groups *rma*, *rya* and *rva* the full sign of *r* is generally used, but in *ryā* in l. 20 and *rmmyai* in ll. 28, 92 it appears in the secondary form, as in all other combinations, and in *rvā* in l. 163 and *rma* in l. 165 it is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.—The language is Sanskrit from the beginning to l. 108, and again from the middle of l. 162 to the end. The rest is in Telugu.⁷ With exception of the concluding words *śrī śrī śrī* in l. 108, the Sanskrit portion is in verse, whereas the Telugu portion is in prose throughout.—The orthography calls for few remarks. In the interior of a word *k*, *g*, *ch*, *t*, *d* and *v*, if followed by a vowel, are generally doubled after *anuvāra*; exceptions are *śamkur* (l. 20), *-āmkuraḥ* (l. 21), *-āmka* (l. 34), *saptāṅgō* (l. 29), *paṁchā-* (l. 107), *maṁdāra* (l. 12), *Maṁdavōlum* (l. 102), and several words in the Telugu portion (see for *m̐k* ll. 127, 145; *m̐g* ll. 113, 115, 130, 141, 156, 158; *m̐ch* ll. 117, 118, 119, 145, 153, 157; *m̐d* ll. 111, 121, 135). *ḍ* also is doubled in *śrīkhamḍḍa* (l. 76), *Komḍḍaviṭṭi* (l. 98, 111), and *dh* in *baṁdhḍhushu* (l. 40), *-āruṁdhḍhatī* (l. 41); compare also *chimttapaṁdhḍhu* for *°paṁḍu* in l. 134. *tr* is written *ttr*

¹ A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Maṇimaṅgalam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74. It may be identical with 'Allur' in the Madurantakam tāluks between the 'Perumbair' and 'Olakur' railway stations.

² Compare Dvādaī-Kōmburam in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 259 and note 3.

³ The same place is mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkālukkunṇam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 168.

⁴ No. 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

⁵ This defect is not very serious, as the few missing *akṣaras* in ll. 87-89 can easily be replaced from other inscriptions.

⁶ See my remarks, above, p. 108 f.

⁷ The text and translation of the Telugu portion have been contributed by Mr. H. Kriehna Sastri.

after *anuvāra* in the word *mantrin* in ll. 30, 85, 103, but with a single *t* in ll. 40, 92. Final *anuvāra* has caused the doubling of *g* in *-ākaratvaṃ ggaṭāḥ* (l. 17). As first letters of a group *t* and *d* are doubled in *ttritaya* (l. 29), *puttrā-* (l. 35), *kaṭattirī* (l. 43), *puttrāv* (l. 44), *ddrumaṃ* (l. 7), *pāyādd=raghū-* (l. 8), *kalpaddruṃ* (l. 72), *ddyā-* (l. 80), whereas a double mute is represented by a single mute in *tatva* (l. 89) and *ujvalataraṃ* (l. 98). After *r* a consonant is doubled in *-ārka* (l. 78), *mārggayamittē* (l. 38), *mārggaṃ* (l. 80), *murchchhan* (l. 78), *-ātivartti* (l. 38), *kirttiḥ* (l. 50), *kirtti* (ll. 54, 106), *harmmyair* (ll. 28, 92), and in the Telugu *samarppimchchi* (l. 121). *ddh* is always written *dhḍh*. A superfluous *anuvāra* has been inserted in *prapaṃnnāḥ* (l. 68), *-ātikhiṃnnāḥ* (l. 32) and some Telugu words in ll. 119, 125, 161. In *amṛitapaḥḷahunnu* (l. 119 f.) and *kārāmaḷlu* (l. 133), the double *ḷ* is expressed by *ḷ+ḷ*. In accordance with the pronunciation of Sanskrit in the Telugu country we find a nasal inserted before *h*, followed by a consonant, in *praṃhḥ-śmārā-* (l. 3) and *grāmḥyā* (l. 164), and even with the complete loss of the *v* in *jimḥālā-* (for *jihvā-*; l. 58). On the other hand this pronunciation has led to the erroneous insertion of a *v* after an original *ḥ* in *siṃhvāśand-* (l. 14). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are always written *maṇṭapa* and *prathāna*; compare ll. 95, 116; 23, 88, 113, 153.

The object of this inscription is to record some grants by Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, the governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, during the reign of Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara. The inscription has much in common with the Maṅgalagiri and Kāṣā pillar inscriptions edited above, p. 108 ff. Up to v. 26, it contains only 3 verses not found in those inscriptions (vv. 1, 3 and 7),¹ among which only v. 7 deserves to be noticed, as Krishnarāya is styled here a descendant of Yadu. This is apparently a mistake of the author; for, though Yadu was actually the reputed ancestor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty, to which Krishnarāya belonged, traced their origin back to Yadu's younger brother Turvasu.² Nevertheless the inscription is of some importance because it clearly shows that in Śaka 1442 Gōpa was governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, the verses about Appa's dignities³ being omitted here altogether.

With v. 26 begins a list of some gifts made by Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa. V. 26 is identical with v. 29 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription and refers to the same gift as that mentioned in the next verse. Vv. 27-28 record that in the Śaka year counted by the eyes (2), the yugas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vikrama (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1442 expired), he presented, by order of Sāḷva-Timma, the minister of king Krishnarāya, an exceedingly high temple (*prāsāda*) furnished with nine gilt domes (*kalāṣa*), a gate-tower (*gōpura*), a wall (*prākāra*), and a festive hall (*utsava-maṇḍapa*), to the holy Rāmabhadra, and images for processions (*utsava-vigraha*), golden ornaments, two pearl necklaces, a great quantity of excellent beautiful ornaments, and the performance of *niyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,⁴ to Rāma in the town of Koṇḍaviṭi for the benefit of Sāḷva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.⁵ V. 29 adds that, by order of Sāḷva-Timma, he assigned to the temple of the holy Rāghava, the lord of the town of Yajñavāṭi, the customs⁶ on all the roads in the country of Koṇḍaviṭi and the village of Mainḍavōlu, at the same time keeping up the former donation of the village of Lēmballe.

The Sanskrit part of the inscription concludes with a verse in praise of Sāḷva-Timma (30) found also in the Maṅgalagiri inscription, and another (31) stating that the *mahōpādhyāya*, who

¹ Vv. 1 and 3 are in praise of Rāma. V. 1 alludes to the legend quoted above, Vol. III. p. 261, note 9.

² See e.g. Hampe inscription of Krishnarāya, above, Vol. I. p. 361 ff.; Saṅkalāpura inscription of the same, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 266 ff.; British Museum plates of Sadāśivarāya, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 1 ff.; Ūṇamāṇjērī plates of Achyutarāya, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 147 ff.

³ Vv. 21 and 35 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

⁴ Regarding this term see note 1 on p. 113 above.

⁵ Regarding this term see note 3 on p. 114 above.

⁶ *Mālavāṣa* is a Telugu word about which see below, p. 233, note 6.

was acquainted with the doctrine of the five fires, the performer of the *dvādaśāha* ceremony, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan,¹ was the author of the record.

In the Telugu portion (l. 109 ff.) the date given above is further specified, and a more detailed account of Gōpa's donation is given, especially as regards the establishment of the customs. It may also be noted that Nādiṇḍla-Timma is incidentally said here (l. 114) to have been a follower of the Yajñśākhā and the Āpastambasūtra, and that Sāḷva-Timma's wife is called here Lakshmamamma (l. 155). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contributes the following translation of the Telugu portion :—

(L. 109.) "Hail! Prosperity! On the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Wednesday the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (half) of Vaiśākha in the (cyclic) year Vikrama which corresponded to 1442 of the years of the victorious and increasing Śālivāhana-Śaka,—Gōparsayyāṅgāru,²—the son of Nādiṇḍla-Timmarāja who belonged to the Kauśika-gōtra, followed the Āpastambasūtra, and was a student of the Yajñśākhā,—and the nephew of Sāḷva-Timmarsayyāṅgāru, the glorious chief minister who bore the burden of the empire of the glorious Kṛṣṇadēva-mahārāja,—built a spire for the sacred (temple) of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajñavāṭikā in Koṇḍaviḍu, carried out the whitewashing (in connection with other) spires, *mandapas* and towers, set up golden pinnacles, built the hall surrounding the temple,³ and the enclosure (*prākāra*), presented idols (to be carried) in processions (*utsava-vigraha*), restored the village of Lemballe which had previously been granted (to the temple), and bestowed the village of Maindavōlu for all enjoyments,⁴ rice⁵ and festivals, [and assigned] *mūlavāsas*⁶ at all places in the country (*stma*) of Koṇḍaviḍu where tolls were paid, (*vis.*) at *vasantagaruvus*⁷ in (the town of) Koṇḍaviḍu, at water-sheds,⁸ at salt-beds and market-towns,⁹ and at roads frequented (by people), such as (those to) the Tirumala hills.¹⁰

(L. 125.) "at the rate of half a *paikamu*¹¹ on every bag of the following (articles): great millet, millet,, salt, mangoes, myrobolan fruits, brinjals, clearing-nuts, and *māvena*;¹² at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, Bengal gram, horse-gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobolan seeds, yam, *chāma*, (and) *chirugaḍam*

¹ [In the colophon of his commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's *Saundaryalaharī* (Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. I. p. 78, No. 333), Lakshmidhara-Dēśika calls himself the seventh in descent from the *mahāpaddhyāya* Mahādēvācārya, who was 'the founder of the doctrine of the Lōlla-kula' and 'the commentator on the *Lōllagrāṇtha*.' The author of the inscription, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvar, who also calls himself a *mahāpaddhyāya*, may have belonged to the same school or sect.—H. Krishna Sastri.]

² The affix *ayyāṅḍru* or *ayyagḍru* is the plural of *ayya*, a *taddhava* of *drya*. The appellation *ayyāṅḍru* is now monopolised by a class of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanas, while *ayya*, *ayyagḍru* and its Tamiḷ equivalent *aiyar* are restricted to non-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanas. That *ayyāṅḍru* and *ayyagḍru* are both used in the inscription for the same person, shows that in the 16th century these two appellations bore no religious or sectarian significance.

³ *Tiruchuṭṭumḍle* or *tiruchuṭṭumḍlika* (above, Vol. IV. p. 380, text line 14) are corruptions of the Tamiḷ *tiruchuṭṭumḍligai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 139.

⁴ Regarding *āgarāṅḡavaiḍḥava* see above, Vol. IV. p. 269 and note 2.

⁵ For *amṛitapaḍi* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 82, note 5.

⁶ For the fiscal term *vāsa* see above, Vol. V. p. 23 and note 6.

⁷ This word is not found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. Perhaps it denotes a rest-house somewhat like the modern *vasantamanṣapa*, which, according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, means 'a shed erected in gardens, near roads and temples, used during the hot weather for recreation's sake etc.'

⁸ *Āruvaṭṭya* is apparently the same as the Kanarese *aravaṭṭige*, *aravaṭṭige* or *aravaṭṭige*, which means 'a water-shed.' Another Kanarese word which occurs in this inscription is *laddi* (l. 125).

⁹ *Karavaṭa* is the same as the Sanskrit *kharvaṭa*, 'a market-town.'

¹⁰ This refers to the hill of Tirupati in the Chandragiri taluka of the North Arcot district.

¹¹ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *paikamu* means 'a small copper coin, a farthing, a half-penny.'

¹² This is perhaps the same as *māmēna*, which means 'a fragrant root like earsaperilla.'

(roots); at one *damma*¹ on every bag of the following: onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cumin, mustard, *salagas*² of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits, (and) cocoa-nuts; at two *dammās* on every bag of the following: jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *saṅgaḍi*,³ flowers of the *Bassia Latifolia* (tree), dry ginger, iron, and steel chisels; at three *dammās* on every bag of mango jelly; at four *dammās* on every bag of the following: sugar, areca-nuts, cotton thread, and betel leaves; at six *dammās* on every bag of the following: long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves,⁴ nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, (and) copper; and at one *chavela*⁵ on a double bullock-load of women's garments:—the *mūlavīśas* levied at this rate from many (people) were granted (to the temple) by Nāḍinḍla-Gōparsayyaṅḡaru for the merit of the glorious chief minister Sāḷuva-Timmarsayyaṅḡaru and his wife Lakshmamma.

(L. 157.) "If (any) Oḍḍa kings⁶ and Teluṅgu kings shall violate this charity, they shall incur the sin of killing cows on (the banks of) the Gaṅgā; if (any) Turuka (i.e. Musalmān) kings shall violate (this charity), they shall incur the sin of eating pigs."

The inscription ends with one of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit and the first half of another. Although the Śaka year is called a current year, the addition of the cyclic year leaves no doubt that really the expired year was intended. For Śaka 1442 expired=Vikrama the date corresponds, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, to Wednesday, the 2nd May A.D. 1520, when a partial eclipse of the moon, visible at Vijayanagara, took place 18 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

The village of Maindavōlu is the modern Mayidavōlu,⁷ 12 miles east-south-east of Narasārāvupēṭa. The village of Lemballe I am unable to identify. Yajñavātipura seems to have been the name of a quarter or a suburb of the town of Koṇḍavidu.

TEXT.⁸

North Face.

- 1 श्रीरामचंद्र[ः*] त्रियमातनोतु सीता-
- 2 सहायो मुनिधर्मपत्न्याः । यस्यान्निपंक्षेदहरे-
- 3 शुरासीदाश्मव्रतोद्यापनकर्महेतुः⁹ ॥ [१*] ¹⁰प्रक्षेद्रादिशिरो-
- 4 मणिविरविप्रातर्मयूखाद्यं भूषावृषमिदश्मरश्मिह-
- 5 रोभृग्माकिमुंगारितं । मंजीरक्षितैर्मराकवनितामंशुख-
- 6 नैरक्षितं वहे रामपदारविहमनघं वहादकस्य-

¹ This is apparently the same as *dramma*; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 21, notes 1 and 6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 168 f.; *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 180; and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. I. Intro. p. 8.

² According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *salaga* or *śalaga* is 'a word used in measuring grain etc., one lot from which a new reckoning begins.'

³ This term is not intelligible. It occurs in the obscure *biruda Saṅgaḍirakṣapḍaka* of a Beḍḍi king, in an unpublished Amarāvati inscription (No. 258 of 1897).

⁴ *Kardāmbu* is probably the Tamil *kardāmbu* or *kirāmbu*, 'cloves.'

⁵ *I.s. chavalamu*, 'the fraction 1/4 (of a pagoda etc.).' According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this is about one shilling.

⁶ *I.s.* kings of Orissa. The special mention of these kings and of the Muhammadans in the imprecation shows that they were continually disturbing the peace of Krishnarāya's dominions.

⁷ See above, p. 84 and note 4.

⁸ From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

⁹ The last *akṣara* has been corrected.

¹⁰ Read प्रक्षेद्रा°.

- 7 इमं ॥ [२*] यत्कटाक्षश्च कर्णक्रीडाभ्यां शबलीकृतः । विभी-^१
 8 षणे रावणे च स वः पायाद्बुद्धः ॥ [३*] अव्यादादिवरा-
 9 हो वस्त्रसामुद्बुद्धाहीं । निजांगसंगसंजात-
 10 सांद्रस्त्रेदोदयादिव ॥ [४*] उरसि निहितलक्ष्मीबाहुवक्षीयु-
 11 गेन स्वकरयुगळेकीकृत्य कीळीविनोदे । कुवलयदळदामा-
 12 न्धमंदारमालां दधदिव वितनीतु श्रीकळां काकुळ्येः ॥ [५*]
 13 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राजन्यचूळिकारत्न-
 14 नीराजितपदांबुजः ॥ [६*] ^३सिंहासनानर्हताया द्वापरे लज्ज-
 15 या हलिः^४ । कलौ सिंहासनासीनः कृष्णरायो यदूह-
 16 षः ॥ [७*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कीर्त्या गृह्णा नाना-
 17 रत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्नं माताः । अष्टिः^५ केवलनीर-
 18 पूरनिलयस्त्रभाष्यते सज्जनैरंभोधिर्जलधिः पयोधि-
 19 रुदधिर्वां निधिर्वारिधिः ॥ [८*] आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिप-
 20 शौर्यपूष्पमीकाध्वरे वैरिस्त्रांतनिष्ठातर्शकुबदितो
 21 दीपः प्रतापांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणी^६ वराहवपुषो दंष्ट्रा
 22 विभियोक्ता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजयस्तंभः कळिंगांगणे ॥ [९*]
 23 महाप्रधानः^७ श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मसचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृ-
 24 पतेस्त्रास्त्राण्यमधितिष्ठति ॥ [१०*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मसचिवः कौडिन्यकु-
 25 लशेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्यनंहनः ॥ [११*] वि-
 26 श्वो नैकं विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विद्वद्वेसराणां पद्मावाणी-
 27 विलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्राका-
 28 रद्वर्ग्यैरतुलपरिकरैरश्मद्व्यादियानैस्त्रयस्त्रेभ्यो विभेदं^८
 29 समरविजयतस्त्राळ्वतिस्मस्र जाने ॥ [१२*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तिभि-
 30 तयचतुष्टपायैकमंज्रीशसाळ्वे तिस्राख्ये कौडवीट्यां
 31 गजपतिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटीमाटीक-
 32 माने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासातिखिन्नाः शाकाद्यान् मा-
 33 र्मयंते गिरिपुरजलधिस्त्रासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ॥ [१३*] साळु-
 34 वांक्षकवत्सरगस्थाषाठशुभ्रहरिवासरसौरी^९ । साळ्व-
 35 तिस्रसचिवेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ॥ [१४*] पुष्पा-

^१ After विभी a superfluous व has been effaced.

^२ Read सिंहः.

^३ Read ^०ळाध्वरणी.

^४ Read बलिः?

^५ Read ^०प्रधानः.

^६ The *amusedra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^७ Read गडः.

^८ Read अष्टिः.

^९ Read ^०गडः?

- 36 रामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधिः¹ काव्यं चे[ह परच]
 37 [सौख्य]जनकाख्यंत्तानकाख्यं ताद् । आत्तान् म[खनातिव]-
 38 र्त्तिं कृतवानासेतुशीताचलं श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपाख्यमोळिचि-
 39 व[ः*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिप्रभुः ॥ [१५*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो नादिङ्गु-
 40 कुलशेखरः । अस्ति तिम्रयमंचीयस्मृतस्त्वर्बबंध्यु² ॥ [१६*]
 41 कृष्णांवारुंधती³ नूनं भर्तुवाक्यमरुंधतो । अनसूया
 42 हि सर्वं च ह्यनसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७*] नादिङ्गुतिम्रयामात्यः

West Face.

- 43 कळुनी कृष्णमांबया ।
 44 तत्पुत्रावप्ययामात्य-
 45 गोपयामात्यशेखरी ॥ [१८*]
 46 जंभद्विक्कुंभिकुंभद्व-
 47 यसचिवयचीचारुवची-
 48 जकुंभव्यक्तव्यासानुलि-
 49 सप्रसूमरमसृणक्षोद-
 50 कर्पूरपूरः । यत्कीर्त्तिः
 51 कार्त्तिकेण्डुं परिहसति नि-
 52 जै[ः*] श्वेतिमाहैतवादैक्षीयं
 53 नादिङ्गुयप्प्रभुमणि-
 54 रखिलस्तुत्यकीर्त्तिप्रतापः ॥ [१९*]
 55 'यध्वाटीघोटकीटीखरखु-
 56 रदळितस्मातलोधूतधूलि-⁴
 57 पाळीपाताळकेळीकृतधरणित-
 58 ले खड्गयुग्यस्य बाहुः । जिं-⁵
 59 हालाभीलभूधुजगप-
 60 रिवृढो लक्ष्यते 'सिध्दसंघेक्षी-
 61 यं नादिङ्गुयप्प्रभुर-
 62 वनिभराभास्वाहुप्रतिष्ठः ॥ [२०*]
 63 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपय तुष्ठा-

¹ Read 'निधि.

² Read यथाटी°.

³ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line; read जिह्वाली°.

⁴ Read सिध्°.

⁵ Read 'बंधु.

⁶ Read 'बोद्ध°.

⁷ Read 'बंधती.

- 64 विति कथं हुवे । एकसंतान-
 65 वान्पूर्वस्मत्संतानवान्परः ॥ [२१*]
 66 एके चाध्यापिता ये वितरण-
 67 निगमान्वेषसा सिंधुचंद्र-
 68 [प्रा]या जायं प्रपंकाः कति
 69 च पशुदृषद्दृष्टात्वातिम्-
 70 ठाः । धत्ते चाध्यापयंस्तान् वि-
 71 तरणनिगमान् गोपयार्थः क-
 72 रेभिं कल्पद्रुं कामधेनुं ह-
 73 दि वदनदृशोचंद्रचिंत्ताम-
 74 णी च ॥ [२२*] यद्दिरिचोषिपालप्र-
 75 करपुरमहाचंद्रशालाग-
 76 हांतः श्रीखंडुस्तंभशुं-
 77 भङ्गजगपरिवृढालीढदेहा-
 78 र्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छामोहाः[*] ख-
 79 लंतस्सपदि गतविषा वेनते-
 80 येन सद्यो ह्योमार्गं या-
 81 त्ति सोयं दिनमणि[वि]भुती
 82 भाति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२३*] श्रीकृष्ण-
 83 क्षितिपालमौक्तिसचिवः श्रीसार्व-
 84 तिस्यप्रभुर्जामातर्यवरे धु-
 85 रंधरवरे श्रीगोपमंज्रीश्वरे ।
 86 प्रादत्ताखिलकोडवीटिनगरी-

South Face.

- 87 साम्राज्य[धीरेयतां मत्तेभाष्यप]दातिसैन्यकलितां प-
 88 ङ्गिका^१ चा[मरे ॥] [२४*] [श्रीकृष्णरायन]रनाथशिरःप्रधानः^२ श्रीसार्व-
 89 तिस्यसचिवेभ्य[रभागिनेयः । नादिङ्गु]गोपसचिवो नयतत्त्व-^३
 90 वेदी श्रीकोडवीटिनगरैकधुरंधरीभूत् ॥ [२५*] राघवाय १४४२
 91 गणिते शकवर्षे राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्या । वप्रगीपु-
 92 रयुतेर्नवहर्ष्यैर्गोपमंचितिलकेन सपर्या ॥ [२६*] शाका-
 93 द्देशियुगाब्धिचंद्रगणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमे श्रीकृष्णक्षिति-

^१ Read शङ्किका.

^२ Read प्रधानश्रीसार्व-

^३ Read वल-

- 94 पालमौळिसचिवः^१ श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मात्रया । प्रासादं नव-
 95 भिष्य हेमकलशैरत्युन्नतं गोपुरप्राकारोत्सवमंट-
 96 पैरुपचितं श्रीरामभद्राय च ॥ [२७*] ॥ रामायोत्सवविष्य-
 97 हांस कनकाकल्पांस सुक्तावळी सुख्यं चाभरणौच-
 98 मुख्यसतरं^२ श्रीकौडवीटीपुरे । हाससत्यधिकां नियोग-
 99 रचनां नादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुर्लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिम्मावि-
 100 भवे पुण्याय कृत्वादिशत् ॥ [२८*] ॥ श्रीयन्त्रवाटिपुरनायक-
 101 राघवाय श्रीकौडवीटिसकलाध्वसु मूलवीसान् ।
 102 लेंबलेमायमनुपास्य च मैदवोळुं श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मा-
 103 वचसादित गोपमंन्नी ॥ [२९*] यावळाङ्गुसुताचियंब-
 104 कसुताश्रीकृष्णवेण्णपयःपूरास्ते पुनते भुवं च विपुला^३
 105 श्रीकौडवीटीपुरी । यावळाव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरी-
 106 हेलां विधत्ते कविस्त्वावत्साळ्वतिम्माकीर्त्तिलतिका पुण्यात्त्वज-
 107 सं भुवि ॥ [३०*] मञ्जोपाध्यायपंचाम्निदीक्षितो द्वादशाहकत् [१*]
 108 लोक्तलक्ष्मीधरो यज्वा 'प्राहृतधर्मशासनं ॥ [३१*] श्री श्री श्री । [१*]
 109 स्वस्ति श्री [१*] जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षबुल १४४२
 110 अगुनेटि विक्रमसंवत्सर वैशाख शुद्ध^४ १५ बु^५ । सोमशहस-
 111 पुष्यकालमंदु कौडवीटि श्रीयन्त्रवाटिकारघुनायकुलङ्ग
 112 श्रीकृष्णदेवमहारायल साम्राज्यधुरंधर श्रीम-
 113 महामप्रधान^६ साळ्वतिम्मासंख्यंगारि मेनकुडैन कौशिक-
 114 गोच आपसंबसूच यलुःशास्त्राध्यायुलैन नादिङ्गु-
 115 तिम्यराजुंगारि कुमासंडैन गोपसंख्यंगार दे-
 116 बुनिकि शिखरसु गडिंशि शिखरमंटपगोपुरालु सुव-
 117 वलुलु चैयिंशि प[यि]डिकुंडलु येत्तिंशि तिर-
 118 चुडुमालेनु प्राकारसुनु कडिंशि उत्सवविषय[र]-
 119 ल समर्पिंशि चंमरंगवैभवालकुंनु अमृतपळ-
 120 [कु]नु उत्सवालकुनु पूर्वांग सागि वशि[न*] लेंबलेग्रामसु
 121 सागिंशि मैदवोळि ग्रामसु समर्पिंशि कौडवीटि
 122 सीमलोनु सुंखसु^७ सागिन चोटनल्लानु मूलवीसालु
 123 [की]ड[वी]डु[वु]डु वसंतगरुत्तलानु आरवव्यालानु

^१ Read 'सचिवश्रीसाळ्व'.^२ Read 'प्राहृतधर्म'.^३ Read 'प्रधान'.^४ Read मुख्यसतरं.^५ Read शुद्ध.^६ Read संख्यंगु.^७ Read विपुला.^८ Le. बुधवार.

- 124 [उप्प]ल[ालु]कर[वट]लालु तिरुमलपर्वतालु मोद[लै]न वञ्चि [पो]-
 125 [इ]¹ हादि [म]ा [न नि]र्न[य] . . . जो[न]लु को[ॐ]लु आ . .

East Face.

- 126 उप्पु मामिडिकायलु उञ्चि[रि]-
 127 केकायलु वीकायलु इ-²
 128 हुपुकायलु मावेन वीनिकि
 129 [गो]ने १ कि अरपैकं लेखलु³ । पेस-
 130 लु मिनुसुलु सनंगलु उलुव-
 131 लु कंडुलु गोधुम-
 132 लु नुवुलु आमदालु
 133 कारामळुलु अनुसुलु प्रत्ति
 134 चिन्तपंथु⁴ करकाय उञ्चिरि-
 135 केपप्पु कंद चाम चिरुगडं
 136 वीनिकि गोने १ कि 'पइकसुलु [१*] उञ्चि प-
 137 सपु गुमिलं मेत्ति जिलकॐ आ-
 138 वालु कोत्तगोनेलु सलग अन्नं नि-
 139 म्पण्डलु टेक्कायलु वीनि[कि] गो-
 140 ने १ कि दम्मासुलु [१*] वेक्कसु दूदि [ने]-
 141 इ⁵ आसुदं संगडि इप्पपू शी-
 142 ठि इनुसु उक्कुटुलुलु वीनिकि
 143 गोने १ कि दम्मालु रेडुलु [१*] मा[मि]-
 144 [डि]ताङ्ग गोने १ [कि] दम्मा[१*]लु सुंडु⁷ [१*]
 145 पंचधार पोक्कलु नूलु तम-
 146 लपाकुलु वीनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु
 147 नालुगु [१*] पिप्पलि मिरियालु गं-
 148 धसु करांभुउ जाजिकाय
 149 जाजिपन्नि सोससु तगरसु रा-
 150 गि वीनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु आरु [१*] को-
 151 कल मलगकु चवेल [१*] ई मर्याद-

¹ Read पोये.² Read लेखलु.³ Read नेय्यि.⁴ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁵ Read 'पंडु.⁶ Read पैक्.⁷ Read मंडु.

- 152 नु पेक्षंश्चात मूलवीसासु
 153 [इ]प्पिंचि श्रीमन्महाप्रधान¹ सा-
 154 ऋवतिमसंय्यगारिकिचि वारि दे-
 155 वुसु लक्ष्मन्गारिकिचि पुष्पसु-
 156 [ग]नु नादिङ्गुगोपसंय्यंगा-
 157 ब समर्पिचनु² । ई धर्मानकु जो-
 158 'डेरासुसु तेसंगुरासुसु
 159 त[पि]रा³ गंगालीनु गोवृत्त⁴ चेशि-
 160 न दोषान बोवुवा⁵ [।*] तुक्करा-
 161 सुसु तप्पिरा पंदि दिं[क] दोषा-
 162 न 'बोडवार ॥ ए[कैव] भगिनी लोके
 163 सर्वेषामे[व]⁷ भूभुजां [।*] न भोज्य[र]
 164 [न] करवांछा⁸ देवदत्ता वसुंध-
 165 रा ॥ [३२*] दानपासनयोर्मध्ये⁹ दाना-
 166 ष्छेयीनुपालनं ॥

No. 23.—RADHANPUR PLATES OF GOVINDA III.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 730.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription has already been edited, with a translation and a photo-lithograph, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., by the late Professor Bühler, to whom the original plates were lent by the authorities of Rādhānpur, a Native State under the supervision of the Political Superintendent of Pālanpur, in the Bombay Presidency. As it is considered desirable to issue a true facsimile of this record, I now re-edit it from ink-impressions placed at my disposal by Dr. Fleet, who obtained the original plates on loan from the Political Superintendent of Pālanpur in 1884. There is no information as to whom the plates may actually belong to.

The inscription is on **two copper-plates** the first of which is engraved on one side only. It is incomplete; the third plate that would have completed it is lost; and so are the ring and seal which probably accompanied the plates. Either plate measures about 11½" by 7½". Their edges were fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; but the surfaces are a good deal corroded by rust—a fact which was altogether obscured by the manipulated photo-lithograph issued with Professor Bühler's paper in 1877—and some letters, in

¹ Read 'प्रधान.² Read 'वेनु.³ Read 'बोडवर'.⁴ Read तप्पिरा.⁵ Read गोवृत्त.⁶ Read 'वीव'.⁷ The *r* of सर्वेषा⁶ is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.⁸ Read करवांछा.⁹ The *r* of 'पासनयोर्मध्ये' is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.

consequence, are more or less illegible. The weight of the two plates is 4 lbs. 6½ oz. The letters shew through faintly on the back of the first plate; they bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is between about $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may perhaps be drawn to the initial *ā* in *ā-chandr*, l. 51; to *ñ* in *Vēṣṭg-tēvarō*, l. 34; *ja*, e.g. in *Kṛishṇarājah*, l. 3; *jā* in *jātu*, l. 8; *ñ* in *kin=n-djñ=ēva*, l. 21, and *pañcha*°, l. 54; *ṣō* in *bhaṣṭōddhatēna*, l. 11; *ḍa* in *nigaḍa*, l. 24; *ḍha* in *upagḍha*, l. 2; the subscript *ṇ* in *Kṛishṇa*°, l. 3, and *karnṇa*°, l. 7; *pha* in *phalakē*, l. 25; and to the final *t*, e.g. in *bhrājītāt*, l. 3. The very rare letter *jh*, which occurs in *nirjjhara*, l. 11, and probably in *duvējha*, l. 47, unfortunately in either case is not very distinct.—The language is Sanskrit, but some proper names from the southern vernaculars occur in the formal part of the grant, in lines 44-48. In respect of orthography the following points may be mentioned. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *j* is used for *y* in *jātē*, l. 22; *chokha* for *tsa* in *ādhihchhayā*, l. 22; and the vowel *ri* is seven times employed for *ri*, e.g. in *-bhay-ārita*, l. 3, and *-sriyam*°, l. 15. An original final *n* before a following consonant is generally (altogether 14 times) wrongly changed to *anusvāra*, e.g. in *saṁ* (for *san*), l. 7, *sprishṭavām*, l. 12, and *tasmin*, l. 21. *Visarga* is everywhere (permissibly) omitted before following *eth*, *sp* and *sph*, e.g. in *urasthala*°, l. 1, *ya sprishṭavām*, l. 12, and *°bhūshītā sphuṣam*°, l. 19. The rules of *sandhi* have been frequently neglected, and occasionally an *akshara* has been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvindarāja [III.], or, as he is called in lines 39-41, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēstvara* and *Prithvivallabha*, the glorious *Prabhūtavarsha*, the glorious *Śrīvallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēstvara*, the glorious *Dhāravarshadēva*. After the word *ōm*, and the well-known verse *Sa vō=vyād=Védhasā dhāma*, it has nineteen verses glorifying the kings *Kṛishṇarāja* [I.], his son *Dhōra* (*Dhruva*) *Nirupama Kalivallabha*, and his son *Gōvindarāja* [III.], the donor of the grant. With the exception of verses 7, 15 and 19, the first half of verse 12, and part of verse 13 of the present inscription, the same verses also occur in the *Wapi* grant, edited by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157 ff.; and all the nineteen verses are found—generally in a very corrupt form, yet with one or two more correct readings—in the *Mappe* grant mentioned in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 5, of which a photograph, received from Mr. Rice, has been lent to me by Dr. Fleet. Verse 9 also occurs in the *Śīrūr* inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218, lines 2 and 3 of the text. An examination of the language and general style of most of these verses can leave no doubt that their author or authors¹ for their expressions and poetical devices are greatly indebted to such works as *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā* and *Bāṇa's Kādambarī* and *Harshacharita*; and to shew this, I have quoted in the notes on my translation some of the parallel passages which I have collected from those literary works. Regarding the facts recorded in the verses and their historical bearing, I could not add anything of value to what other scholars already have stated; but, concerned as I am with the proper interpretation of the text, I must submit here at least one short remark on the first words of verse 5, which I have found great difficulty in translating and may not perhaps have translated very satisfactorily. The words *jyēshṭh-ōllaṅghana* of that verse I have rendered, with reference to *Dhōra*, by 'the passing over of his eldest brother,' because, in regard to the moon with which *Dhōra* is compared, I had to translate the same words subsequently by 'after having passed *Jyēshṭhā*.' But I would not wish the reader to understand from my translation that the author must necessarily be taken to say that *Dhōra* immediately succeeded his father, to the exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. The words of the original text may equally well mean that *Dhōra* superseded his eldest brother after the latter had succeeded their father, or that he secured the throne for himself by revolting against that brother. The verb *ul-laṅgh* and

¹ In the verses 13 and 19 of the present inscription, their author—if my readings be correct—has employed a construction and a form for which analogies may be found in epic poetry, but which are contrary to the rules of classical Sanskrit; see my notes on the text.

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ullaṅghana are generally equivalent to *ati-kram* and *atikrama*—in fact, I believe our author to have used *jyēshṭhōllaṅghana* in actual imitation of the expression *jyēshṭhātikrama* which occurs in the passage from the *Kādambarī* quoted in my notes—and may well convey the various meanings of the latter.¹ Nor would the circumstance that Dhōra's action is compared with a certain proceeding of the moon be at all calculated to enlighten us on what the author meant exactly to express by the word *ullaṅghana*, because, in accordance with the very nature of the figure of *śīśha*, that word might denote one thing with regard to the moon, and something quite different in the case of Dhōra. The question, therefore, whether Dhōra immediately succeeded his father, or superseded his eldest brother after the latter had ascended the throne, cannot in my opinion be answered from a consideration of the words under discussion.

The *prastāvi* which is spoken of in the above, and of which a full translation will be given below, is followed in line 38 of the plates by another, very common verse :—

(V. 21.) "Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he (Gōvindarāja) has devised this gift to a Brāhmaṇ, most meritorious on account of a donation of land."

And in the prose passage which follows this verse, the king, here called *Prabhūtavarsha* (l. 40) and described as already stated above, in the usual terms issues an order to the *Rāshtrapatis* and other officials, to the effect that, while in residence at *Mayūrakhaṇḍī* (l. 42), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on a date to be given below, he granted the village of *Battajjuṇa* (or *Battajuna*, ll. 45 and 49), situated in the *Rāsiyana bhukti*, to *Paramēśvarabhaṭṭa*—a son of *Chandiyamma-Gahiyasāhasa*,² and son's son of *Nāgaiyyabhaṭṭa* who dwelt at *Tigavi* (l. 43), was a member of the community of *Trivēdīns* (or students of the three Vēdas) of that place, and a student of the *Taittirīya Vēda*, and belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*—for the purpose of keeping up the so-called five great sacrifices.

The boundaries of the village of *Battajjuṇa* (or *Battajuna*) were (l. 45) : on the east, the river *Sinhā* ; on the south, *Vavulāḷā* ; on the west, *Miriyathāna* ; and on the north, *Varahagrāma*, 'the village of Varaha.' And regarding the village it is further stated that it was (the village) of certain Brāhmaṇs—the chief of whom were *Anantavishṇubhaṭṭa*, *Viṭṭhuvē[jha?]*,³ *Gōindamma-shaḍaṅgavid*, *Savvaibhaṭṭa*, *Chandaḍibhaṭṭa*, *Kuṇṭhanāgaibhaṭṭa*, *Mādhavairiyappu*, *Viṭṭhapu*, *Dēvaṇaiyyabhaṭṭa*, *Rēyaiyyabhaṭṭa*, etc.—associated with the forty *Mahājanas*.⁴ This latter remark I can only understand to mean that the people mentioned were settled at the village.

¹ From my first note on the translation of verse 5 it will be seen that the commentator of the *Nirukta* uses *ati-kram* with reference to the action of a younger brother who had himself crowned to the entire exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. But *atikrama* in *jyēshṭhātikrama* quoted *ibid.* from the *Kādambarī* is understood by the commentator merely to mean 'the transgression of the commands' (*nirdēś-ōllaṅghana*) of an eldest brother. Similarly, *atikrama* is explained by *djū-dikrama* in the commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, II. 232; and in *Manu*, III. 63, *brāhmaṇ-dikrama* is translated by 'violence to Brahmins' and 'irreverence to Brāhmaṇas,' while the different commentators on *Manu* paraphrase *atikrama* here by *adbhikṣhōp-dī*, *tiraskār-dī*, and *apājana*.

² *Gahiyasāhasa* apparently is equivalent to *ghaisda* which we have in the names *Prabhākara-ghaisda* and *Vaiyana-ghaisda*, above, Vol. III. p. 216, l. 11 of the text, and in other names, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 306, and Vol. XIV. pp. 71 and 72. *Ghaisda* is a family name now found among Chitpāvan Brāhmaṇs; see Dr. Bhandarker's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 124.

³ The word affixed to the next name, *shadaṅgavid*, 'knowing the six Vēdāṅgas,' shews that the word affixed to the name *Viṭṭhu* most probably is some equivalent of the Sanskrit *dvivēdī* or *dvivēdīn*, 'a student of two Vēdas,' but I know no rule by which either could become *duvējha*. In the *Wagī grant*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 38, we have *duvēdi-* for *dvivēdi-*, and elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 71, ll. 1 and 2) occur *dvēdi* and *duvē*. The last might suggest *Viṭṭhu-duvē*, but I do not see my way to connect the *akṣara jha* (if it is really correct) with the following proper name which, standing for *Gōyindamma*, *Gōvindamma* (*Gōvindappa*), seems unobjectionable.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 10, note 2, Dr. Fleet has stated that the *Mahājanas* of a village were the collective body of the Brāhmaṇs of the village. I cannot reconcile this statement with the circumstance that the present inscription speaks of the Brāhmaṇs of the village as associated with (or accompanied by) the forty *Mahājanas*.

Of the localities mentioned in the preceding, *Rāsiyana*, from which the *bhukti* was named in which the village granted was situated, has been already identified by Prof. Bühler with the modern *Rāsin*, a town in the Ahmadnagar Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency,¹ the 'Raseen' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, in lat. 18° 26', and long. 74° 59'. The village granted, *Rattajjuna* or *Rattajuna*, is identified in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 352, with the village of 'Rátájan,' the 'Rátanjan' of the Postal Directory, and 'Ratunjun' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, about 24 miles north-north-east of 'Raseen.' It lies on the western bank of the river *Sinā* ('Seena') which is the *Sinhā* river of the grant. Three miles almost exactly south of it is 'Baboolgaon,' the *Vavulāla* of the grant; and a little more than two miles west of 'Ratunjun' we find 'Meerujgaon,' which must be *Miriyathāna*. Lastly, the name of *Varaha-grāma* which was north of *Rattajjuna* survives in the names 'Wurgaon' and 'Wurgaonkote-che,' which are found in the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, eight and five miles respectively north by west of 'Ratunjun.'—*Tigavi*, the place of residence of the grantee's grand-father and most probably his own, is suggested by Dr. Fleet to be 'Tugaon,' a village about eight miles north-east by north of *Saṅgamnēr*, the 'Sungunner' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 38; it would be distant about 80 miles north-west by north from 'Ratunjun.'—On *Mayūrakhaṇḍī* whence the grant was issued, see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 396.

As has been already stated, the grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse; and the date on which this eclipse took place is given (ll. 53 and 54) as the new-moon *tithi* of the dark half of *Śrāvaṇa* in the (Jovian) year *Sarvajit* and the *Śaka* year 730 (given in words only). I have already had occasion to shew—see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 131, No. 108, and compare Vol. XXV. pp. 267, 269 and 292—that this date for *Śaka-Saṃvat* 730 expired corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 808, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India. At *Rāsin* the greatest phase of this eclipse was about 5 digits, and the moment of the greatest phase was shortly after true sunrise. The year *Sarvajit* can be connected with the date only by the so-called northern system, because by the strict mean-sign system *Sarvajit* had ended on the 26th May A.D. 808, and by the southern system *Sarvajit* corresponds to *Śaka-Saṃvat* 730 current.

The second plate ends with the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee in the enjoyment of this grant, and the missing third plate may be assumed to have contained some similar remarks and a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I consider it unnecessary to publish a full translation of the prose part of this inscription; as regards my translation of the introductory verses, I can only say:—*Yatnē kṛitē yadi na sidhyati kō 'tra dōśhaḥ?*

TEXT.²

First Plate.

Om³ [||*] Sa⁴ vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalaṁ kṛitaṁ [||*]
 Haraś-cha yasya kānt-ēndu-kalayā kam=alamkṛitaṁ [|| 1*] ⁵Bhūtpō=bhavad=
 vṛi(bṛi)had-urasthala-rāja-
 2 māna-śrī-kaustubh-āyata-karair=upagūḍha-kapṭhaḥ⁶ [||*] satyānvitō vipula-chakra-
 vinirjit-ārichakrō=py=akṛishṇacharitō bhu-

¹ See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 734.

² From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

³ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Originally the sign of *anusvāra* was engraved above *kṛ*, but it has been struck out again.

- 3 vi **Kṛishnarājāḥ** [|| 2*] ¹ Pakshachchhēda-bhay-āśri(śri)t-ākṣhila-mahābhūbhṛitkula-
bhrājītāt² durlamghyād=aparair=anēka-vimala-bhrājishpu-
4 ratn-anvitāt [1*] yaś=Chālukya-kulād=anūna-vivu(bu)dha-vrāt-āśrayō vāridhēr=
Lakshmin(m)=Mandaravat=sa-līlam=achirād=ākṛishṭavāmn=³Vallabhah [|| 3*]
5 Tasy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ pratāpa-visarair=ākṛānta-digmaṇḍalāḥ⁴ chāṇḍāmśōḥ sadṛśō=py=
achāṇḍakarātā-prahlādita-kshmatālah [1*] Dhōrō
6 dhairya-dhanō vipaksha-vanitā-vaktrām(vu)ja-ārī-harō hārīkṛitya yaś[ō] yadiyam=
anīsam dig-nāyikābhīr=dhṛitam [|| 4*] Jyēshṭh-ō[1*]lamghana-
7 jātay=āpy=amalayā lakshmyā samētō=pi sam⁵ yō=bhūn=nirmala-maṇḍala sthiti-yutō
dōshākarō na kvachit [1*] karṇ-ādhashtita-dāna-sam-
8 tati-bhṛitō yasy=ānya-dān-ādṛikam dānam vikshya su-la[j*]jitā iva diśām prāntē
sthitā diggajāḥ [|| 5*] ⁶Anyair=na jātu vijitam
9 guru-śaktisāram=ākṛānta-bhūtalam=ananyasamāna-mānam [1*] yēn=ēha va(ba)ddham=
avalōkya chirāya Gaṇga[m*]
10 dūtram sva-nigraha-bhiy=ēva Kalih prayātāḥ [|| 6*] ⁷Ēkatr=ātma-va(ba)lēna⁸
vā[r]inidhin=āpy=anyatra rudhvā⁹ghanam nishkṛishṭā[si*]-¹⁰
11 bhat-ōddhatēna viharadgrāh-ātibhimēna cha [1*] mātāmḡan=madavāri-nirjjhara-
muchah prāpy=ānatāt=Palavāt
12 tach=chitram madā-lēsam=apy=anudinam ya sprishṭavām¹¹ na kvachit [|| 7*]
[Hēlā]-svi[kṛi]ta-Gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattam pravēsy=āchirāt¹² du-
13 rmārgam maru-madhyam=aprativa(ba)lir=yō Vatsarājām va(ba)lai[h] [1*]
Gauḍiyam śaradindu-pāda-dhavalam ¹³chchhatra-dvayam kēvala[m] tasmān=n=āhri-
14 ta tad-yaśō=pi kakubhām prāntē sthitam tatksapāt [|| 8*] ¹⁴Lavdha(bdha)-
pratishṭham=¹⁵achirāya Kalim sudūram=utsārya śuddha-charitair=ddhara-
15 ṇi-talasya [1*] kṛitvā punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śri(śri)yam=apy=asēsham chitram katham
Nirupamaḥ Kali-vallabhō=bhūt [|| 9*] ¹⁶Prābhūr=dhairyaavataḥ
16 tatō Nirupamād=indur=yathā vāridhēḥ śuddh-ātmā paramēśvar-ōnnata-śiraḥ-samsakta-
pādaḥ sutaḥ [1*] padm-ānandakarah
17 pratāpa-sahitō nity-ōdayaḥ sōnatēḥ pūrv-ādrēr=iva bhānumān=abhimatō
Gōvindarājāḥ satām [|| 10*] Yasmi[m]¹⁷ sarva-
18 guṇ-āśrayō kahitipatau śri-Rāshṭ[r]akūṭ-ānvayō jātē Yādavavamsavan=Madhuri[pā*]v=
āśid=alamghyaḥ paraiḥ [1*] drishṭ-āśā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 19 vadhayah kṛitāsyasādṛiśā¹⁸ dānēna yēn=[ō]ddhatā muktāhāravibhū[shitā]¹⁹
sphuṭam=itī pratyarthi[nō=p]y=arthin[ō]=py=asy=ākāra-²⁰

¹ Metre of verses 3-5: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

² Read -bhrājītāt.

³ Read 'śhāvām.

⁴ Read 'lat=chāṇḍāmśōḥ.

⁵ Read sam.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁸ This reading is quite certain; Prof. Bühler read -ekāna.

⁹ Read ruddhō.

¹⁰ *Nishkṛishṭāsi* is the reading of the Manne grant. Prof. Bühler's text has *nishkṛishṭāsi*, and the photo-lithograph actually has the *akshara* *si* at the end of line 10; but, so far as I can judge, that *akshara* was never really engraved, and owes its presence solely to Prof. Bühler's conjectural reading.

¹¹ Read *sprishṭavām*=na. Prof. Bühler has suggested the reading *yat=sprishṭa*, but this alteration of the original text seems to me unnecessary.

¹² Read -āchirāt.

¹³ Read *chchhatra*.

¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁵ Originally the sign of *anusudra* was engraved above *shṭha*, but it has been struck out again.

¹⁶ Metre of verses 10-20: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.— Read *prdbhūd=dhairyaavata*.

¹⁷ Read *yasmi*.

¹⁸ Read *kṛitā syasādṛiśā*.

I should have expected 'bāśhād; but the plate seems really to have 'bāśhād, which is the reading of the Wanl and Manne grants.

Read -arthindm [|| 11*]. *Tasy=akdra*.

- 20 m=amānusham tpi(tri)bhuva-vyāpatti-raksh-ōchitam Kṛishṇasy=ēva nirikahya
yachchhati pitary=aikādhipyam bhuvaḥ [1*] āstām tāta ta-
- 21 v=aitad=apratihatā dattā tvayā kaṇṭhikā kin=n=ājū=ēva mayā dhrit=ēti pitaram
yuktam vachō yō=bhyadhāt [11 12*] Tasmim¹ svarga-
- 22 vibhūshaṇāya janakē jā(yā)tē yāsahśēshatām=ēkibhūya samudyatām² vasumatī-
samhāram=ādichchhayā³ [1*] vichchhāyām⁴
- 23 sahasā vyadhata nripatīn=ēkō=pi yō dvādasā khyātān=apy=adhika-pratāpa-
visaraiḥ samvartakō=rkān=iva [11 13*] Yēn=ā-
- 24 tyanta-dayālun=ātha nigada-klēśād=apāsy=āyatāt svam dēśam gamitō=pi darpa-
visarād=yaḥ prātikūlyē sthitah [1*] yā-
- 25 van=na bhrutu(ku)ḥ lalāṭa-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakshyatē vikshēpēna vijitya
tāvad=aohirād=va(ba)ddhaḥ sa Gaṁgaḥ punaḥ [11 14*] Sam-
- 26 dhāy=āśu śilimukhām⁵ sva-samayām⁶ vā(bā)ṇāsānasy=ōpari prāptam varddhita-
vam(bam)dhujīva-vibhavam padm-ābhividdhy-anvi-
- 27 tam [1*] sannakshatram=udikshya yam śarad-pitum parjanyaavad=Gūrjarō nashṭah
kv=āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaram sva-
- 28 pnē=pi paśyēd=yathā [11 15*] Yat-pādānatimātrak-aika-śarapām=ālōkya lakshmi[m*]
nijām dūrān=Mālava-nā-
- 29 yakō naya-parō yam prāpamat=prāmjaliḥ [1*] kō vidvām⁷ valinā sah=
āpa-va(ba)laka sparddhām vidhattē param⁸ nī-
- 30 tēs=tad=dhi phalam yad=ātma-parayōr=ādhikeya-samvēdanam [11 16*] Vimdhy-
ādrēḥ katakē nivishṭa-katakam śrutvā charair=yam nijaiḥ svam dēśam
- 31 samupāgatam dhruvam=iva jñātv[ā] bhiyā prēritah [1*] Mār[āśa]rva-
mahipatir=drutam=[ag*]ād=aprāptapūrvaiḥ paraiḥ⁹ yasy=ēchchhām=a-
- 32 nukūlayam¹⁰ kula-dhanaiḥ pādan prapāmair=api [11 17*] Nītvā Śribhavanē
ghanāghana-ghana-vyāpt-āmva(ba)rām prāvṛṣham tasmā-
- 33 d=āgatavām¹¹ samam nija-va(ba)lair=ā-Tumgabhadra-taṭam [1*] tatra-sthaḥ
svakara-sthitām=api punar=na(ni)hśēsham=ākṛishṭavām¹² vikshēpair=api
- 34 chitram=ānata-ripur=yaḥ Pallavānām śri(śri)yam [11 18*] Lēkhāhāra-mukhōdit-
ārdha-vachasā yat=aitya Vēṅg-lāvarō nityam kimkaravad=vya-

¹ Read *tasmim*=.

² Read *samudyatām*. From the St. Petersburg Dictionary it will be seen that *udyata*, *abhyudyata*, *praty-udyata*, *samudyata*, etc., occur in various epic and purāṇic texts where we should have expected *udyata*, etc. The case is the same with the word *samudyatām* in the present passage. Here the fact that the twelve princes are compared with twelve suns shews beyond a doubt—see the passages which will be quoted in connection with the translation of the verse—that we want a word which means “risen,” and this could only be *samudyatām*. I prefer this explanation to the assumption that *samudyatām* might have been erroneously put by the writer for *samudyatō* (from *sam-ud-i*).

³ Originally *vasumattām* was engraved, but the sign of *anuvāda* clearly is struck out. In the two *akṣaras mddhi* the *d* of *md* also looks as if it had been struck out, and *dhi* may perhaps have been altered, but I do not see what alteration could be resorted to. As the Manne grant actually has *vasumatt-samhāram=ddhitasayd*—the Wanl grant, omitting part of the verse, has *vasumatt n=ēkō=pi yō daddata*—I adopt the same reading also for the present grant; but it should be stated that the construction of a noun substantive like *ddhitas* (derived from the Desiderative) with the accusative case, though not unknown in epic poetry, is contrary to the strict rules of classical Sanskrit. Prof. Speijer in his *Sanskrit Syntax* quotes e.g. *Mahābhārata*, I. 113, 21, *jigishayā mahīm*, “with the desire of conquering the earth.”

⁴ Read *vichchhāyām*.

⁵ Read *mayām*.

⁶ Originally *pardm* was engraved, but the vowel *d* of the second syllable appears certainly to have been struck out.

⁷ Read *parair*.

⁸ Read *lavām*.

⁹ Read *mukhām*.

¹⁰ Read *vidvām=balind*.

¹¹ Read *kūlayam*.

¹² Read *śīṭāśam*.

i.



ii a.



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- 35 dhād=avirataḥ karma svasarm-ēchchayaḥ [1*] vāhyāḥ-vṛtīr=asya yēna
rachitā vyōm-āgra-lagn=ā[ra]chat¹ rātrau mauktika-²māli-
36 kām=iva vṛitā³ mūrdhastha-tārā-gapaiḥ [|| 19*] Samtrāsāt=para-chakra-rājakam=
agāt=tatpūrva-sēvāvidhiḥ⁴ vyāvaddh-āmjali-
37 śobhitēka(na) śarapam mūrdhnā yad-amhṛi(hri)-dvayam [1*] yad-yad-datta-
parārdhaya-bhūshana-gapair=⁵n=ālamkṛitam [ta*]t=tathā mā bhaishī-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 38 r=iti satya-pālita-yasasthityā yathā tad-girāt⁶ [|| 20*] ⁷Tēn=ēdam=anila-
vidyu[ch*]-chamchalam=avalōkya jivitam=asāram [1*] kshiti-
39 dāna-paramapunyaḥ pravartitō vra(bra)hma-dāyō=yam [|| 21*] Sa cha
paramabhātāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīma-
40 d-Dhārāvarshadēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabharabhātāraka-⁸mahārājādhirāja-p a r a m ē-
śvara-prithivīvala(lla)bha-śrīmat-Prabhū-
41 tavarsha-śrī-Śrīvallabhanarēndradēvaḥ kuśalī sarvān=ēva yathā-samvadyamānakām⁹
rāshtrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūtākūtyu.¹⁰
42 ktaka-niyuktak-ādhikārika-mahattar-ādīm¹¹ samādisaty=astu vaḥ samviditam yathā
śrī-Mayūrakhaṇḍī-samāvāsītē-
43 na mayā mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=ch=aihi-āmushmika-punya-yasō-bhivṛiddhayē |¹²
Tigavivāstavya.¹³ta[t*]traividyasāmānya-Tē(tai)ttirīya-
44 ¹⁴yasavra(bra)hmachāri-Bhāradvājaśagōtra-Nāgaīyyabhātṭa-pautrāya
¹⁵Chandiyammagahiyasāhasa-putrāya Paramēśvarabha-
45 ṭṭāya Rāsiyanabhukty-antargataḥ¹⁶ Rattajjupa-nāma-grāmaḥ tasya ch=āghāṭanāni
pūrvataḥ Sinhā nadi dakṣiṇataḥ Va-

¹ Read =drachad=. Instead of *rachat*, Prof. Bühler's text has *na chd*, and in the photo-lithograph the first *akṣhara* of the group is figured as *na*. But in the original plate that *akṣhara* is very different from what it has been represented to be in the photo-lithograph in the *Ind. Ant.*, and certainly is not *na*. It looks like a *ra*, the *s* of which, as is shewn by the back of the paper impression, may have been struck out; the Manne grant also, after *lagnd*, has *rucham*. The consonant of the second *akṣhara* of the group is *ch*, with a mark above it which Prof. Bühler has taken to be the sign for *ṣ*; but that mark is so far away from the *ch*, and differs so much from the sign for *ṣ* generally here used, that I regard it as an accidental scratch. At any rate, I am convinced that, if *ṣ* was really engraved, it has been struck out. The actual reading therefore is *-lagndrachat* or *-lagndrachat*, and I adopt the latter because in *drachat* we obtain a verb that may govern the following accusative case *mauktika-malikām* which otherwise, like *Trisāṅku*, would stand in the air — derived from the root *rac* which is frequently found in construction with *malā*, 'a garland.' Compare e.g. *Harṣach.* p. 167, *rachita-muṣṣadamlaka*; *Kdd.* p. 139, *odshpajalavindubhir=drachitām sphatikdksamalikām*; and *Datākumārach.*, Prof. Bühler's 2nd ed., p. 45, *drachita-muṣṣajamla*, 'one who has assumed a beautiful garland.' The difficulty which remains is, that in classical Sanskrit *rac* is a root of the 10th class — compare e.g. *Harṣach.* p. 158, *lavaṅgamlā rachayentibhiḥ* — and that our author, in writing *drachat*, would have used a form for which an analogy could be found only in epic poetry. For this compare the construction of *dhātsd*, above, p. 244, note 3.

² Originally *mauktikē* was engraved, but the superscript *ṣ* has been struck out.

³ Prof. Bühler gives *dhṛitā*, which would be a possible reading.

⁴ Read *vidhi-vyāvaddh*.

⁵ Between *nai* and *rud* another *akṣhara* may have been originally engraved.

⁶ Read *tad-girāt*.

⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁸ Read *-paramabhātāraka*.

⁹ Read *-sambadhyamdnakām*.

¹⁰ Read *-grāmakūt-akūtyu*.

¹¹ Read *-ādīm=samādisati* | *Astu*.

¹² This mark should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.

¹³ Prof. Bühler read the name of the village *Tigavāsi*, but in the impression I fail to recognise any sign of *asuvēdra* over the word.

¹⁴ The *akṣhara* *ya* has been wrongly repeated here and should be struck out.

¹⁵ Originally the sign of *asuvēdra* seems to have been engraved over the first *ya* of this word. Prof. Bühler read the name *Chandriyamma*.

¹⁶ Here and in other places below the rules of *samādhī* have not been observed,

- 46 vulāla paśchimataḥ Miriyathāna uttarataḥ Varaha-grāmaḥ¹ ēvam=ayam²
chaturāghāṭan-ōpalakṣitaḥ tathā A-
- 47 ²nantavippu(ahpu)bhātṭa-Vitthuduvē[jha] - ⁴Gōinda[m]mashaḍamga[v]i[t⁵]-
Savvaibhātṭa-Chandaḍibhātṭa-Kuṇṭhanāgaibhātṭa-Mādha-
- 48 vairyappu-Vitthapu-Dēvaṇaiyyabhātṭa-Rāyaiyyabhātṭ-ēty-ēvamādi-pramukhānām (ṇām)
vrā(brā)hmaṇā-
- 49 nām chatvārimśad-mahājana-samanvitānām Rattajūṇa-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-
parikaraḥ sa-
- 50 daśāparādhaḥ sa-bhōtōpāttapratyāyaḥ s-ōtpadyamānaviṣṭikaḥ sa-dhānyahiranyādēyaḥ
a-chāṭa-
- 51 bhāṭa-prāvēśyaḥ sarva-rājakiyānām=a-hastaprakṣhēpaniyaḥ ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-
kahiti-sarit-parvata-
- 52 samakālinaḥ putra-putra-ānvaya-kram-ōpabhōgyaḥ⁶ pūrvapratta-dēvavrā(brā)hmadāya-
rahitō=bhyantarasi[d*]dhyā bhū-
- 53 michchidra-nyāyēna Śa[ka*]nripakāl-ātita-samvatsara-satēahu saptasu
trim(trim)śad-uttarēahu Sarvajin-nāmni samvat[sa]-
- 54 rē Śrāvāṇa-vahula⁷ amāvāsyām sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi va(ba)li-charu-
vaiśya(śva)dēv-āgnihōtra-pañchamahāyājña⁸
- 55 kṛi(kri)y-ōtsarpanārtham snātva=ādy-ōdak-ātisargēna pratipāditāḥ [i*] Yatō=sy-ōchitayā
vra(bra)hmadāya-sthityā
- 56 bhūmjaṭō bhōjayataḥ kṛishatō karshayataḥ pratidiśatō vā na kaischid=alp=āpi
paripamthanā kāryā

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-20.

Om. (Verse 1.) May He⁹ protect you the lotus of whose navel was made by Brahmā into his own abode, and Hara¹⁰ too, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon!

(V. 2.) There was on the earth a king Kṛishṇarāja, whose neck was clasped by the outstretched hands of Fortune¹¹ shining on his broad chest, who was gifted with truth,¹² and who by his large armies defeated the armies of opponents—[and who thereby was like the god Kṛishṇa] whose neck is hidden by the long rays of the *Kaustubha* gem glittering on his broad chest, who is united with Satyā, and who with his broad disc defeats hosts of enemies—yet whose deeds were not like Kṛishṇa's¹³ [i.e. whose deeds were not black (*kṛishṇa*)].

¹ Prof. Bühler read the name *Vaḍaḍa*, but the second *akṣhara* undoubtedly is *ra*.

² Prof. Bühler read *ēvam=ēva*.

³ In the names in this line and the next Prof. Bühler read 14 *akṣharas* differently.

⁴ I am not absolutely certain that the *akṣhara* in brackets is really *jha* in the original, but it certainly looks more like *jha* than anything else. See above, p. 241, note 3.

⁵ Very probably this final *t* was engraved above the line, between *vi* and *sa*, where the impression and the accompanying collotype shew a kind of blot which has been carefully effaced in the photo-lithograph accompanying Prof. Bühler's paper.

⁶ Originally *-kramōpabhōgyaḥ* was engraved.

⁷ Read *-bahul-dmdvadyām*.

⁸ Before this word one would have expected to read, as in the Waṇi grant, *-dgnihōtr-ditiṭi-*.

⁹ I.e. Vishṇu.

¹⁰ I.e. Śiva.

¹¹ Referred to the king, *śrī-kaustubha* would literally mean 'Fortune (as bright as) the Kaustubha gem,' and referred to the god Kṛishṇa it might mean either 'the glorious Kaustubha gem' or 'Lakṣmī and the Kaustubha gem.' Similar compounds are most common; and so is the idea that Fortune rests on a king's breast.

¹² *Satyānvita* = *satya* + *anvita* and *Satyā* + *anvita*, and *Satyā* is a shorter form of the name *Satyabhāmā*, denoting one of Kṛishṇa's wives. Compare *Vds.* p. 122, *Kṛishṇa iva satyabhāmōpētaḥ*, 'he was endowed with truth (*satya*), splendour (*bhā*), and fortune (*mā*), and therefore like Kṛishṇa who is united with Satyabhāmā.'

¹³ Only for those who are not familiar with the devices of Indian poets, I would state that these words are by no means intended either to convey any censure of the god Kṛishṇa, or to draw a distinction between that god and the king. The poet merely employs the figure of speech termed *virōdhā* (or *virōdhābhāsa*). In saying that

(V. 3.) Aided by¹ the total number of his wise men, He easily and swiftly drew to himself, Vallabha as he was,² Fortune from the Chālukya family, which was illustrious because all the families of great monarchs resorted to it from fear of being shorn of their partisans, was difficult to be thwarted by others, and possessed of many stainless brilliant treasures³—just as the Mandara mountain,⁴ supported by the whole assemblage of the gods, easily and swiftly drew Lakshmi forth from the sea which glittered with the throng of all the great mountains that had sought refuge with it from fear of having their wings clipt,⁵ is difficult to be crossed by others, and full of many flawless sparkling gems.

(V. 4.) He had a son who—though like the cruel-rayed sun which with the intensity of its ardour torments the quarters all around, he dominated the circle of the regions by the excess of his prowess—yet delighted the dwellers of the earth by his mild taxation:⁶ Dhōra, who, setting store by fortitude only, robbed of their beauty the lotus-faces of his opponents' wives, (and) whose fame the guardian mistresses of the quarters incessantly wore as their garland.

(V. 5.) United with Fortune unblemished, even though attained by the passing over of his eldest brother, [and thereby like the moon] when she shines with a pure lustre even after having passed Jyēsthā, yet [surpassing the moon, whose orb is not spotless, who was wanting in continence, and is ever 'the maker of night'] He kept those around him free from blemish, was endowed with steadfastness, and noways a source of vice.⁷ Seeing that His liberality exceeded the

Krishnarāja was like the god Krishna, and that yet his deeds were not like Krishna's, he expects the reader to reconcile the two apparently contradictory statements by taking the second of them to mean that his deeds were not black. Compare *Kdd.* (here and below, except when otherwise stated, Prof. Peterson's edition), p. 10, *atibuddha-sabbhavam api krishna-charitam*, 'although his character was very pure, his deeds were black' [i.e., really, his deeds were like Krishna's].

¹ The compound ending with *dīraya* I of course take as a Bahuvrīhi. For the double meaning of *vibuddha* compare *Vds.* p. 14, *Mēruḥ iva vibuddhālayaḥ*, 'he was a home of the learned, and therefore like the Mēru which is the habitation of the gods.'

² By the way in which the poet pointedly places the word *Vallabhah*, at the end of the verse, and in close proximity to the word *dkrishṭavān*, I understand him to suggest that Krishnarāja, just because he was Vallabha, had a right, or was particularly qualified, to draw to himself Fortune from the Chālukya family. And he had this right or qualification, and Fortune came to him willingly, because he was 'the favourite' of Lakshmi, *śrīyā vallabhah*, as he is called in another inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 107, l. 26 of the text).

³ *Ratna*, 'a jewel,' may be used to denote any possession of great value ('*ratnaṁ śrīśākāṁ mayāḥ=api*' *iti Vīśvaḥ*). The epithet *ratna-vīśva-bhāj* in the *Raghuvamśa*, XVI. 1, is explained by *tattachchhīrśākā-vastu-bhājā*. In *Kdd.* p. 80, the prince Chandrāpīḍa looks upon the horse Indrayudha sent to him by his father as one of the king's *sakalatribhuvana-durlabdhāni ratnāni*; and in the gloss on *Harshaḥ*, p. 142, horses, elephants and a beautiful woman are enumerated among the *mahā-ratnāni* of monarchs.

⁴ Compare *Harshaḥ*, p. 109: the king Pushyabhūti (Pushyabhūti) was *Mandaramaya iva lakṣmī-saṁdakarṣaṇaḥ*.

⁵ In *Kdd.* p. 90, the author describes the royal palace as *udāhīm iva bhayāntīḥpravāṣiṭa-sapakṣa-bhāmibhrit-sahasra-saṁkulam*.

⁶ Or by the leniency with which he took tribute from those whom he had subjugated.

⁷ In this first half of the verse the poet uses the figure of *vyatirīka*. In one respect Dhōra was like the moon, but in others he surpassed that luminary. The clouds generally begin to gather and to hide the moon at the beginning of the month of Āshāḍha—compare the *Meghadūta*, v. 2, *Āshāḍhasya prathamā-divasā mēgham dīśiṣṭa-sānuḥ . . . dadarīa*—which follows immediately upon Jyēsthā; yet occasionally the moon may be clearly visible even in the rainy season. Similarly, it has ever been considered sinful for a younger prince to set aside in the succession—compare *Nirukta*, II. 10, *adharmas teyāḥ charitā jyēsthāṁ bhrātaram antaritya-bhīṣṭhānam*, where *antaritya* is paraphrased by *atikramya*—or generally to act in opposition to, an elder brother; yet in the case of Dhōra who was guilty of such conduct, his action—the wording of the verse does not make it certain wherein it exactly consisted—and the personal advantage derived from it, were regarded as free from blemish. On the other hand—so the poet suggests—the moon's orb always has a dark spot; (in carrying off Brihaspati's wife Tārā, though he had many beautiful wives of his own) the Moon was wanting in continence; and the very name *dōshāḥkara*—really 'the maker of night'—of the moon shews its possessor to be 'a mine of vice.' Dhōra's qualities on the contrary, as may be seen from the translation, were the very reverse of all these blemishes.—As regards particulars, compare in the first instance *Kdd.* p. 56, *śatīṇā jyēsthāntikramah*; in Tārāpīḍa's reign

liberality of others, while their own practice of liberality lagged behind that of Karna¹ [i.e. while the stream of their rutting-juice flowed beneath their ears (*karna*)], the elephants of the quarters, utterly abashed as it were, posted themselves at the confines of the quarters.

(V. 6.) The Kali age—witnessing how the Gaṅga, who, of consummate strength, had never been conquered by others, and who, having overrun the face of the earth, was filled with unparalleled conceit, at last by Him was imprisoned—fled far away, for fear, as it were, of being chastised in its own body.

(V. 7.) Having closely hemmed in the Pallava, on the one side by his army abounding in warriors with drawn² swords, and on the other by the sea fearful with sporting sharks, and having received from him, bent in submission, elephants shedding streams of rutting-juice, He, strange (to record), day after day touched never even an atom of rutting-juice³ [i.e. He betrayed never even an atom of pride].

(V. 8.) By his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert⁴ Vatsarāja who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa, He in a moment took away from him, not merely the Gauḍa's two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn moon, but his own fame also that had spread to the confines of the regions.

(V. 9.) Since by the pure conduct of the dwellers of the earth He swiftly drove far away the Kali age that was established here, and completely reinstated the glory of the golden age,⁵ it is marvellous how Nirupama came to be Kali-vallabha, 'the Favourite of the Kali age.'

(V. 10.) As the moon, whose rays cling to Paramēśvara's⁶ lofty head, emerges bright from the sea, and as the sun, causing joy to the lotus, day by day rises brilliant from the high orient mount, so from that Nirupama, firm of character, was born a son of pure disposition, whose feet

the moon indeed passed Jyēṣṭhā, but otherwise there was not found on the earth any *jyēṣṭhādikrama*, i.e. overstepping or, as the commentator puts it, transgression of the commands (*śikṣāśāstrāṅghana*) of an eldest brother. For the moon's behaviour towards Bṛhaspati's wife compare *Vds.* p. 273, *Guruddra-graṇam dvijardjō 'karōt*; *Harshach.* p. 97, *dvijānām rājā Guruddra-graṇam akārshāt*; and especially the beautiful story told *ibid.* p. 281. For *dōṣa*, 'vice,' and *dōṣā*, 'night,' see e.g. *Kdd.* p. 37, *gharmakḍia-divasa iva kṣapita-bāhu-dōṣaḥ*, 'he had subdued many vices, and was therefore like a summer day which shortens the long night' and for the double meaning of *maṇḍala* compare *Vds.* p. 189, *surjēva rakta-maṇḍalaḥ . . . rajasīpatih*, where *maṇḍala* is paraphrased by *bimba*, 'orb,' and *amātyādi-samūha*, 'the collection of ministers etc.'

¹ The adjective ending with *-saṁtatibhṛitaḥ* can only be taken to qualify *diggajān*. Employed in accordance with the figure of *kṛpāliṅga*, it gives the poet's reason why the elephants were ashamed and retired to the confines of the quarters. The king's liberality exceeded that of all others, theirs was inferior at any rate to that of Karna. Karna is well-known as a pattern of munificence. For the double meaning of the word *karna* compare *Vds.* p. 62, *Suyōdhana-dhṛitīm iva karna-vīrdnta-lōchandm*, 'her eyes extended to her ears (*karna*), and she therefore was like Suyōdhana's firmness which left him when he saw Karna,' for that of *dāna*, *ibid.* p. 74, *matla-mātaṅga iva . . . adhartkṛita dānaḥ*, 'he eclipses the liberality (of others), and is therefore like a rutting elephant whose rutting-juice is flowing down,' *Kdd.* p. 90, *diggajam iv=śvichchhina-mahādāna-saṁtānam*; etc.

² The ordinary Sanskrit expression for 'to draw' the sword is *ut-khan*, and the dictionaries give no quotation to shew that *nish-kriṣh* has the same meaning; but the latter verb is used e.g. in *Harshach.* p. 130, *nishkriṣhṇa maṇḍaldgrau*, 'with drawn swords.'

³ In *Harshach.* p. 220, it is similarly said of Skandagupta, the commandant of Harsha's elephant troop: *dtmaṣṭha-samasta-matla-mātaṅga-śādhano 'py=asprishṭō madāna*, 'with a whole army of rutting elephants at his disposal, he was yet untouched by rut' (i.e. presumption; compare Prof. Cowell's Translation).

⁴ Or 'Maru country' (Mārvād); and 'the king of the Vatsas.'

⁵ Beneath the rule of Prabhākaravardhana 'the golden age (*kṛita-yuga*) seemed to bud forth in close packed lines of sacrificial posts, the evil time (*kālī*) to flee in the smoke of sacrifices meandering over the sky,' see *Harshach.* p. 133, and Prof. Cowell's Translation.

⁶ I.e. Śiva's. For the double meaning of *paramēśvara* compare e.g. *Harshach.* p. 162, *iddntu tu tāi=taṣa śiraś paramēśvarē=śai vōḍhavyō jātāḥ*, 'but now you are one to be supported by the king, like the moon by Paramēśvara (Śiva), on his head,' for that of *pāda*, *ibid.* p. 215, *kṣmāpātndm śiraṣu śaraṣavit=śva laldīṣm-tapn prayachakha pāda-nyāśm*, 'like the autumn sun, set your forehead-burning footsteps (rays) upon the heads of kings (the tops of mountains).'

rest on the proud heads of monarchs, who causes delight to millions,¹ is endowed with valour and ever rising—Gōvindarāja, the beloved of the good.

(V. 11.) When this king, the resort of all that is excellent, was born, the glorious Rāshtrakūta lineage became unsurpassable by others, as the Yādava clan did on the birth of Madhu's foe;² a king who—causing haughty adversaries to seek the confines of the regions and to relinquish food and ornaments by his harassment³—clearly made even them quite like unto the suppliants, who see their desires granted to the full and are adorned with pearl-strings by his munificence.

(V. 12.) When, seeing his superhuman form, like that of Kṛishṇa, fit to ward off calamity from the three worlds, his father offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, He addressed to him the seemly words: "Let it be, dear father! This is yours. Have I not worn, like a command unchallenged, the necklet (of heir apparent)⁴ which you have given to me?"

(V. 13.) When, to adorn the heavens, that father of his had gone to that state where nothing but his glory was left, He, though unaided, by the profusion of his superior splendour at once deprived of their lustre the twelve princes, famous though they were, who jointly rose with the desire of appropriating his land, just as the world-destroying fire does to the twelve suns⁵ which rise together to bring about the destruction of the earth.

(V. 14.) Afterwards, when in his infinite compassion He had released the Gaṅga from the long suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, and when that Gaṅga in the excess of his arrogance nevertheless continued in hostility, He, even before a frown appeared on his high broad forehead, defeated him by a raid⁶ and again threw him into prison.

(V. 15.) As the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn, which, having quickly placed its bees on *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers,⁷ enhances the beauty of the *bandhujīva* flower

¹ The word *padma*, in the sense in which I take it here, denotes really 1,000 millions or billions; compare above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 6.

² I.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa.

³ Commentators would paraphrase *dāna*, as used here, by *kāṇḍana* and *vīṭraṇa*. Passages in which the word is similarly employed are *Vds.* p. 11, *Nṛisimha iva darśita-hiranyakātipukṣhātra-dāna-vismayaḥ*, 'he caused astonishment by granting gold, food and clothing, and land, and was therefore like the Man-lion (Viṣṇu) who did so by mauling the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu'; and p. 128, *lakṣhadda-chyutiḥ śdyakāndam*, 'missiles failed to hit their aim—the bestowal of lacs (of money) never failed.'—The word *dāda* often conveys the two meanings which it has in this verse; see e.g. *darśitāda* in the verse in *Kdd.* p. 149. With *muktādhara*^o one may compare *vimuktādhara* in the verse *ibid.* p. 12.

⁴ On *kaṇṭhikā* see above, Vol. V. p. 133, note 2.

⁵ These twelve suns are mentioned frequently; compare e.g. *Vds.* p. 160, *pralaya-kāldāda-dadda-saravi-kiraṇakālpā-ṭhoravirahāsi-dāhyamāndam atikṛitāṇ vipraṇḍm iva tanuḥ bibhrati*; and *Harshach.* p. 209, *kṣaya-dīva iva-dāda-dadda-sadinakara-durmirtakṣya-mūrtiḥ*.

⁶ So the word *vikṣhpa* is translated (in my opinion, correctly) by Prof. Cowell in *Harshach.* p. 170, *adharmavikṣhpa-iva lūṭhitam*, 'sacked by the raids of demerit'; and the same meaning (in addition to its ordinary sense) the word even more clearly has in *Kdd.* p. 107, *dārasitānyapi phalān-iva dāṇḍa-vikṣhpa-iva mahākūlāni śtāyanti*, 'by the raids of their troops they humble great families, even though they be far away, as by throwing sticks one brings down fruit that grows on a high (tree)'. Compare below, v. 18.

⁷ To make it convey this meaning, I take *bāṇasana* of course as a Dvandva compound. The *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers are mentioned in the *Śiśupālavadha*, VI. 46 and 47, both as blossoming in autumn. With the whole passage compare especially *Kdd.* p. 21 of the Calcutta ed. of Saṁvat 1919, *samarōdyata-patākin-iva bāṇasana-drōpita-śīlīmukha*, the Vindhya forest 'where bees are settled on *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers, and which therefore is like an army intent on battle where arrows are placed on bows'; (Prof. Peterson in his ed., p. 19, has adopted the wrong reading *bāṇa-samdrōpita*); compare also the similar passage *ibid.* p. 127 of Prof. Peterson's ed., *samaramukhair-iva punndga-samdrōpita-śīlīmukhaiḥ . . . pādapaḥ*. A passage in which, in addition to the *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers, three others are mentioned in a similar way occurs in the *Nalachampā*, p. 26. In inscriptions, we have the same double meanings of *śīlīmukha* and *bāṇasana* (with special reference to the autumn) in the description of Dhruvasēna III. of Valabhi, e.g. in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 88, ll. 37 and 38 and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 176, l. 36; and in the Kāraṇ plates, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 149, l. 27, we find, instead of *bāṇasana*, *śārasana*, used similarly in a double sense.

and favours the growth of the day-lotus, so the Gûrjara—on seeing how He, who made the lives and wealth of relatives prosper, and was favoured by increase of fortune, and before whom warriors desponded,¹ had come near, quickly placing on his bow the arrows aimed at himself—in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle.

(V. 16.) Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at His feet, the lord of Mâlava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands. What wise man, whose power is small, will compete with one powerful? For that is the prime result of the rules of policy, to know the superiority in strength of oneself and one's adversary.

(V. 17.) Having heard through his spies that his camp was pitched on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain, and apprehending that He was moving towards his own country like (the comet) Dhruva,² king Mārāsarva, driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate³ his mind by choice heir-looms, such as He had never received before, and his feet by prostrations.

(V. 18.) Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at Śribhavana, He thence went with his forces to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra; and staying there, He, strange⁴ (to say), even by flinging it away, again completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas though it was already in his hand—his enemies having submitted.

(V. 19.) Thither the lord of Vēṅgi repaired when (the king's) letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, and longing for his own comfort, steadily like a servant without ceasing did such toil that the enclosure constructed thereby for His camp,⁵ touching the summit of the sky, at night seemed to assume a garland of pearls,⁶ surrounded as it was by the groups of stars above it.

(V. 20.) With their heads embellished by their hands folded then for the first time⁷ to render

¹ The word *sannakṣatra* represents both *san* (i.e. *sat*) + *nakṣatra* and *sanna* + *kṣatra*; compare *Vds.* p. 28, *Trisāṅkur-iva nakṣatrapatha-skholitaḥ*, where *nakṣatrapatha-* is both *nakṣatra-patha-* and *na kṣatra-patha-*. *San-nakṣatra* would of course be equivalent to *vidyamda-nakṣatra*; and *sanna-kṣatra* would have to be dissolved by *sannaḥ kṣatram gēna*, and might also be translated by 'he by whom warriors were humbled, or destroyed'; compare with it *sanna-satru* in the *Raghuvamśa*, VII. 61.

² Compare the *Bṛhatkakhid*, XI. 42, Prof. Kern's Translation in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. V. p. 71: "But the princes on whose warlike equipments, the countries on whose dwellings, trees, and hills, and the householders on whose implements this luminary (*vis.* the comet Dhruva) is seen, are doomed to destruction."

³ In the Sanskrit text the Present Participle is accounted for by Pāṇini, III. 2, 126.

⁴ The strangeness in the first place lies in the fact that he drew to himself something by flinging it away (*vikṣēpa*); and secondly in the circumstance that this thing which he drew to himself already was in his hand (*kara*). His action ceases to be strange as soon as we take the words *vikṣēpa* and *kara* to mean 'raid' and 'tribute':—"He by his raids completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas which was tributary to him" (or, as we should say, who were his tributaries).—On *vikṣēpa* see the note on v. 14. The double meaning of *kara* is most common; compare e.g. *Kdd.* p. 10, *akaram api hastasthita-sakalabhuvanatalam*, 'although he had no hands, the whole extent of the earth was in his hand'; i.e. 'the whole extent of the earth was in his hand and he took no tribute from it.'

⁵ For the use of the word *śāhyāt* (or *śāhyāt*) which I have translated by 'camp,' I only can refer the reader to the passages quoted in von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary*. The word occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgi* (Dr. Stein's edition), VII. 392; 976; 986; and VIII. 46. *Atva-śāhyāt* we have in line 11 of the *Uttamacharitra-kathānakam* (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* 1884, Part I. p. 276), meaning something like 'stabling for horses,' or 'horse-barracks'; and its synonym (though explained differently by the commentator in the Nirṇaya-śāgar Press ed.) *turaṅga-śāhyāt* occurs in *Kdd.* p. 75, l. 1, *uparakhita-turaṅgaśāhyāt-vibhāgam . . . vidyā-mandiram*.

⁶ Pearls and stars are frequently compared with each other; but while as a rule the stars are the *upamāna* and pearls the *upamāya*, here the reverse is the case (*viparyaya-upamā*). The stars which the enclosure seemed to wear on its crest were like a pearl-garland. Compare *Vds.* p. 85, *muktāphala-sabalitaṭikharatayā tīrṭh-lagnaḥ tīrṭh-gaṇam iv-ōdvahan*; *ibid.* p. 220, *tikharagata-muktāphala-vyājina . . . tīrṭh-gaṇam iv-ōdvahaddhīḥ . . . prastādir-upastābhitaḥ . . . Vāsavadattā-bhavanam*.

⁷ *Lo.* they never before had rendered obeisance to any king. For the use of *śatpārva* compare—I take this quotation from the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*—*Raghuvamśa*, II. 42, *iṣṭa-prayoge śatpārva-saṅge*, 'in the discharge of the arrow which (discharge) then for the first time was checked'; and *Kumārāsambhava*, V. 10, *śatpārva-nibaddha*, 'then for the first time tied on.'

obeisance, the kings of hostile realms in their terror approached for protection His feet, which became less adorned by the many exquisite ornaments presented, than by His own words "Do not fear!", the trustworthiness of which guards the stability of his fame.

No. 24.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DHARWAR DISTRICT.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

A.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DIDGUR.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 below) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887.

Didgūr is a village about thirteen miles towards the south-west from Karajgi, the headquarters of the Karajgi tālnka of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Dindgoor,' with a nasal in the first syllable for which it is difficult to account; and moreover, as compared with the map that I mention next, it transposes the position of it with the position of a neighbouring village named Timāpur. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deergoor.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Didgur.' Line 3 of the record, taken in connection with the general purport and with its existence at Didgūr, suggests that the earlier name of the place was Mugunda. And the reference to the governor Dosi has the effect of placing Mugunda, and the other village that is mentioned, Saṅgavūr, in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 1 of Didgūr.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, which shew, in the centre, a seated figure, squatting and facing full-front, on a seat of three tiers, and holding in each hand apparently some weapon which looks like a short spear; on the proper right of this figure, there is a boar, standing to the proper left, i.e. towards the central figure; and on the proper left there is some animal which, in the drawing submitted to me, looks more like a badly sketched horse or donkey than anything else, standing to the proper right, i.e., again, towards the central figure.—The extant portion of the writing covers an area ranging in breadth from about 10" in line 8 to 2' 3" in line 2, by about 1' 9½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and is legible with certainty almost throughout. But, owing to parts of the stone having been broken away and lost, letters are missing at the ends of the lines from line 4 onwards, and at the beginning of lines 7 and 8. And there must have been originally at least one more line, containing the usual end of the imprecatory verse of which there is a remnant in line 8.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them¹ ranges from about ⅔" in the *r* of the *re* in *tereya*, line 3, to about 1½" in the *s* of the *sā* in *sāsi[ra]*, line 6; and the *lbi* in line 2, No. 17, is about 4" high, on the slant. The superscript long *i* is used throughout, for the short *i* as well as for the long vowel. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is used; and it is very pointedly marked in the *ḍi* of *keḍisi[donge]*, line 5, No. 15. There is a final form of the *l* in line 4, No. 12, in *grahana[do]l*. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *ṣ* do not occur.² The *j* occurs twice, in lines 1 and 3, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; it can be seen best in the *ja* of *mahājanadd*, line 3, the last *akshara* but one. The *b* occurs seven times, and is, throughout, of the old square type, closed; but the actual form of it, being mostly composed of curves rather than of straight lines, must be looked on as a somewhat cursive form of the old square

¹ See page 41 above.

² In *kddonge*, line 5, where either the guttural nasal or the *anusvāra* would be permissible, the writer mistakenly used the dental nasal.

type : the intended form can be seen best in the upper *b* of the *rbba* in *sāsiṛbbar*, line 6, No. 5 ; and a noticeable feature in it, is the marked crook, halfway up the left side of the letter, with which the formation of the character commenced : we can see that the writer began at that point, and formed the rest of the character by one steady sweep of the pen, running along the top, down the right side, along the bottom to the left, and then up to the starting-point ; and it is easy to realise that the later cursive type may have been developed almost directly from this particular form of the old square type, by making the downstroke immediately after completing the crook, and then forming the rest of the character to the right instead of to the left. We have the *l* in the *la* of *kālam*, line 4, No. 3 ; and it, also, is of the old square type : it occurred again in *phalam*, line 5 ; it is almost entirely destroyed there ; but such traces as are discernible in the impression, indicate that there, also, the old square type was used.— We have the remains of a Sanskrit imprecatory verse in line 8. But the language of the body of the record is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In *Mugundaduḷ*, line 3, we have the somewhat exceptional locative ending *uḷ* ;¹ but we have the usual ending *oḷ* in [*Vāra*] *nāsiyoḷ* in line 6, and apparently also in *grahaṇa[do]ḷ*, line 4.— The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Kattiyara, under whom a certain Dosi was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The object of it was to record a general assignment of some tax under the orders of the king, and the special assignment by Dosi of a quarter-share of the tax of the village of Saṅgavūr to the *Mahājanas* of Mugunda,—doubtless for expenditure by them on communal objects.²

Of the two villages mentioned in the record, Saṅgavūr is evidently the modern 'Sungoor' of the maps, about two miles on the north of Didgūr.³ Mugunda seems to be the earlier name of Didgūr itself. The record tacitly, but plainly, places both these villages in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. And it seems likely that the Mugunda mentioned here is the town from which there was named a group of villages called the Mugunda twelve, of which mention is made in an inscription of A.D. 1075 at Baḷagāmi. That record registers the grant, for the temple of the god Nārasimha at Baḷligāve, of a town or village (*bāḍa*) named Kundavige in "the Mugunda twelve which was a *kampaṇa* of the Banavase nād."⁴ The maps do not shew any such names as Mugunda and Kundavige in the neighbourhood of Baḷagāmi. Didgūr is only twenty-four miles away towards the north-by-east from Baḷagāmi. And, though there, also, the maps do not shew any such names now, there is no objection, such as on account of excessive distance from the temple to which the grant was made, to locate Kundavige somewhere near Didgūr.⁵

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about A.D. 800. The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.⁶ And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter. Further, it seems likely that, of the emblems on the stone, the boar belongs to the king Kattiyara, and the other animal to the

¹ See page 99 f. above.

² Compare page 102 above.

³ There are inscriptions at 'Sungoor' and at the neighbouring village of 'Koolenoor,' which might possibly throw further light on the matter of the present record.

⁴ *P. S. O.-C. Inscri.* No. 161, lines 33, 34 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. pp. 209, 211 ; and see *Mysore Inscri.* p. 143.

⁵ Moreover, there are various indications that the names of places in that neighbourhood have changed very considerably in the course of time,—probably through the splitting up of towns into small villages.

⁶ See page 197 above ; also page 249 above, where we have Prof. Kielhorn's translation of the verse, No. 13, in the Rādhapur plates.

Inscription at Didgur.



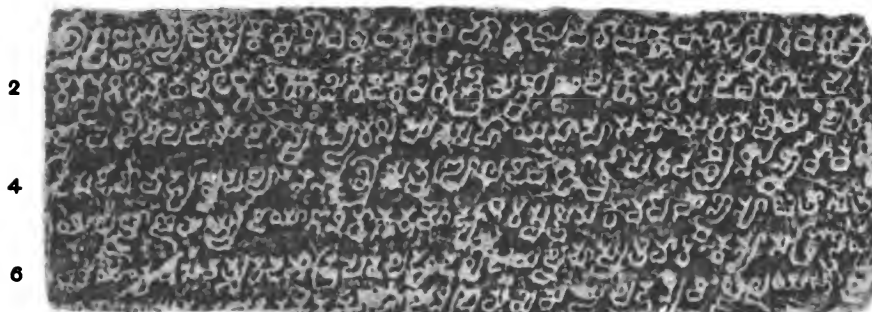
SCALE ·20

Inscription at Gudigere.



SCALE ·20

Mulgund Inscription of Panchaladeva.—A.D. 975.



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ·20

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

governor Dosi. From this it would follow that Kattiyara was a Chalukya, descended from, or at least connected with, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, and that we have in him the Kattiyaradēva who is mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi in the Managōḷi inscription of A.D. 1161.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti³ Śrī-Kattiyara prithivi-rājyam-keye Dosi Banavāsi-
 2 panni|chāsiranum⁴=āle nū(?)⁵ruvaka(ṣra)|agaḍiga|=biḍise Saṁ-
 3 gavūr[ā] teṛeya bhāgamān=Mugundaduḷ=Dosi mahājana-
 4 dā kālām ka|chi biṭṭon=grahapa[do]ḷ chandra-sūrya[am]-[baram] [||*] [I]-
 5 dān=kādonge⁶ āsvamēdhadā pha[la]m=akkum keḍisi[domge Vāra]-
 6 pāsioḷ=sāsirbbar=ppārbbarum sāsī[ra kavileyumam konda]
 7 [p]āpam=akkum yu . . vūrumān=aḷi . . . [||*] [Sva-dattām para-dattām]
 8 [vā yō] harēta vasundharām sha[shṭ]i

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the glorious Kattiyara was reigning over the earth ; and while Dosi was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand :— On (Kattiyara) causing to be assigned⁷
⁸ Dosi laved the feet of the Mahājanas at Mugunda, and assigned (to them), at the time of an eclipse, a quarter⁹ of the tax of Saṅgavūr, [to continue as long as] the moon and sun [may last].

(Line 4.) To him who protects this, there shall accrue the reward of an āsvamēdhā-sacrifice ; to him who destroys it, there shall attach the guilt of [killing] a thousand Brāhmanas and a thousand [cows] at Vārāṇasī !¹⁰

(Verse 1 ; line 7) [He who] confiscates land [that has been given, whether by himself or by another],

B.—AN INSCRIPTION AT GUDIGERE.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. It was originally brought to my notice by the then Māmlatdār of Lakshmēshwar, in February, 1883. I edit it, and the accompanying colotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1892.

Gudigere is the head-quarters town of an outlying tāluka of the same name belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Goodagerree,' in lat. 15° 26', long. 75° 6', six miles towards the west of Lakshmēshwar. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Goodeegeree.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Gudgiri.' The Railway

¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 5 ; note 4 below the translation on page 20 may now be cancelled.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The sign for the superscript long *i* is used throughout to denote the short *i* also. It does not seem necessary to encumber the text by shewing the long vowel in each case and entering the corrections.

⁴ Read *pannilchāsiranam*.

⁵ This is rather a nondescript *akṣara*. It looks more like *śa* than anything else. But it may possibly be *ka* or *kā*.

⁶ Read *kādonge*, or *kādomge*.

⁷ For the meanings given to *biḍise* here and to *biḍi* in line 4, see page 107 above, note 4.

⁸ The word before *biḍise* is unintelligible.

⁹ *Bhāga* seems to be used in this specific sense (for which see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary), rather than in the vague meaning of 'a share.'

¹⁰ The original contained some words here,— perhaps introducing the name of another village, or perhaps only deprecating the destruction of the village itself,— of which not enough remains to make the sense intelligible.

officials have adopted the form 'Gudgeri'.¹ We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of A.D. 1076-77,² which gives its name in the Kanarese form of Guḍigere and in the Sanskritised form of Dhvajataṭṭaka. An earlier mention of it is found in the Tālgund inscription of A.D. 997,³ which mentions, as a feudatory of the Western Chālukya king Taila II., a certain Bhīmarasa,⁴ with the *biruda* of Tailapananṅakakāra or "the champion of Tailapa," who was then governing the [Banavā]si twelve-thousand, the Sātālige thousand (the Sāntālige thousand of other records),⁵ the Ki[sukā]ḍ seventy, and an *agrahāra* the name of which is either Samasi-Guḍigere or possibly Savasi-Guḍigere.⁶ The first component of this name evidently denotes the modern 'Sownshee' of the maps, seven miles north-west-by-north from Guḍigere. The two villages thus constituted in ancient times an *agrahāra*, which was named after both of them. And, as the Tālgund record cites, among the witnesses to the matter which it registers, (the people or elders of) the *padinenṭ-agrahāra*, it would appear that the Samasi-Guḍigere *agrahāra* was one of the eighteen *agrahāras*. The present inscription is on a stone on the north side in front of a temple of Kalamēśvara at Guḍigere.

The sketch submitted to me shews a narrow high stone, with a tall panelled head, probably about four feet high, rounded at the top. At the bottom of the outer panelling, on each side there is a full-blown water-lily; and at the bottom of the middle panel there is a large circle, with a big dot in the centre of it, standing on a square or rectangular pedestal, from each side of which there projects a floral ornamentation. Then comes the writing, immediately below the above, on the bottom part of the panelled head. Below the writing the stone contracts to a square face, probably about one foot square, on which there is the sculpture of an elephant, standing to the proper left, with his trunk hanging down and the tip of it turned up inwards, and, in fact, depicted very similarly to the elephant at the top of the stone at Baḷagāmi which contains the inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli,⁷ and—(except that there is a band or strap round the body of the elephant)—to the elephant at the top of the Peggu-ūr Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 978.⁸ Below

¹ It may be remarked that the name-boards exhibited at railway stations, while large enough and clear enough, are anything but a safe guide to the actual forms of place-names, though they are likely to do more than anything else towards perpetuating certain erroneous or imperfect forms. I have seen, more than once, the same name exhibited in three different spellings on the same platform,—in one form in Kanarese characters, in another in Marāṭhi characters, and in still another in English characters,—and not one of them absolutely correct in all details.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 85.

³ *Pdli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 214; and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 186.—Here, as in various other cases, the details given by me from the photographs of the records are not all presented in *Mysore Inscriptions*. No doubt, more complete and correct accounts of the contents of the records included in that book, will be given when Mr. Rice issues the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which will deal with the Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts. Meanwhile, his *Mysore Inscriptions* still serves as an index and guide to the use of the photographs from Colonel Dixon's collection which were reproduced in my *Pdli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*.

⁴ He is probably described as a *Mahādamanṭa*; but the last four syllables cannot be read with certainty in the photograph.

⁵ The photograph seems to distinctly give the name here as Sātālige,—without any nasal after the *d*.

⁶ In the second syllable of the first component of the name, the original has a character, namely, the mediæval form of *m* or of *v* noticed on page 258 below, which in the photograph may be read either as *m* or as *v*. It is probably *m*. But an ink-impression is required, to settle the point definitely.

⁷ For a photograph, shewing the elephant, see No. 98 of Colonel Dixon's collection, reproduced as No. 152 in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* For the bearing of the emblem on the Baḷagāmi inscription, see page 72 above.

⁸ See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, and *Coorg Inscr.*, opposite p. 5.—There is a very similar elephant on the stone that contains the Gaṅga inscription at Kyātanahalli (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147, lithograph); where, however, it is depicted with its head raised and its back sloping.—For another Gaṅga elephant, see the lithograph of the Tāyalūr inscription (*ibid.*, Md. 14); but that one differs from the others, in being represented as walking or running and with the tip of its trunk turned up forwards.—Sir Walter Elliot has given us a representation of the elephant-seal of one or other of the spurious grants of the Gaṅga series, in his *Coins of*

this, the stone widens out again to the same breadth as above the facet containing the elephant; and the sketch indicates that here there was a continuation of the writing, which, however, is now altogether illegible: it also indicates that, after a space representing about ten lines of writing, the remainder of the stone is broken away and lost.—The extant portion of the writing, represented in the collotype, covers an area about 2' 1" broad by 6½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any uncertainty.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ⅓" in the *ya* of *hesadeyara*, line 2, to 1½" in the *l* of *dḷe*, line 3; and the *ṇṣi* of *mēṇṣi*, line 2, and the *naḍ* in line 3, are 2" high. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is very clear in lines 2 and 3. There is a final form of *n* in line 1, and of *r* in line 2. As regards the palaeography,—the *kh* and *l* do not occur. The *j* occurs twice, in line 1, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; in the collotype, it can be seen best in the *jya* of *rājyaṣ*, line 1, No. 17. The *ṣ* occurs in the same word, in the *akshara ṣe*, line 1, No. 18; and, following the *j* in the usual manner,¹ it, also, is of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs once, subscript, in the *akshara ḷa*, line 1, No. 7; and it, again, is of the old square type, closed.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record presents, in line 2, *mēṇṣi*, as a variant of *mēṭi*, 'a big man, a chief, a head, a head servant.' And it includes, in line 2, a word, *gōḍḍa*, which is not found in dictionaries, and in respect of which we can only conjecture that it is an amplified form of *gōḍa*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *gōḥśṭha*, 'a cow-pen, a station of cow-herds.'²—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment, except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Subhachandra*, line 1.

The extant portion of the inscription is only the opening passage of a record, introductory to matter which is now lost. It refers itself to the reign of a king named the *Mahārāja*

Southern India, Plate iii. No. 120; here, the elephant seems to be "caparisoned." And Dr. Burnell has given us the seal of apparently another grant of the same series, in his *South-Indian Palaeography*, the Plate opposite p. 106, the seal marked Chēra; here, again, the elephant has a band or strap round apparently the throat. In both these instances, the elephant is standing, and has the tip of its trunk turned up inwards.

¹ See a remark on page 46 above.

² As, however, this meaning is not conclusively established yet, the word itself will be used, without translation.—Other cases in which the same word, *gōḍḍa*, occurs, are as follows:—(1) The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text line 5. Here, the harlot Bādipodḍi or Bāḷipodḍi is mentioned as having given to the temple (of Lōkēśvara) an *uttama-gōḍḍa*, "an excellent *gōḍḍa*, a *gōḍḍa* of the best kind," and a horse-chariot and an elephant-chariot, and as giving some land and an *ubhayaṃkṣit* or pregnant cow.—(2) An inscription of the time of Amoghavarsha I. at Chifichli in the Gadag tāluka, dated in the Vijaya *samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 793 by mistake for 795 (expired), in A.D. 874: not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. This inscription records that, on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, someone, whose name is illegible in the ink-impression, fasted and, having laved the feet of the fifty-seven *Mahājanas* of Chifichli and having given them a thousand cows, gave them a *gōḍḍa*; and it further records that a son of one of the village-headmen gave a *gōḍḍa*, together with a tank and a garden (*drama*; perhaps here meaning, rather, a pasture-ground). This latter record, in particular, tends to connect *gōḍḍa* with cows. And, considering how important a part the cow plays in the private as well as the religious life of the Hindūs, we may easily imagine that in former times the cows at night, instead of being brought home to individual houses inside the villages and towns as is done now, were kept and guarded all together in large communal cow-pens in charge of regularly appointed officials, and that the gift of such a cow-pen, whether to the establishment of a temple or for a whole village, would be a highly meritorious act.—From *gōḍḍa* we have, with the affix *iga*,—an affix which forms nouns denoting "makers, changers (dealers), persons in employment," etc. (see Dr. Kittel's edition of the *Saddamaṇḍarapāṇa*, p. 232, sūtra 197),—*gōḍḍiga*, which seems to mean 'a person in charge of a *gōḍḍa*,' and to be equivalent to the *gōḍḍada mēṇṣi* of the present record; it occurs in the Aihole inscription of the time of Vijayāditya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, text line 3), where mention is made of "Maruvarma, of the *Gōḍḍrigas* of Śūraya."—And we also have *gōḍḍi*, apparently as a shorter form of *gōḍḍiga*. This word occurs, qualifying a proper name, in an inscription at Niralgi, to be published hereafter. And an inscription of A.D. 1060 at Sūḍi in the Rōṇ tāluka—(not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression)—mentions, among the boundaries of a village named Sivunūr, a tank called *gōḍḍiya-kere*, "the tank of the *Gōḍḍi* or of the *Gōḍḍis*."—It may be added that the Bombay Postal Directory shews a village named 'Gōḍi' in the Khēḍ tāluka of the Poona district.

Mārassaḷba, under whom a certain **Daḍigarasa** was governing the district,— meaning, of course, the district that included the village at which the record is ; the name of it is not specified.

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about **A.D. 800**. And there can be no doubt that the person whom it mentions as **Mārassaḷba** is to be identified with the **Mārāśarva** of a verse, used in the account of the **Rāṣṭrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III.** in the **Wanī** and **Rādhanpur** grants of **A.D. 807**,¹ which runs :—“ Having heard, through his own spies, that he (**Gōvinda III.**) was encamped on a slope of the **Vindhya** mountains, and recognising that (*though so far away*) he had (*practically*) arrived at his own territory just as if it were **Dhruva** (*on a previous occasion*), king **Mārāśarva**, impelled by fear, quickly went to satisfy his (**Gōvinda's**) desires by (*giving up*) his choicest heir-looms, such as had never been amassed before, as well as to propitiate his feet by doing obeisance to them.” Further, we may safely take it that **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva** was, like the **Kattiyara** of the **Diḍgūr** inscription, one of the twelve confederate kings and princes headed by **Stambha-Kambayya**, who shortly after **A.D. 794** sought to dispute the sovereignty of **Gōvinda III.**² And, as the elephant, depicted so prominently on the stone, can hardly be taken as the emblem of the **Daḍigarasa** of the record, who was plainly a person of very minor rank and importance, we can only understand that it stamps **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva** as belonging to the family of the **Western Gaṅgas** of **Talakāḍ.**³ We shall have to consider hereafter who, exactly, **Mārassaḷba** may have been. He may be some member of the **Gaṅga** family whose existence the **Mysore** records have not yet disclosed. Or the name may possibly be another appellation of **Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa**, who in the course of his career did unquestionably find an opportunity to assume the paramount power and titles. Or it is possible that it may be the name from which, first by substituting the synonymous *śiva* for the *śarva* of its Sanskritised form, and then by metathesis, the persons who fabricated the spurious records of the **Western Gaṅga** series may have obtained the name of **Śivamāra II.** as an alleged son of **Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa**.

In connection with the general history of the period, it is convenient to make here a note regarding the identification of a place which is mentioned in the verse in the **Wanī** and **Rādhanpur** grants which comes next after the verse that mentions **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva**. The verse tells us that **Gōvinda III.** spent a rainy season at a place named **Śrībhavana**, and then marched thence, with his army, to the **Tuṅgabhadra**, where he conquered and despoiled the **Pallavas**.⁴ Mr. Wathen was told that **Śrībhavana** denotes “**Cowldurga**, in **Mysore**, south of the river ;”⁵ that is to say, apparently, **Kavalēdurga**, near the north bank of the **Tuṅgā**, in the **Tīrthahallī** tāluka of the **Shimoga** district, about seven miles on the west of **Tīrthahallī**. Dr. Bühler felt certain that **Śrībhavana** is not ‘**Cowldurga**,’ but could not himself identify the place.⁶ Pandit **Bhagwanlal Indraji** proposed to identify **Śrībhavana** with ‘**Sarbhon**’ in the

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 25 ff., and Vol. VI. p. 67, verse 17 ; also page 250 above, Prof. Kielhorn’s rendering. Prof. Kielhorn has detected what I and Dr. Bühler had not recognised, namely, an astrological allusion to the comet **Dhruva**. But I consider that there is certainly also a secondary reference to the king **Dhruva**. I hold that, just as the astrological allusion to the asterism **Jyēṣṭhā**, in verse 5, was suggested, to the composer of the verses, by what **Dhruva** had done to his elder brother, so, also, the allusion here to the comet **Dhruva** was suggested by something that he had done to the territory of **Mārāśarva**, and the verse contains a secondary reference to it.

² See page 252 above.

³ It is possible that **Daḍigarasa**, also, was a **Gaṅga**. But, even so, it is very unlikely that a **Gaṅga** should, at that time, be exercising local authority so far to the north of the real **Gaṅga** territory, unless his paramount sovereign also was a **Gaṅga**. And it seems more probable that this **Daḍigarasa** was a member of the **Bālivamā** of the **Daḍigamaṇḍala** country, in **Mysore**, which is mentioned in an inscription of **A.D. 1113** or **1114** at **Sūḍi** in the **Eōḍṭ** tāluka (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 111).

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 162, and Vol. VI. p. 71, verse 18.

⁵ *Jour. R. As. Soc., F. S.*, Vol. V. p. 352, note.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 63, note.

Âmôd tâluka of the Broach district.¹ But a village in Gujarât, below the Ghants, is hardly the locality that would be selected for the halt of an army during the rains; especially, as the preliminary to operations on the Tuṅgabhadra. The verse about Mārassaḷba-Mārāsarva, with the light that is thrown on it by the present record from Guḍigere, shews that a sudden and rapid incursion was made by Gôvinda III., from a distant encampment in the Vindhya mountains into the heart of the Dhârwar district. And it seems clear to me that Śribhavana is to be identified with the modern Shiggaon, the head-quarters of the Bankâpur tâluka of the Dhârwar district, only about thirty miles distant from the Tuṅgabhadra. The ancient forms of the name of Shiggaon would be Sirigâve and Śrigrâma, or in Sanskrit Śrîpura. And the composer of the verse used *bhavana*, 'a place of abode, mansion, home,' etc., instead of any other ending, to suit his metre.

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti Śrī-Māra³ssaḷba-mahârâjan pr[i]thuvî-râjyaṅ-geye Su(śu)bhachandra-
paṇḍitarâ⁴ râ-
2 he⁵sadeyara Indamma gôsâsada mēṇṭi Daḍig-arasar
3 nnâḍ⁶.âḷe Ôm⁷

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious *Mahârâja Mārassaḷba* was reigning over the earth; and while *Daḍigarasa*, the headman of the *gôsâsa*⁸ of Indamma who was of⁹ of Subhachandrapaṇḍita, was governing the district. Ôm!

C.—MULGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PANCHALADEVA; A.D. 975.

This inscription has been brought to notice by me in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 307, and in Vol. V. above, p. 172. It is now published for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 above) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1883-84 or 1884-85.

Mulgund is a village about twelve miles towards the south-west-by-south from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tâluka of the Dhârwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Moolgoond.' The official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) wrongly certifies it as 'Mulgund,' with *l* instead of *ḷ*. The existence of the place is carried back to A.D. 866 by the Nilgund inscription, which mentions it as *Mulgunda* and marks it as the chief town of a circle of villages known as the *Mulgunda twelve*, including *Nirgunda-Nilgund*, and lying in the *Beḷvola three-hundred district*.¹⁰ We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of the time of the Râshtrakûṭa king *Krishṇa II.*, dated A.D. 902-903;¹¹ and there are some twenty other records there. The present inscription is on a stone at a temple of Râmadêva at Mulgund.

¹ *History of Gujarat* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I.), p. 123.—There is also a Sarbhôn (so certified, with the lingual nasal, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*) in the Bârdôli tâluka of the Surat district.

² From the ink-impression.

³ This syllable, *ra*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather small, below the *d* of the *md*.

⁴ It seems that at first *rs* was written, and then an attempt was made to correct it into *rd*. But it is possible that the *akshara* was abandoned, as being badly formed and not clear, and that the following *rd* was then formed as the final *akshara* of *paṇḍitarâ*. In that case, the next word is *hesadeyara*,—not *rdhesadeyara*.

⁵ This is rather an anomalous character. The vowel *e* is quite distinct, before the *ḷ*. At the bottom of the *ḷ*, towards the right, there is a loop which seems to be intentional; but, whether it was meant to modify the *e* into some other vowel, or what else may be the purport of it, is not apparent.

⁶ Read *ndâ*; or else *arasar=nnâḍ*, instead of *arasar nnâḍ*.

⁷ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁸ See page 255 above, and note 2.

⁹ The meaning of the genitive plural *rdhesadeyara* or *hesadeyara* (see note 4 above) is not apparent; except that it seems to give the name of a sect.

¹⁰ See pages 98, 107, above.

¹¹ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 167, 190. It will shortly be re-edited in this journal.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal one, in the centre, is a *linga* on its *abhishēka*-stand. On the proper right, there is an image of some god, squatting and facing full-front; beyond this there is a worshipper, kneeling towards the god; and above these there are the sun and moon. On the proper left, there is a cow, standing towards the *linga*, and with a calf sucking at her udder; and above these there is the bull Nandi, recumbent and similarly facing towards the *linga*. These sculptures are all inside a panel, above the centre of which there is some ornamental device, of a circular shape, the exact nature of which is not recognisable.—The writing covers an area about 1' 10½" broad by 8½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any doubt, except in the first eight or nine letters of line 7, the lower parts of which are broken away. It is, however, only a fragment, the body of the record having been broken away and apparently lost.—The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about ⅓" to ⅔". They present nothing calling for comment, except the use of the somewhat rare mediæval forms of *m*, in the upper *m* of *varmma* and *dharma*, line 1, and of *v* in the upper *v* of *pūrvāpara*, line 4, which have been noticed in Vol. V. above, p. 237.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 3, we have *siṅgha* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *siṅha*, 'a lion,' and *komaraka* as a fuller form of *komara*, = *kuvara*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of *kumāra*, 'a prince,' and *bīma*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of *bhīma*, 'terrible.' In *peḷḍora*, line 4, we have the somewhat unusual form *peḷ* for *per*, 'great.' In line 5, we have *bidiye*, as a variant of *bīḍige* which is the more usual *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *dvitīyā*, 'the second *tīthī*.'¹ In line 6, we have *baḷa* as a variant of the better known *baṇa*, which is in use to the present day, in the Kanarese country, to denote sometimes the different branches of the families of hereditary Pāṭils and Kulkarnīs (especially of Pāṭils), and sometimes the different families that have shares in the *watans*, as, for instance, when there are both a Jain *baṇa* and a Liṅgāyat *baṇa* of Pāṭils;² and, in respect of the whole word *baḷanuv*, we may note that, though it is a neuter nominative, it is formed with *n* instead of the more usual *m*, and that, for the final of the copulative ending *uv*, there has been used in *saṁdhi v*, instead of the *m* which was more usual in the archaic language. And, in the same line, we have a word *eleya-bhoja[ga]* (apparently equivalent to *elegāra*, *tambuliga*, 'a seller of betel-leaves'), the second component of which does not seem to be explained in dictionaries.³—In respect of orthography, there is nothing to be noticed except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Saka*, line 5.

¹ Under *bīḍige* in his Kannāḍa-English Dictionary, Dr. Kittel has quoted *vidiye* as the Telugu form, and *vidiyai* as the Tamil form.

² *Baḷa* occurs, in the same sense, in line 45 of one of the inscriptions at Naregal in the Rāp tāluka, where mention is made of "the two *baḷas* of Narayāṅga" (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 238). And lines 49, 51, and 52 of the same record present it in another sense, namely to denote the rent-free service-lands of certain *Gaḍvāḍas* or Pāṭils. In the latter sense, it occurs also in line 81 of the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 1228 (*id.* Vol. X. p. 270, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 114); and this record uses, in line 70, also the exactly equivalent word *gaḍvāḍa*. The case used in the Saundatti record is formed with *a*, as in the present instance,—*baḷan=ojaga*. The cases used in the Naregal record are formed with the more customary *ā*,—*baḷad=ojaga*, *baḷadim*.—The word *baṇa* is also used, I think, in the general meaning of 'a faction.' Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *baṇa* as the Southern Marāṭha form of *paṇa*, 'any tribe; a sectarian division.'

³ In this record, the second component of *eleya-bhoja* is distinctly written with the aspirated *ḥ*. I am not sure whether the vowel should be taken as the short *e* or as the long *ō*.—With the unaspirated *h*, we have the same word, *eleya-bhaja* in lines 21-22 and 28-29 of the Kodikop inscription of A.D. 1144, which mentions "the five-hundred-and-four *Eleyabhajas*" (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 254, 257). In this form, *bhaja*, the word is given in Dr. Kittel's Dictionary; but only as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhujaga*, *bhujāṅga*, 'a snake.' He also gives *bhajatana* in the sense of 'lechery.' The Abū record of A.D. 1104 presents a word which appears as *bhajaṅgatana* or *bhajatana* in line 82 of one version, and as *bhajatana* in line 86 of the other version (see Vol. V. above, p. 231, note 9). There can be hardly any reference there to lechery; and the word seems to stand there for *eleyabhajatana* or *eleyabhajagatana*, 'the occupation of a seller of betel-leaves,' or else to denote some impost on that trade.

The inscription is a fragment, of which but little more than the introductory passages is extant. It refers itself to the reign of a certain **Pañchaladēva**, whom, from his appellations of **Satyavākya** and **Koṅguṇivarman** and his titles of lord of the town **Kuvalāḷa** and of the mountain **Nandagiri**, we recognise as a member of the family of the **Western Gaṅgas** of **Talakād**.¹ It mentions, by three well known *birudas*, his predecessor, the great **Noḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II**. Among the epithets that it applies to **Pañchaladēva**, it styles him **Chālukyapañchānana**, "a very lion to the Chālukyas;" which, perhaps, involves a play on his name, and indicates **Pañchala** as a **Prākṛit** form of the Sanskrit **Pañchānana**.² And it represents him as reigning over the whole territory between, on the north, "the great river," that is to say the **Kṛishṇā**,³ and of the east, south, and west, the ocean. This assertion is hyperbolic in the latter part, except possibly in respect of the alleged western limit. But, as **Mulḡund** itself, where this record is, is on the north of the **Tuṅgabhadrā**, there is no objection to accepting it as a fact that **Pañchaladēva** did hold for a time all the territory from the south of **Mysore** as far north as the river **Kṛishṇā**.

The record is dated at the time of the **Kanyāsamkrānti**, or entrance of the sun into **Virgo**, on **Bṛihaspativāra** or **Thursday** coupled with the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month **Bhādrapada** (August-September) of the **Yuvan samvatsara**, **Śaka-Samvat 897** (expired, according to the southern luni-solar system). And the corresponding English date is **Thursday, 26th August, A.D. 975**. On this day, the given *tithi* ended at about 15 hours 39 minutes after mean sunrise (for **Ujjain**), and the **Kanyāsamkrānti** occurred at 16 hours 5 minutes.⁴

TEXT.⁵

- 1 Om⁶ Svasti Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarmanma-dharmmamahārājādih[i]rāja Kuvalāḷa-puravar-śva-
 - 2 ra Nandagiri-nātham chāladuttaraṅga-jagadēkavira-śrīman-Noḷa[m]bakuḷān-takadēva-pādapa-
 - 3 dm-ōpajivi pade-nōḍe-gaṇḍam gaṇḍara-siṅghan-asahāya-sāhasam komaraka-bīmam bira-
 - 4 da-selevom Chālukya-pañchānana[m] śrīmat-Pañchaladēvar-pūrvv-āpara-dakṣiṇ-
 - 5 ārpav-āva[dh]i- yī[m] peldore maryyādey-āge nirākūlam=āḷutt-ire [||⁷] Svasti Sa(śa)ka-varsham-
 - 6 eptu-nūra tombhatt-ē]- laneya Yuva-samvatsarada Bhādrapada bahuḷa bidiye Bṛihaspativāram Kanyā-
 - 7 ? [nagara]-mahājana-pramukham=ayd[un]-baḷannv=
- iḷd=eleya-bhoja-⁸

¹ For what is known about **Pañchaladēva** from other sources, references may be made to pages 71 f., 83, above, and to Vol. V. above, p. 173 f.

² **Pañchānana** occurs, not exactly as a proper name of **Śiva**, but as an appellation of him which could be used in the place of his proper name. As a proper name, it occurs in the cases of "an author and other men" (see **Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary**, revised edition, under *pañcha*).

³ See Vol. V. above, p. 169, note 6. The word used here is *peldore*, instead of the more customary *perdore*.

⁴ Probably, more exact calculations would make the *tithi* still current at the moment of the *samkrānti*.

⁵ From the ink-impression.

⁶ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁷ Eight or nine *akṣaras* are illegible here, the lower parts of them being broken away and lost. As the *nakṣatra* at the time of the *samkrānti* was **Révatī**, which the moon entered at about 2 hrs. 23 min. after mean sunrise (for **Ujjain**), we might suggest *Révatī-nakṣatramam=agi*, which would suit both the space and the context. But such remains of the *akṣaras* as are discernible, hardly adapt themselves to that reading.

⁸ The fragment ends here. The next line began, of course, with the *ga* of the word *bhojaga* in one or other of its cases, singular or plural.

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While the *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* **Satyavākya-Koṅgunivarma**, the lord of **Kuvalāja**¹ the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri,— he who (*had*) subsisted (*like a bee*) on the water-lilies that were the feet of the lintel of firmness of character,² the sole hero of the world, the glorious **Notambakulāntakadēva**-(*Mārasimha* II.),³— he who is a hero when he sees an army, he who is a very lion of heroes, he who is daring even without companions, he who is terrible to princes, he who attracts bravery, he who is a very lion to the **Chālukyas**, the glorious **Pañchaladēva**, was governing, without any disorder, from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river as the boundary (*on the north*):—

(Line 5) Hail! [When it was] Thursday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the month **Bhādrapada** of the **Yuvan saṁvatsara**, which was the eight hundred and ninety-seventh **Śaka year**, and when there was the **Kanyāsaṁkrānti**,
 the whole of the five divisions,⁴ headed by the *Mahājanas* [of the town], being convened,⁵ the sellers of betel-leaves

No. 25.—**SRIKURMAM INSCRIPTION OF NARAHARITIRTHA;
 ŚAKA-SAMVAT 1203.**

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The subjoined record⁶ is in the **Kūrmēśvara** temple at **Śrikūrmam** in the Chicacole tāluka of the Gañjām district. It is inscribed on the east and north faces of one of the black granite pillars⁷ which support the hall enclosing the temple, and is written in clear **Telugu** characters.

The inscription consists of nine **Sanskṛit** verses in various metres. It mentions first an ascetic **Purushōttama-mahātirtha**, who is represented to have been an incarnation of the god **Vishnu** (v. 1) and to have composed a commentary (v. 2) which is not known from other sources. His pupil was **Ānandatirtha**, who explained the *Vyāsasūtras* in accordance with the principles of the **Dvaita** school (v. 3) and who bore the title *Bhagavatpādāchārya* (v. 5). His pupil **Naraharitirtha** (v. 8) seems to have been the governor of the **Kāliṅga** country (v. 6) and to have defended **Śrikūrmam** against an attack of the **Śabaras**⁸ (v. 7). On **Wednesday**, the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Mēsha** in **Śaka-Samvat 1203**, he built a shrine of **Yōgānanda-Nṛisimha** in front of the temple at **Śrikūrmam** (v. 9).

¹ This name is usually found with *l* in the last syllable; see, for instance, page 43 above, text line 2, **Kovalāja**, and page 54, line 5, **Kōlāja**. Here, however, we distinctly have *ḷ*. The vowel of the first syllable, when the name is written in four syllables, is sometimes *u* and sometimes *o*.

² This and the following two *śīrṣas* were appellations of the Western Gaṅga prince **Mārasimha** II.; see Vol. V. above, p. 168.

³ From *chaladuttaraṅga* to *śpaṭṭi* is one word, a compound. The *anuvāda* of *nāṭhān*, which seems to be quite distinct, separates the preceding matter (also really a compound) from that compound, and makes it apply to **Pañchaladēva**, not to **Notambakulāntakadēva**.—As regards my supplying the word “*had*” before “*subsisted*,” it is to be remembered that **Mārasimha** had either died or abdicated before June-July, A.D. 974 (see Vol. V. above, pp. 162, 168), more than a year before the date of this record. The allusion is to **Pañchaladēva** having served under him in A.D. 971 and 973 (see *ibid.* pp. 172, 173).

⁴ *Baḷa*; see page 258 above.

⁵ *ḷḷḍu* is equivalent to *oḍḍu=ḷḷḍu*; see page 68 above, note 6.

⁶ No. 290 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

⁷ On the west and south faces of the same pillar is another inscription (No. 291 of 1896) of **Naraharitirtha**, the pupil of **Ānandatirtha**, which is dated in **Śaka-Samvat 1215** and records the setting up of images of **Rāma**, **Śitā** and **Lakṣmī** in the **Kūrmēśvara** temple.

⁸ The **Śabaras** are the savage inhabitants of the forests of the Gañjām district.

Among the three Vaishṇava teachers named in the inscription, Purushōttama-mahātīrtha is not mentioned in the lists of the Mādhva teachers preserved in the *Maṭhas*,¹ which begin with Ānandatīrtha. The *Madhvavijaya*,² a *kāvya* by Nārāyaṇapāṇḍita, the son of Trivikramapāṇḍita, which describes in detail the life of Ānandatīrtha and his dialectical victories over the *Māyāvādins* or followers of Śaṅkarāchārya, mentions as the spiritual *Guru* of Ānandatīrtha a certain **Achhutaprēkshāchārya**, who had the surname of **Purushōttamatīrtha**,³ by which he is referred to in verse 1 of the subjoined inscription.

Ānandatīrtha, the second of the teachers mentioned in the inscription, is the famous founder of the **Dvaita** school of philosophy and occupies in the history of Indian religion a position not in any way unequal to those of the great Śaṅkarāchārya and of Rāmānujāchārya. Vaishnavism, the most characteristic feature of which is *bhakti*, or love for god, that may be freely practised by one and all, irrespective of creed and caste, was first started by Rāmānujāchārya in the 11th century, was eagerly spread by Ānandatīrtha in the 13th century, and eventually assumed large proportions in the 16th century under Kṛishṇa-Chaitanya, the celebrated Vaishṇava teacher of Bengal. Ānandatīrtha is known by three other names, *viz.* **Pūrṇaprajña**, **Madhvāchārya** and **Madhyamandāra**. His system has been explained in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Sāyaṇāchārya under the heading *Pūrṇaprajña-darśana*. Ānandatīrtha's direct disciples were Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha, Mādhvatīrtha and Akshōbhyaīrtha, who succeeded one after the other to the pontifical seat after the death of Ānandatīrtha.⁴

Several interesting facts regarding the life of **Naraharītīrtha**, the third teacher mentioned in the inscription, are recorded in a *stōtra* entitled *Narahariyatistōtra*, which is included in the *Stōtramahōdadhi*, Part I.⁵ It states that, before conversion to the Mādhva faith, the *Tīrtha* was called **Śāmasāstrin**,⁶ and that he was styled Naraharītīrtha after receiving initiation from **Pūrṇaprajña**. The latter ordered his pupil to go at once to the capital of the **Gajapati** king and to be a ruler there. Naraharītīrtha, who had learnt the true import of the *Bhāṣya*⁷ from his teacher, would have preferred to become a *saṁnyāsīn* and said :—"Lord! what do I gain by ruling a kingdom?" The master replied :—"There in the Gajapati kingdom are the images of Rāma and Sītā, which you must try to acquire with great skill, in order that I may worship them." Accordingly Naraharītīrtha went to the country of the Gajapati king and was hailed there by the people and the infant king as a fit ruler for their country. The *stōtra* continues to say that the teacher ruled the **Kaliṅga** country for twelve years. When the prince attained his majority, he handed back the kingdom to him and, as a present and compensation for the services rendered, requested the king to give him the images of Rāma and Sītā, which were in the royal treasury. These being secured, Naraharītīrtha returned and gave them to his master Ānandatīrtha. The latter worshipped the images for 80 days and made them over to his first pupil, **Padmanābhatīrtha**, who in his turn worshipped them for six years and handed over the charge of

¹ Several *Maṭhas* or schools of the Mādhvas are known to exist. The Kārṇāṭaka and Dēśastha Brāhmaṇas follow three of them, *viz.* the Uttārādimaṭha, Vyāsarāyamaṭha and Rāghavēndrasvāmimaṭha. Most of the Sivaḷli, Kōṭa and Kōṭēśvara Brāhmaṇas of South Canara are adherents of nine other *Maṭhas*, *viz.* eight *Maṭhas* at Uḍipi and one at Subrahmanya (with a branch at Bhaṇḍārakēri near Bārūkūr). Lists of Mādhva *Gurus* are preserved in each of the three chief *Maṭhas* and are available for inspection. A similar list has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1892-93*, Appendix II. p. 203.

² The chief incidents in the life of Madhvāchārya as related in the *Madhvavijaya* have been put together in a pamphlet entitled "Madhwacharya.—A short historic sketch," by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College.

³ *Madhvavijaya*, vi. verse 83.

⁴ The nine *Maṭhas* of South Canara recognise only Padmanābhatīrtha and their nine founders as direct disciples of Ānandatīrtha.

⁵ Printed at Bombay by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in 1897.

⁶ The lists (see note 1 above) give the name Rāmasāstrin.

⁷ This probably refers to the commentary of Ānandatīrtha on the *Prasthānatraya*; see below, p. 265, note 5.

them to Naraharītīrtha in the *Raktākshi-saṃvatsara*. Having thus acquired the images and having become the preceptor of the world,¹ Naraharītīrtha went about touring and preaching. While resting for the night in a certain town, he dreamt of an image of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) merged in a tank near that town. The next day he had the image taken out, consecrated it, and called the town in consequence of that incident Nārāyaṇadēvarkere (i.e. 'the tank of the god Nārāyaṇa'). This place still exists under the same name in the Hospēṭ tāluks of the Bellary district. Having made over the charge of the images to Mādhavatīrtha, the third pupil of Ānandatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha retired to the banks of the Tūṅgabhadra and died there in the cyclic year *Śrīmukha*. To this the lists of the *Maṭhas* add that, at Chakratīrtha² on the bank of the Tūṅgabhadra, Naraharītīrtha established a *Maṭha*, occupied the *sthānādhipatyā* or pontifical seat for a period of nine years, and wrote a commentary on the *Bhāṣya*, probably that of his teacher Ānandatīrtha.³

This traditional history of Naraharītīrtha's life agrees with the statement made about him in verse 6 of the inscription and fully accounts for the existence in the Kālīṅga country of several inscriptions which record his gifts to temples.⁴ It will be seen from the sequel that Naraharītīrtha succeeded to the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324 and died in A.D. 1333. His governorship in the Kālīṅga country, which took place before his becoming a *Guru*, must therefore be placed in the period before A.D. 1324. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions in the Kālīṅga country range between Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 and 1215 (= A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294).⁵

Before discussing the dates of Ānandatīrtha and his successors, I have to draw attention to the fact that the Śaka dates, which are assigned to the pontificate of each teacher in the lists of the *Maṭhas*, are to be accepted with caution. Dr. Bhandarkar⁶ says that "in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each high-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year. But this method is uncertain and liable to error if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than sixty years." It will be seen from what follows that such an error has actually been committed and that the dates given in the lists for each *Guru* will have to be pushed forward by two full cycles, i.e. one hundred and twenty years. According to the traditional lists preserved in the three chief *Maṭhas*, Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th *tithi* of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1040, the *Vilambi-saṃvatsara* (= A.D. 1118) and died on the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1119, the *Piṅgala-saṃvatsara* (= A.D. 1197).⁷ In his *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*⁸ Ānandatīrtha is

¹ It may be noted that this transmission of the images from teacher to pupil is still going on in the existing Mādhva *Maṭhas*. The installation of a new *Guru* means, among other things, the receiving over of the charge of the images to be regularly worshipped. The same custom obtains among the Smārta (Advaita) *Maṭhas* as well. There arises often a dispute among the *Maṭhas* as to whether the images worshipped therein are the same as those which were worshipped by the first teacher, the founder of the *Maṭha*, or are imitations acquired second or third hand.

² This place is said to have been situated at Hampi between the temples of Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala.

³ At Udipi I was told that Naraharītīrtha's *Tippaṇi* on Ānandatīrtha's *Bhāṣya* is still in existence.

⁴ An inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1214 at Sindhāchalam (No. 305 of 1906) shows the great influence that Naraharītīrtha exercised on the people of that country; for it records a grant to the Lakṣmī-Narasimhaśaivāmin temple at Sindhāchalam, made by the Matsya chief Jayanta of Oḍḍavādi at the instance of Naraharītīrtha. Another inscription at Śrīkūrmam (No. 367 of 1896), which records a gift of gold by Naraharītīrtha, is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1215 and in the 18th year of the reign of Vīra-śrī-Naraṇārasimhadēva, i.e. the Gaṅga king Narasimha II.

⁵ The *Narahariyatīrthā* quoted above says that the *Tīrtha* ruled the Kālīṅga country for 12 years, while his inscriptions in that part of the country range over 30 years.

⁶ See his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 16.

⁷ See Dr. Bhandarkar, *ibid.* p. 202.

⁸ Chapter xxxii. verse 131, which runs as follows :—

चतुस्रहस्रे विप्रतोमरे गते संवत्सराणां तु कक्षी पृथिव्याम् ।
आवः पुनर्विप्रतनुस्य भीमी दलेभिर्गूढं हरितल्लभाह ।

supposed to have given the date of his own birth as Kali 4300 (= A.D. 1198).¹ Thus a difference of 80 years exists between the date found in the lists and the date contained in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*. Even the second date cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ānandatīrtha's pupil Naraharītīrtha and is perhaps due to an interpolation. As regards the dates given in the lists, I am inclined to adopt Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the Jovian years may be perfectly reliable while their Śaka equivalents are later inventions, and to accept the statement of the lists that Ānandatīrtha was born in the year *Vilambin*, lived for 79 years, and died in the year *Pīṅgala*. The lists further state that he was succeeded by his pupil Padmanābhatīrtha, who occupied the seat for seven years and was followed by Naraharītīrtha in the cyclic year *Raktākshin*. This teacher occupied the seat for nine years and died in the year *Śrīmukha*. He was succeeded by Mādhavatīrtha, who in his turn occupied the seat for seventeen years and was followed by Akshōbhyatīrtha, who occupied the *sthānādhipatya* for another seventeen years. With the help of these statements the actual time of Ānandatīrtha can be easily determined by calculating backwards from the dates of Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions. Two other facts derived from different sources are also of some value in this direction, viz. the statement in the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*² that Akshōbhyatīrtha was a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya, and the statement in the *Madhvavijaya*³ that a certain king Śīvarādēva in Mahārāshṭra tried in vain to take Ānandatīrtha into his service. Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya was the minister of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I. whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1353 and A.D. 1371.⁴ Roughly, therefore, Akshōbhyatīrtha, a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya, will have to be assigned to this period. To get to the time of Ānandatīrtha, the total period of the *sthānādhipatya* of the intervening teachers, Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha and Mādhavatīrtha, viz. 33 years, will have to be deducted, say, from A.D. 1362; and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now the nearest year to A.D. 1329 which corresponded to *Pīṅgala*, the traditional date of the death of Ānandatīrtha, was A.D. 1317. As noted above, Ānandatīrtha is supposed to have lived for 79 years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year *Vilambin*, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement of the *Madhvavijaya* confirms this date; for Śīvarādēva of Mahārāshṭra has been identified by Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyar⁵ with the Yādava king Mahādēva of Dēvāgiri, who reigned from A.D. 1260—1271.⁶ Ānandatīrtha's date being thus fixed, the dates of his successors can be easily determined with the help of the lists which give the traditional Jovian years for each teacher's succession to the pontifical seat and for his death. Thus Naraharītīrtha, the second in succession, must have ascended the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324, the year *Raktākshin*, and died in A.D. 1333, the year *Śrīmukha*.

TEXT.⁷

East Face.

1 देव[:*] श्रीकमलाविलासलहरीपात्रं कलिप्रो[म्भ]लत्क्षेत्रक्षिष्टजनेखिलचि[ति]-
तले संज्ञीलबो[धो].⁸

¹ With this agrees a statement of the Mādhy Svāmin at Phalmāru near Mulki in South Canara, who told me that, according to the tradition of his *Maṭha*, Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka-Saṁvat 1119, *Pīṅgala*, *Māgha-suddha* 7, and died in Śaka-Saṁvat 1199, *Śīvara*, *Māgha-kṛishṇa* 9.

² Madras edition, p. 108.

³ Chapter x. verse 3 f. Two other names mentioned in the *Madhvavijaya*, if identified, may also help in fixing the date of Ānandatīrtha, viz. a king Jayasinha who restored the library to the teacher, and a *Guru* of the Śaṅkarāchārya-Maṭha at Śrīngēri who had a dispute with Ānandatīrtha at Trivandrum. The former has not been identified; but Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyar of the Coimbatore College identifies the latter with a certain Vidyāśaṅkara, who is supposed to have occupied the Śrīngēri seat from A.D. 1228—1233, i.e. for no less than 105 years (!).

⁴ See above, Vol. III. p. 36.

⁵ See his pamphlet "Madhvaacharya.—A short historic sketch," p. 14.

⁶ See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 519. ⁷ From two inked estampages prepared in 1896.

⁸ Read संज्ञीन°.

⁹ The *akṣara* श्री of श्रीं has both an *l* and an *o* attached to it.

- 2 ¹दये [1*] स्वीयश्रीपदपंकजैकशरणान्² [सं]रक्षितुं³ सन्मुनिर्ज्जात[1*] श्री-
पुरुषोत्तमाभिध[म](1)-³
- 3 हा[ती]र्त्यस्मृत्यग्रणीः । [1*] यन्मुनिभाषितभाष्यं बाध्यं⁴ किल तीर्थिक-
प्रवरसंग्रहेः [1*] उ-
- 4 अदवादिद्विरदप्रतिजुम्भमंजुशं भवति⁵ ॥ [2*] तस्य ज्ञानकलाकलोदय-
कलो वैय्य[1]-
- 5 सीक⁶ गोगणं (1) मंदै[र्भिर्]न्नपथप्रधारितमलं⁷ सुव्यक्तमेदे पथि । नेतुं
संभृतदंड-
- 6 मंडितकरो यः प्रादुरासीन्मुनिव्रातैस्त्रेव्यपदारविंशयुगळादानंदती[र्थो सु]-
7 निः । [3*] यन्मुखनि[1*]सृतभाषा ललिता ललितप्रकारपदविन्यासा [1*]
कमलाप[ति]पदकमलं भ-
- 8 जते भजमानभवभयारा[ति] । [4*] आनन्दतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्यसरस्वती [1*]
लोकोत्र
- 9 हरिपादाजयुगळप्राप्तये न⁸ सा । [5*] तस्मात्सोकसुरक्षणातिनिपुणाक्षंप्राप्तक-
10 र्त्तव्यधीद्वेधामुत्र⁹ तथाच¹⁰ योवति जनान् ¹¹क[1*]लिंगभूसंभ[वान्] [1*]
पिण्याचारमुपैति
- 11 स्र[नु]रिति सन्नोतिस्थितो धर्मतश्चनुष्मापतिवर्णदुर्गनिवहान् भीतानभीत[1*]
स्त्रयं । [6*] यश्च
- 12 ¹²श्रीकमठाधिनायकमहाकायैकवद्व्रतस्तस्य प्र[च्यु]तिवारणाय शबरानीक-

North Face.

- 13 क्षितीध्राशनिं [1*] धत्ते [स]त्करवालमस्य त[टि]ता¹³ संत्यक्तजीवे रिपौ
हंतव्यानवशेषणा-
- 14 त्रिजविधिक्री¹⁴ यस्य बोध्यस्तरां । [7*] तेनानेन श्रीमन्नरहरितोर्त्ताख्यमुनि-
वरेण्येन¹⁵ [1*] क-
- 15 लिसमयप्रज्ञादप्रबावपरितोत्थनृहरिरूपेण¹⁶ ॥ [8*] स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे हृतवह-

¹ Lines 2, 3, 4 and 5 are written between parallel lines.² The final न् is inserted below the line.³ The *akshara* मा at the end of the line appears to be corrected from ध. ⁴ Read भाष्यं.⁵ In the second half of this verse the metre requires one or more additional syllables which are missing in the original.⁶ Read वैयासिकं.⁷ Read 'प्रसारित'.⁸ Read नु.⁹ Read 'धीर्द्वेधा'.¹⁰ Read तथाच.¹¹ The syllables कलिंगभूसंभवा are written on an erasure.¹² Read 'कार्यैक'.¹³ Read तडिता.¹⁴ Read 'विधिर्गो'.¹⁵ Read 'तीर्त्ताख्य'.¹⁶ Read 'प्रभाव'.

- 16 व्योमहयस्त्रायुते मेवे 'शुक्लशशांकशेखर[दि]ने वारे [च*] सौम्ये वरे [।*]
प्रासादं कमठा[धि]-
- 17 पक्ष पुरतो निर्माय शर्मप्रदो योगानन्दसिंह¹ ए[ष*] भगवान् प्रीत्या
प्रतिष्ठापि-
- 18 तः । [८*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) The god (Vishṇu), (*who is*) the recipient of the abundant dalliance of the goddess Kamalā (Lakshmi),—in order to protect those whose only refuge are his divine lotus-feet on the whole surface of the earth where men were oppressed by the suffering produced by the Kali (*age*), (*and*) where the rise of knowledge had ceased,²—took birth (*in the person of*) a great saint (*mahātīrtha*) named the holy Purushōttama, a pious ascetic (*and*) a leader of the wise.⁴

(V. 2.) The commentary (*bhāṣya*)⁵ pronounced by this sage is, indeed, worthy of being repeated by crowds of chiefs of saints (*tīrthika*), (*and*) a goad on every frontal globe of the furious elephants—proud disputants.⁶

(V. 3.) From the pair of lotus-feet of this (Purushōttama), which is worthy to be worshipped by crowds of sages, was produced⁷ the ascetic Ānandatīrtha, who caused the rising of the moon of wisdom,⁸ (*and*) whose hand was adorned with a staff⁹ held (*in it*), (*and who was therefore*) able to lead on the easily distinguishable path¹⁰ the cows of Vyāsa,¹¹ which had been enticed on the wrong path by ignorant men.¹²

(V. 4.) The charming speech proceeding from his mouth (*and*) consisting of words arranged in a charming manner resorts to the lotus-foot of (Vishṇu) the lord of Kamalā, which destroys the fear of rebirth of (*its*) devotees.

(V. 5.) The speech of the holy preceptor (*Bhagavatpāddachārya*) Ānandatīrtha (*leads*) indeed (*already*) in this life to the attainment of the pair of lotus-feet of Hari (Vishṇu).

¹ The rest of the inscription after शर्मा is engraved very faintly. The letters can however be read from the back of the estampage.

² Read °वृत्तिः.

³ The reason assigned in this verse for the *avatāra* of Vishṇu agrees with what Kṛishṇa says in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, chapter iv. verse 7 f. :—

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत । अश्वत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ।
परिचाक्षाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृतान् । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ।

⁴ The word *sumati*, 'the wise,' seems to have been a standing designation of the followers of the Dvaita doctrine, just as *bhāgya* is applied to the Jainas; for the Rāghavēndrasāmimaṭha at Nāñjangūḍ, one of the three chief *Maṭhas* of the Mādhyas, is otherwise called Sumatīndramatṭha.

⁵ The commentary referred to may be assumed to have been one on the *Brahmasūtras*, the ten important *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*—collectively known by the name *Prasthānatraya*; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 18.

⁶ The 'proud disputants' are the followers of the Advaita system of Śaṅkarāchārya.

⁷ I.e. 'his pupil was.'

⁸ *Kaldkala* may be taken in the sense of *kaldhara*. The rising moon assists the cows which are mentioned afterwards in finding their way, and the wisdom is required for the explanation of the *Vydsasūtras*.

⁹ The staff is one of the attributes of an ascetic; but the cowherd's stick is also implied here.

¹⁰ Or, 'on the path where the distinction (*bhāda*) (between *Jñedman* and *Paramātman*) is quite clear,' i.e. the Dvaita system.

¹¹ Or, 'the words of Vyāsa,' i.e. the *Vydsasūtras*, on which the Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita systems are based.

¹² These negligent cowherds are the followers of Śaṅkarāchārya.

(V. 6.) From him (*vis.* Ānandatīrtha), who was very experienced in well protecting men, has obtained the knowledge of duty he (*vis.* Naraharītīrtha), who protects the people born in the Kāliṅga country both in the next (*world*) and in this; who as a (*dutiful*) son follows the profession of (*his*) father,¹ practising high politics in a righteous manner (*and*) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings;

(V. 7.) And who, being devoted exclusively to the great service of the lord of Śrīkamāṭha,² holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (*temple*), an excellent sword (*which is*) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the bands of Śābaras,—(*but*) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its (*mere*) flashing.³

(V. 8.) This best of sages, called the holy Naraharītīrtha, a man-lion incarnate, who is to be worshipped by those who possess the power of Prahlāda⁴ in the Kali age,—

(V. 9.) Hail! in the prosperous Śaka year joined with the fires (3), the sky (0), the pair (2), and the earth (1),—(*i.e.* 1203),—in (*the month of*) Mēsha, on the day of the moon-crested (Śiva),⁵ in the bright (*fortnight*), and on an excellent Wednesday,—having built a temple in front of the lord of Kamāṭha, consecrated (*therein*) with pleasure this god Yōgānanda-Nṛsiṃha, the bestower of bliss.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remark on the date of the preceding inscription:—

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1203 expired the 8th *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Mēsha ended 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; and in Śaka-Saṃvat 1203 current the same *tithi* ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th April A.D. 1280. As all the other inscriptions of Naraharītīrtha (see below) quote expired Śaka years, the day intended by the date would be expected to be Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; but if it were so, the word *Saumya* of the date would have to be altered to *Saurēra* (*i.e.* 'of Saturn')."

Besides this inscription, the Vaishṇava temples at Śrīkūrmam and Siṃhāchalam (in the Vizagapatam district) contain five other inscriptions recording gifts by Naraharītīrtha. I subjoin their dates, which Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to calculate as well.

1.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam.⁶

5	U(ā)na-chaturdaśa-varshā	dvādaśa-śata-vatsarē	[I*]
6	Kanyā-māsē=sitā	pakṣhā trayōdaśyām	Kavār=ddinē [II*]
9	Svasti	śrī-Śaka-varuṣaṃbulu	1186 n=ēmtṭi
10	Kanya-kri(kṛi)shṇa	13 Śukravāramuna	. . . . .

"In the (*Śaka*) year twelve hundred less fourteen years, in the month of Kanyā, in the dark fortnight, on the thirteenth *tithi*, on Friday."

"On Friday, the 13th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Kanyā in the Śaka year 1186."

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired the date corresponds to Friday, the 19th September A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Kanyā.—F. K.

¹ It follows from this statement that both Naraharītīrtha and his father were ministers of the king of Kāliṅga.

² *I.e.* Śrīkūrmam; compare above, Vol. V. p. 35, note 1.

³ By this the poet means to say that Naraharītīrtha, though he wore a sword, was not put to the necessity of using it and thereby avoided incurring the sin of destroying life.

⁴ Prahlāda was the son of the demon Hiranyakaśipu who was killed by Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha *avatāra*.

⁵ *I.e.* the eighth *tithi*; see above, Vol. V. p. 168, note 4.

⁶ No. 369 of 1896.

2.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmin temple at Simhāchalam.¹

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śāk-ābdē Rāma-dhātṛi-nayana-śasi-mitē Paushya-māsi prasiddhē . ś[ā]pāt.²
 Ārkavāra-
 2 Śrāvapa-paripatē śaśvad-Ardhōdaya-ākhyē | bhūya[h*] ³Svarbbhāma-bhānugrahapa-
 ja-samayē
 3 tat-ti[thau] Sōmavārē punyē kāla-dvayē-pi
 7 . . Svasti śrī-Śāka-varushāmbulu 1213 gun-ēmtti Paushya māsamuna Śrāvapa-
 Vyatipāt-Ārkavāra-sa- .
 8 hitam=aina Ardhōdayam=anu pēram gala [a]māvāsya nāmḍunu i(i) divasamuna
 sūryyagrahapa-sa-
 9 hitam=aina Sōmavāramu nāmḍ[u]nu

"In the Śāka year measured by the Rāmas (3), the earth (1), the eyes (2), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1213),—in the well-known month of Paushya, on (*the occasion*) called Ardhōdaya, ever brought about by (*the union of the yōga*) Vyatipāta, a Sunday and (*the nakshatra*) Śrāvapa,—again on the occasion arising at the sun's eclipse by Rāhu, on the *tithi* of this (*eclipse*), on Monday,—at both of these auspicious times."

"In the month of Paushya of the Śāka year 1213, on the day of the new-moon *tithi* bearing the name Ardhōdaya, combined with Śrāvapa, Vyatipāta and Sunday, and on Monday combined with an eclipse of the sun on this day."

For Śāka-Saṁvat 1213 expired the two days quoted by the original date correspond to Sunday, the 20th January, and Monday, the 21st January, A.D. 1292. On the Sunday, the new-moon *tithi* of Pausha commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Śrāvapa for 22 h. 20 m., and the *yōga* Vyatipāta for 18 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. As therefore during the new-moon *tithi* of Pausha, on a Sunday in day-time, the *nakshatra* was Śrāvapa, and the *yōga* Vyatipāta, the coincidence is correctly described as Ardhōdaya (compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 186, Pausha-kṛishṇapaksha XV.).—On the Monday, at 3 h. 39 m. after sunrise, there was an annular eclipse of the sun which was visible in India. For a place in Southern India of longitude 77° and latitude 15° the magnitude of the greatest phase was about six digits.—F. K.

3.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmin temple at Simhāchalam.⁴

- 7 Śāk-ā[bdē] Vēda-chandra-dyuman[i]-sugapitē Śrāvapē māsi śu-
 8 klē Viṣṇōr-ahny-[ā*]rkkivārē
 11 Svasti śrī-Śāka-varushāmbulu 1214 gu-
 12 n-ēmtti Śrāvapa-śukla ēkādaśiyun Śanaishcharavāramu nāmḍu

"In the Śāka year well reckoned by the Vēdas (4), the moon (1), and the suns (12),—(i.e. 1214),—in the month Śrāvapa, in the bright (*fortnight*), on the day of Viṣṇu,⁵ on Saturday."

"On Saturday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrāvapa in the Śāka year 1214."

For Śāka-Saṁvat 1214 expired the date corresponds to Saturday, the 26th July A.D. 1292, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.—F. K.

4.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrikūrmam.⁶

- 1 Svasti śrī-Śāka-varushāmbulu 1215 gun-ēmttu Vira-śrī-Na-
 2 ranārasimhya(ha)dēvaru(ra) vijaya-rājya-sa[mavva]tsarambula.⁷

¹ No. 311 of 1900.² Read *Vyatipāt*.³ Read *Svarbbhāma*.⁴ No. 305 of 1900.⁵ I.e. the eleventh *tithi*.⁶ No. 267 of 1898.⁷ Cancel the syllable *la* at the end of the line.

3 lu 18 gu śrāhi Ri(ri)shabha-śukla-paurṇa(rṇa)miyu Guruvā-
4 ramuna

"In the Śaka year 1215 (*and*) in the 18th year of the victorious reign of the glorious Vira-Naranārasimhadēva,—on **Thursday**, the full-moon *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Ṛishabha**."

For Śaka-Samvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to **Thursday**, the **21st May A.D. 1293**, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 27th day of the month of **Ṛishabha**.— F. K.

5.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam.¹

1 Svasti śrī-Śaka-vatsarē śara-dharā-tigmāṁsu-śa(sa)m̐khy-ānvitē
4 Svasti śrī-Śaka-varuṣam̐bulu 1215 guṇ-āntṭi Mā-
5 [gha]-śukla-paṁchchamiyu Raviv[ā*]ramunay-aṁddu

"In the Śaka year joined with the number of the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the suns (12),—(*i.e.* 1215)."

"On **Sunday**, the fifth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Māgha** in the Śaka year 1215."

For Śaka-Samvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to **Sunday**, the **3rd January A.D. 1294**, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.— F. K.

No. 26.—TSANDAVOLU INSCRIPTION OF BUDDHARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1093.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription (No. 249 of 1897) is engraved on three faces of a pillar opposite the **Līṅgōdbhavasvāmin** temple at **Tsandavōlu** in the Rēpalle tāluka of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu. The inscription consists of 13 **Sanskrit** verses, a passage in **Telugu** prose (ll. 56 to 81), and two **Sanskrit** verses at the end.

The inscription is dated at the winter-solstice (*Saumyāyana*, v. 13, or *Uttarāyana*, l. 70 f.) in **Śaka-Samvat 1093** (in numerical words, v. 13, and in figures, l. 70) and records the grant of a field at **Nādiṇḍla** (v. 13 and l. 72) and of a lamp to the Śiva temple of **Paṇḍīśa** (v. 13) or **Paṇḍīśvara** (ll. 69 and 79) at **Dhanadapura** (v. 13), **Dhanadaprōlu** (l. 69) or **Dhanadavrōlu** (l. 78 f.) in **Velanāṇḍu** (v. 13). **Nādiṇḍla** is the modern **Nādeṇḍla** in the **Narasarāvupēṭa** tāluka of the Kistna district.² As stated before,³ **Dhanadapura** or **Dhanadaprōlu** is the modern **Tsandavōlu**, which was the capital of the chiefs of **Velanāṇḍu**.⁴ According to an inscription which is now built into the roof of the **Līṅgōdbhavasvāmin** temple, the temple of **Paṇḍīśvara** was named after one of the chiefs of **Velanāṇḍu**.⁵

The donor of this inscription was **Buddharāja** (vv. 9, 12 and 13) or, in Telugu, the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja** (l. 67 f.), who bore the surnames **Aniyaṅka-Bhima** (l. 60 f.), **Eladāyasimha** (l. 61 f.), and 'the lion of the mountain—the **Durjaya** family'⁶

¹ No. 291 of 1896.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and Vol. VI. pp. 111 and 115.

³ Above, Vol. IV. Additions and Corrections, p. v.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁵ Above, Vol. V. p. 151.

⁶ This was also a surname of the chief **Nambaya**; see page 227 above. And the **Kākatīya** king **Gaṇapati** traced his descent to an ancestor named **Durjaya**; above, Vol. V. p. 142. Though **Gaṇapati** claims to be a descendant of the **Sun**, **Manu** and **Raghu** (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 201, and above, Vol. V. p. 142), the **Kākatīyas** must have belonged to the **Śūdra** caste, because they intermarried with **Śūdra** chiefs (above, Vol. III. p. 94, and Vol. VI. p. 147). In the **Yenamadala** inscription, which chronicles the marriage of **Gaṇapambā** to **Bēta**, both parties preserve a discreet silence regarding their **Śūdra** descent.

(l. 59). As he calls himself a 'worshipper of the feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva' (l. 57 f.), it may be assumed that he or his predecessors had been vassals of the Chālukya-Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II. Among his remaining *birudas* we find *Giripaśchimaśāsana*, 'the ruler (of the country) west of the hill' (l. 64), and *Śailapāśchātyadīpa*, 'the light (of the country) west of the hill' (v. 12). These are Sanskrit equivalents of the Telugu term *Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi*, '(the ruler of the country) west of the hill,' which is prefixed to his name in line 68. When editing the Amarāvati inscription of Kēta II., I pointed out that the district of *Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi* corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka.¹ Hence the expression 'west of the hill' must refer to the *Koṇḍaviḍu* hills, which form part of the eastern boundary of that district.

Buddharāja's ancestor *Buddhavarman* belonged to the *Chaturthābhijana* (v. 2), i.e. to the Śūdra caste, and was a servant (v. 3) of king *Kubja-Vishṇu* of the lunar race (v. 1), i.e. of the Eastern Chālukya king *Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana* I., who conferred on him 'the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages' (v. 4). The immediate descendants of *Buddhavarman* are not mentioned by name in the inscription, which passes on to the *Maṇḍalēśvara* *Maṇḍa* I. or *Maṇḍana*, who "was born from that family," his son *Gaṇḍa*, (v. 5), and his grandson *Maṇḍa* II. (v. 6). *Buddharāja* was the son of *Maṇḍa* II. and *Kundāmbikā* (v. 8), and the brother of *Aṅkama* (v. 12), who became the wife of *Rājendra-Chōḍa*, the son of *Goṅka* (v. 11). This chief has to be identified with *Rājendra-Chōḍa*, the son of *Goṅka* II. of *Velanāṇḍu*, and his wife *Aṅkama* with *Akkāmbikā* or *Akkama*, whose name occurs in verse 49 of the *Piṭhāpuram* pillar inscription of *Prithivīśvara*² and in a fragmentary inscription at *Bāpaṭla*.³ The son of *Rājendra-Chōḍa*, *Goṅka* III., followed the example of his father in marrying *Jāyāmbikā*, who belonged to the family of the chiefs of 'the country west of the hill.'⁴

In the foot-notes on the text I have quoted the various readings of two *Nāḍeṇḍla* inscriptions of *Buddharāja*, of which the first (No. 233 of 1892) contains verses 1-10 of the subjoined inscription, and the second (No. 228 of 1892) the list of *birudas* (ll. 56 to 68).

TEXT.⁵*West Face.*⁶

- 1 श्री⁷ [॥*] अस्ति श्रीस्तनकुङ्कुमांकितविराज[व्यू]-⁸
- 2 उवचस्वली देवशीतमयूख-
- 3 वंशतिलक[:*] श्री[कु]जविष्णुर्निपः⁹ । य-¹⁰
- 4 स्यारातिनरेंद्रहर्म्यविलस[हू]व्या-

¹ Page 148 above.

² Above, Vol. IV. pp. 35 and 51. I avail myself of this opportunity for issuing a collotype plate of the four *Piṭhāpuram* pillar inscriptions between pages 270 and 271.

³ This inscription (No. 181 of 1897) refers itself to the reign of "Chōḍa-Goṅka-mahārāja, the son of *Akkama-mahādēvi*, the younger sister of [Budda]-mahārāja."

⁴ *Parat-āpara-māt*; above, Vol. IV. p. 51.

⁵ From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

⁶ The symbols of the sun and the moon—implying that the grant is to continue *d-chandr-drkam*—are engraved at the top of this face.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

No. 233 of 1892 reads °हृपः.

⁸ No. 233 of 1892 reads °विराजि°; read °व्यूड°.

¹⁰ Read यस्साराति° (?).

- 5 [भि]लाधीनतचीमोर्षमकुंरंगशीत-¹
 6 किरणस्याचे[यशोभां]² दधौ । [१*] आसीक्षतु-
 7 त्याभिजनाव[तंस][:]* [ओ]बुधवर्मा[१]³ कृत-
 8 पुखकर्मा [१*] [सं]ग्रामरंगे निजनाथवर्मा
 9 संपादिताशेषक[र्वी]द्रशर्मा । [२*] भृत्यकृत्य-
 10 विनयेन रंजयन्कुनेय⁴ इव राव-
 11 णच्छिदं [१*] वैनतेय इव चक्रिणं च तं सार्वभौ-
 12 मतिलकं स [शोभते]⁵ । [३*] त्रिसप्ततिग्रामवतीम्-
 13 होमहीपतिप्रसादोपनताम्रताहितः [१*]
 14 निरिप्रतीचीनिजराजलांछनेष पालयामा-
 15 स विलासवासवः । [४*] वंशकर्तृपुं⁶ गतेषु केषुचि-
 16 त्तत्कुलादजनि [मं]डभूपतिः [१*] मंडलेश्व-
 17 रसिखंडमंडनो⁷ मंडनादजनि गंडभू-
 18 पतिः । [५*] अथ रविरिव ⁸पूर्वशैलत्रिणा[त्तुहि]न-
 19 मरोचिरिवांबुधेः कुमारः [१*] ⁹शरवन[वन]-
 20 [जा]दिवीक्षवात्स्य समजनि मंडविभुर्वि-
 21 मोरसुभात् । [६*] अस्य¹⁰ खड्गलतिकान्त्रि-
 22 ता जय(१)श्रीर्भुजाश्रितभुवादिराज-¹¹
 23 ¹²भिर्भुक्तवत्यपि पतिव्रता कृता तन¹³ राज-
 24 तनयेन मानिना ॥ [७*] पुरंहरक्षेव¹⁴ पु-
 25 लोमपुत्री सीतेव रामस्य रमेव श्रीरेः [१*]
 26 बभ्रुव¹⁵ देवी जनपस्य तस्य कुंदाभिका¹⁶
 27 राजभृतीभिकेव¹⁷ । [८*] ताभ्यामुभाभ्यां ज-
 28 गदुत्सवाय ¹⁸श्रीबुधराजोजनि
 29 कीर्तिदानी¹⁹ [१*] तेनैव जातास्वह वहमा-²⁰

¹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °चीनो°.

² Read °बुध°.

³ No. 233 of 1892 reads सेवते.

⁴ No. 233 of 1892 reads °सिखंड°.

⁵ No. 233 of 1892 reads शरवण°.

⁶ Read °श्रीर्भुजा°.

⁷ No. 233 of 1892 reads तेन.

⁸ No. 233 of 1892 reads बभ्रुव.

⁹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °निक्षेव°.

¹⁰ No. 233 of 1892 reads °जानि[:]*°.

¹¹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °स्वाच्छेयशोभां°.

¹² Read °यशोजनेय°.

¹³ No. 233 of 1892 reads °कपुंषु°.

¹⁴ Read पूर्वशैलत्रिणा°.

¹⁵ No. 233 of 1892 reads यस्य.

¹⁶ Read °भिः । कृत°.

¹⁷ No. 233 of 1892 reads °रस्थेव°.

¹⁸ No. 233 of 1892 reads कुंदाभिका°.

¹⁹ No. 233 of 1892 reads श्रीबुध°.

²⁰ No. 233 of 1892 reads वहमा°.

[illegible][illegible]

NORTH FACE.

[illegible]

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FAST FACT.

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- 30 न[र*]स्यत्थार्जित(र)त्थागपराक्रमाख¹ [॥ ८*]
 31 'येस्वासीअविहारितारिकरटिप्रसो-²
 32 'तकुंभस्यलस्यलोखूलविमुत्तमुत्त-
 33 निकराखूकी³ विकीर्णा र[ण] [१*] वार्ह-⁴
 34 लोखरविंखलेखनद[ल*]द्रुतप्रसिकक्षि-⁵
 35 तौ (i) प्रत्युपा⁶ इ[व] कीर्त्तिबोजम[ण]यो भां-⁷
 36 [त्ति] अ¹⁰ [षो]मांकुराः । [१०*] श्रीमत्संग्रामवो-
 37 [र]क्षितपतिरभवन्नोक्तभू[प]ाल[पु]त्र[ः*]

South Face.

- 38 ¹¹श्रीमान्ध्वचारिभोगः ¹²प्रभलरिपु-
 39 ¹³विपांभोजपुंजामितांशु[ः*]¹⁴ [१*] शशस्त्री-
 40 कं[र]तभक्तो गुणनिधिरमलो वाक्पतिः
 41 पुण्यमूर्त्तिधोमद्देवद्वयस्य-¹⁵
 42 कलजननुतो भाति ¹⁶राजेद्रचोडः [॥ ११*]
 43 तस्योर्व्विवक्षभस्य प्रियवरललना
 44 ¹⁷[व]ध्वपट्टांक्रमाख्या भाति श्रीसन्नि[भा]-
 45 ¹⁸तिस्फुरितनिखिलदिक्पूर्वसत्कीर्त्ति-¹⁹
 46 वज्रो [१*] तद्भाता बुद्धभूपो²⁰ नरपतिति-
 47 लकश्चैलपाचात्यदीपः सम्मानो[द्य]-
 48 [हि]कीर्त्तिर्गुणमणिनिकरो राजते
 49 [पु]ण्यमूर्त्ति[ः*] । [१२*] शाकाब्दे शक्तिनंदां-
 50 वरशशिगणिते [भू]रिसौम्यायने
 51 वा चैवकादिर्बु[प]र्य्या धनधपु-²¹
 52 रैमधिस्त्राय पंडीशनाम्ने [१*] नैवेद्या-
 53 र्थमर्हत्मा²² भिरतरमनिशं खंडु[कं]

¹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °लोर्जित°.² No. 233 of 1892 reads °प्रसोत°.³ Read °राखूकी° विकीर्णा रणे.⁴ No. 233 of 1892 reads °प्रसिद्ध°.⁵ The *anusedra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁶ No. 233 of 1892 reads अ वामांकुराः.⁷ Read प्रवल्°.⁸ Read °मूर्त्तिर्होम°.⁹ Read °स्फुरित°.¹⁰ Read धनदपुरमधिष्ठाय.¹¹ No. 233 of 1892 reads यस्यासिप्र°.¹² Read कुंभ.¹³ No. 233 of 1892 reads वाङ्माली°.¹⁴ No. 233 of 1892 reads प्रत्युपा.¹⁵ Read श्रीमान्ध्वचारि°.¹⁶ Read °वृपा°.¹⁷ Read राजेद्र°.¹⁸ Read °दिक्पूर्व°.¹⁹ Read °मर्हत्मा चिर°.²⁰ Read °जामतांशुः°.²¹ Read वज्र°.²² Read बुद्धभूपो.

- 54 बाहुसंख्यं दीप¹ प्रादादखंडं [ख]-
 55 यमपि वेलनांडभूतले बुड[भू]पः
 56 ॥ [१३*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
 57 [हा]मंड[लि]खर² कुलोत्तुंगचो[ड]देवर³
 58 दिव्यश्रीपादपञ्चाराधक परबलसाध-
 59 क दुर्क्यकुलाचलमृगेंद्र सत्यह-
 60 रिखंद्र प्रतिज्ञापदसराम⁴ अनियं-
 61 कभीम सत्यराधेय शौचगांभेय⁵ ए-
 62 लदायसिंह विक्रमत्रिसिंह⁶ सुज-
 63 नजनवनवसंत कांताजयंत वि-
 64 वेकपञ्चासन गिरिपश्चिमशासन वित-
 65 रणरणविनोद⁷ कस्तुरिकामोद ह-
 66 यवत्तराज राजमनोज नामादि-
 67 समस्तप्रशस्तसहित⁸ श्रीमन्महामं⁹
 68 डलेखर कोडपड्मटिबुहराजुलु
 69 धनदप्रोलि श्रीपंडीखरमह[१*][देव-
 70 रकु शकवर्षबुलु १०८३ नेटि [ड]त्त(१)-
 71 रायणनिमित्तमुन निवेद्यार्थमु-
 72 नकु नादिङ्कु बेटिन¹⁰ भूमि ख २ [॥*]
 73 इ¹¹ देवरक अखंडवर्तिदीपंबुनकु¹²

East Face.

- 74 बेटिन गोठियलु ५५ [१*] वीनिं जेको-
 75 नि चामेनबोयुनि कोडकु सूर्य-
 76 बोयिनि पूंटनु कोमनबोयिनि कोडकु
 77 भीमनबोयुंडु तन पुत्रानु-
 78 पौनिकमु भाचंद्रार्कमु धनदप्रो-
 79 लि श्रीपंडीखरमहादेवरकुनखं-
 80 डवर्तिदीपंबुनकु नित्य मा[ने]डु

¹ Read दीपं.² No. 228 of 1892 inserts वीरमहेश्वर.³ No. 228 of 1892 reads दिव्यश्रीपादाराधक.⁴ No. 228 of 1892 reads परपुराम.⁵ No. 228 of 1892 reads शौचांजुनेय (!).⁶ No. 228 of 1892 reads रुसिंह.⁷ No. 228 of 1892 reads कस्तुरिका.⁸ No. 228 of 1892 reads प्रशस्ति.⁹ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.¹⁰ Read बेटिन.¹¹ Read ई देवरकु.¹² The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 81 नेयि पोयंगलवांडु ॥ स्वदत्तां प-
 82 र[द]त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [1*] षष्टि¹
 83 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षमिः [॥ १४*]
 84 बहुविर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिन्ना[तु]-³
 85 पालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
 86 स्व तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१५*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishṇu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Chaturthābhijana, i.e. of a family belonging to the fourth (Śūdra) caste (v. 2 f.).

(V. 4.) "He to whom enemies bowed, (and who resembled) Vāsava (Indra) in happiness, protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of the king along with his royal emblems."

(V. 5.) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.], the crest-ornament of rulers of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*); (and) from Maṇḍana was born king Gaṇḍa."

His son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 6), who married Kundāmbikā (v. 8). Their son was Buddhārāja (v. 9). His sister Aṅkama was the wife of Rājendra-Chōḍa, the son of Goṅka (v. 11 f.).

(V. 13.) "In the Śāka year counted by the powers (3), the Nandas (9), the sky (0), and the moon (1),— (i.e. 1093),— and at the great Saumyāyana,⁴ the high-minded king Buddha himself gave to (the god) named Paṇḍiśa, who resides at Dhanadapura in the country of Velanāṇḍ[u], a field (of) two *khaṇḍukas*⁵ in the town of Nāḍiṇḍa for (providing) offerings uninterruptedly for a very long time, and a perpetual lamp."

(Line 56.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family; a Harischandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows; Aniyāṅka-Bhima; a Rādhēya (Karna) in truthfulness; a Gāṅgēya (Bhīshma) in purity; Eladāyasimha; a Nṛsimha in valour; the season of spring to the forest— virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmā in wisdom; the ruler (of the country) west of the hill; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk;⁶ a Vatsarāja in (the management of) horses; and a Cupid among kings,— in the Śaka year 1093, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana,— gave to the god Paṇḍiśvara-Mahādēva at Dhanadaprōlu 2 *kha[ṇḍi]* of land at Nāḍiṇḍa for (providing) offerings."

(L. 73.) "To the same god (he) gave 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these (sheep),— Sūrya-Bōya, the son of Chāmena-Bōya, standing security,⁷— Bhīmana-Bōya, the son of

¹ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Read वसुन्धरा.

³ Read भिन्नातु.

⁴ This term is synonymous with Uttarāyana (l. 70 f.).

⁵ Literally, 'the *khaṇḍuka* whose number were the (two) arms.'

⁶ The *birda* Kastūrikāmōḍa makes me suspect that Kastūrikāmōḍini, one of the queens of Anantavarman alias Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga (Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367), was the daughter of one of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs.

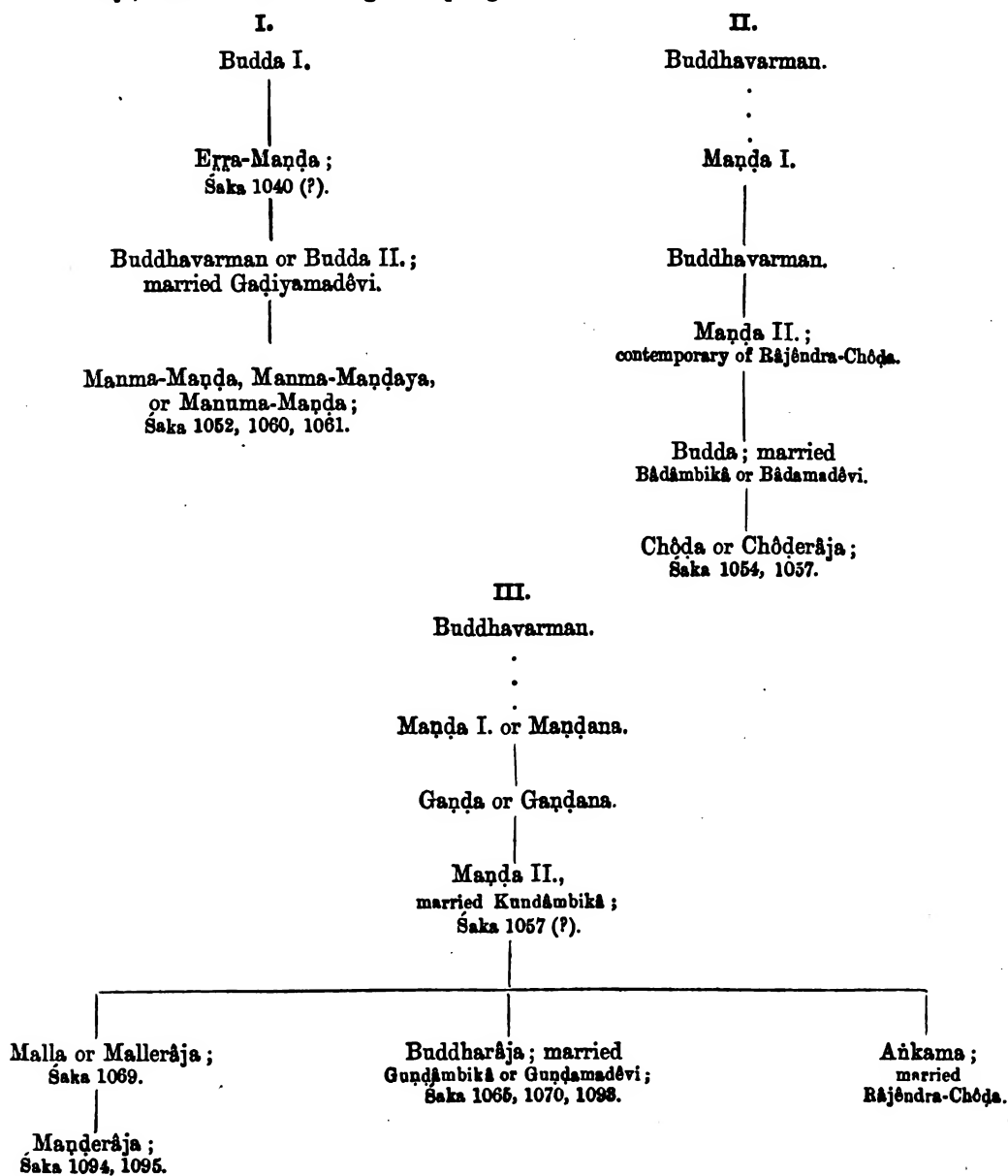
⁷ *Pāṇḍa* is the same as *pāṇḍa*, on which see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.

Kommana-Bôya, with his sons and further descendants has to supply one *māna* of ghee daily for a perpetual lamp to the god **Paṇḍīśvara-Mahādēva** at **Dhanadavrôlu** as long as the moon and the sun shall last."

The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

POSTSCRIPT.

The two temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu at **Nādeṇḍla** contain 12 inscriptions of the **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi** chiefs, and there are two others at the **Sômēśvara** temple at **Irlapāḍu** near **Nādeṇḍla**. I subjoin abstracts of these records, which, along with the **Tsandavôlu** inscription of **Buddharāja**, establish the following three pedigrees.



1.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 227 of 1892).

Language: Telugu prose and verse. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1052,¹ Mēsha-siti-pañchami,² Thursday.³ The son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Buddha*—“who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vīra-Mahēśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva*; the destroyer of hostile armies; *Eladāyasimha*; *Sāhasōttuṅga*; a Rāma on the battle-field; *Anasaṅka-Bhīma* (!); a Rādhēya in truthfulness; a Gāṅgēya in purity; a moon to the water-lily and the milk-ocean—the *Durjaya* family; a mine of very bright virtues; he whose delight is the sport of valour; he whose delight is poetry; the mango-tree to the parrots—excellent poets; the support of virtuous men; a Rēvanta in (the management of) horses; the death to enemies; a Brahṃā in wisdom; and *Giripaśchimasaśana*”—was *Erṛa-Maṇḍa*.⁴ His son was *Buddhavarman*; and his son *Manma-Maṇḍa*, who gave two lamps and land at *Noñchinipāḍu* to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiṇḍla.

2.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 217 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1060. Gift of certain taxes levied at *Noñchinipāḍu*, for the maintenance of two lamps in the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādiṇḍla, by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Manma-Maṇḍaya*.

3.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 222 of 1892).

Language: Telugu verse and prose. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1061,⁵ Māgha-sita-pañchami, Friday.⁶ *Manma-Maṇḍa*, the eldest son of the *Maṇḍalika Buddha* and of *Gaḍiyamadēvi*, built a temple (*guḍi*) of Śiva at Nādeṇḍla and gave to it the village *Noñcheḍlapūṇḍi*. His mother *Gaḍiyamadēvi*, the daughter of *Mēḍa* and *Mēḍamāmba*, gave a lamp to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiṇḍla. Further *Manma-Maṇḍa* gave many ornaments to Śiva. Finally the inhabitants of *Noñchinipāḍu* had to pay a tax to the temple.

4.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 214 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1054 or 1057.⁷ The two first verses praise king *Kubja-Vishṇu*, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was *Buddhavarman*, the lion of the mountain—the *Chaturthakula* (v. 3 f.), who “protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with the royal emblems”⁸ (v. 5). After some princes of his family had passed away, *Buddhavarman*, surnamed *Eladāyasimha*, was born from *Maṇḍa* [I.] (v. 6). His son was *Maṇḍa* [II.], surnamed *Aniyaṅka-Bhīma* (v. 7).

¹ *Ambaka-śyāka-dmbara-mṛigāṅka*.

² The word *siti* or *siti* means both ‘white’ and ‘black’ and may refer either to the bright or to the dark fortnight. Prof. Kielhorn states that, for the dark half of Mēsha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1052 current, the date corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1129.

³ *Nirjarandika-mantri-odra*.

⁴ He is styled *Chaturthavamsa-nistṛaka* and his son *Chaturthadwaja-dbhī-chandra*. A damaged Telugu inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1040 (in figures and in numerical words: *gagan-dbhī-vi[ya]d-ind[ra]*), the Vilambin year, at Chēbrōlu (No. 157 of 1897) mentions Sūra, the minister of the *Giripaśchima* king *Erṛa-Maṇḍa*.

⁵ *Uḍuvallabha-tarka-[kḥ-ś]ṇu*.

⁶ *Kavi-odvara*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that “the date regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1061 expired, to Friday, the 26th January A.D. 1140, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.”

⁷ *Jalandhī-mṛgaya-viyat-tārdhindhī*. Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 228 and note 10.

⁸ *Mahīm giri-pratichhāṇa-saka-rāja-lamchāṇa-is-trisaptati-grāmatām*.

(V. 8.) "Having torn up, like a mound, the army of the Gaṅga (*king*) of Kalinga,¹ having consumed, like straw, the warriors of the bold enemy, and having cut off, (*like*) lotuses, their heads, the mighty rutting elephant—the *Maṇḍalika Maṇḍa* [II.] is roaring."²

(V. 9.) "[Having defeated] the army of the enemy, he gave to Rājendra-Chōḍa³ mighty elephants which had been captured there, (*and*) whose temples were bright with rut."⁴

His son was Budda (v. 10), whose wife was Bādāmbikā (v. 12). His son Chōḍa (v. 13) gave a lamp, ornaments, a bell, a trumpet and a conch to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiṇḍla, and land to Brāhmanas.

5.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 215 of 1892).

Language : Telugu. Undated. Gift of a lamp and of land at Nōichiniḍḍu to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādiṇḍla by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*, "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vira-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; he whose hair is covered by the dust of the divine feet of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva*, as bees are covered by the pollen of the lotus; a *Shapmukha* at the head of battles; *Aniyaṅka-Bhīma*; a *Paraśurāma* in (keeping) vows; he whose wife is (the goddess) *Vijaya-Lakshmi*; a son to the wives of others; a *Nṛisimha* to the demons—heroes; and *Eladāyasimha*." Also gift of a lamp by the same chief for the merit of his mother *Bādamadēvi*.

6.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 219 of 1892).

Language : Telugu. Date : Śaka-Saṃvat 1054. Gift of land at Nādiṇḍla to some *Mahājānas* by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍ[e]rāja*.

7.—On a pillar in front of the Sōmēśvara temple at Irlapāḍu (No. 111 of 1893).

Languages : Sanskrit and Telugu. Date : Śaka-Saṃvat 1057.⁵ Gift of land and of a lamp to the temple of Sōmēśvara-Mahādēva at Irlalūru by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*,⁶ "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vira-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a bee at the divine lotus-feet of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva*; a *Shapmukha* at the head of battles; a *Paraśurāma* in (keeping) vows; *Aniyaṅka-Bhīma*; he whose wife is (the goddess) *Vijaya-Lakshmi*; a son to the wives of others; *Eladāyasimha*; and *Sāhasōttuṅga*."

8.—On a pillar in front of the Sōmēśvara temple at Irlapāḍu (No. 109-10 of 1893).

Languages : Sanskrit and Telugu. Date : Śaka-Saṃvat 1057.⁷ Sōmana-Peggaḍa, an officer of the *Maṇḍalika Maṇḍa* who belonged to the family of the *Durjayas* and was the lord

¹ Evidently Anantavarman *alias* Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga, who reigned from Śaka-Saṃvat 999 to 1064; Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 51, No. 358, and p. 52, No. 363.

² कालिङ्गमङ्गकटक् तटव[रिप]ाञ्च जग्त्वा कट(ङ्)करवदारभटारिवीरान् [१*]
उच्छिद्य [ग]र्जति शिरस्वरसीरहाणि तेषां च मंडलिकमंडमदह[म]द्रः ॥

³ This statement refers to Rājendra-Chōḍa of Velanāḍu, the husband of Ankama or Akkāmbikā, the daughter of Maṇḍa II.; see above, p. 269 and notes 2, 3.

⁴ The first half of this verse is only partially preserved; . . . वैरिसेनां [१*] तच्च गृहीताम्बद-
धीतमंडावाजिद्रचीडाय ददौ गर्जद्रान् ॥

⁵ Śaila-bhāga-ghanamār[ga]-śītakṛit.

⁶ In the Sanskrit portion he is called Chōḍa and 'the lord of the country west of the hill' (*śaila-pāṭchima-casūndhar-dhīpa*).

⁷ In figures and in numerical words: *giri-śara-viyad-indu*.

of the country west of the hill,¹ built a temple of Śiva, named Sômesvara-Mahâdêva, at Irralû-ru² and gave to it a tank, which he had constructed on the north of the village, and a lamp.

9.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdenḍla (Nos. 239-241 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1069.³ Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishṇu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the founder of the race of kings of the fourth (caste)⁴ (v. 2 f.), who “protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with his royal emblems”⁵ (v. 4). “After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.]” or Maṇḍana, whose son was Gaṇḍa or Gaṇḍana, whose son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 5).

Here some lines are lost. Then the inscription refers to the birth of Malla. This *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi-Mallerâja*—“who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vîra-Mahêśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the principal mountain—the Durjaya family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurâma in (keeping) vows; Aniyâṅka-Bhîma; a Râdhêya in truthfulness; an Âñjanêya in purity; Eladâyasimha; a Nrisimha in valour; the season of spring to the lotus—virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmâ in wisdom; Giripaśchimaśāsana; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk; a Vatsarâja in (the management of) horses; a Cupid among kings; the son of Kundâmbikâ; and a Saṃkrandana in happiness—gave a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâḍiṇḍla, and another lamp to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâḍiṇḍla.

10.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdenḍla (No. 237 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1094. Gift of a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâḍiṇḍla by an officer of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Ko[n*]ḍapaḍumaṭi-Maṇḍ[e*]-râja*.

11.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdenḍla (No. 234 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1095. Records that the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Maṇḍerâja*, the son of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi-Mallerâja*, gave to the temple of Kêśavadêva a lamp, and some land below the Mallasamudra tank which he had constructed on the north-west of Nâḍiṇḍla.

12.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdenḍla (No. 233 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1065.⁶ Gift of a lamp to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâḍiṇḍla by Buddarâja. Guṇḍamadêvi, the wife of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara Buddarâja*, gave to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva a tank named Guṇḍasa[mu*]dra which she had constructed on the south of Nâḍiṇḍla.

¹ *Kutkila-pratyag-uroi-vibhu*.

² This village is stated to have been situated ‘on the west of the hill’ (*girâḥ paśchimataḥ*) and to have been granted by the mythical king Triṇayana-Pallava to an ancestor of the donor, Vennayabhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, when he had defeated in disputation a certain Gaṇḍabhaṭṭa who had hung up a challenge in public (*kṛitâ-pattra-lamba*; compare above, Vol. III. p. 201 and note 3).

³ In figures and in numerical words: *Jaloḍḍasambhava-ras-dkât-êṇḍu*.

⁴ *Chaturth-âdhipa-sâmâ-kartâ*.

⁵ *Giri-pratichêṭa-nija-râja-lâmchêṭa(chêṭa)nais-trisaptati-grāṇavatīm=maḥīm, etc.*

⁶ In figures and in numerical words: *śara-tarka-târa-kapatha-tvêṭṭmîn*.

13.— On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 228 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1070. Gift of two lamps to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādeṇḍla by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaśmaṭi-Buddarāja.

14.— On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 230 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1093.¹ Gift of a lamp to the temple of Mūlasthāna-[Mahādēva] at Nādeṇḍla by Guṇḍāmbikā or Guṇḍamadēvi, the chief queen (*agramahishī*) of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Buddarāja.

No. 27.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 24.)

A.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

39.— Near the Nāgēśvara temple at Chēbrōlu.²

1	Svasti	Śakha(ka)-varshamblu	998	n=ēṃṭi	Nala-saṃ(saṃ)vatsa-
2	ra	grāhi	svasti		Sarvvalōkāśraya-śri-
3	Vishnu(shṇu)	varddhana-mahārājula			pravarddhamā-
4	na-vijaya-rājya-saṃ(saṃ)vatsara[mblu]		7	n=ēṇḍu . . .	
6	.	.	.	.	Māgha-māsamuna
7	punnamayu	Su(śu)kravāramuna			sōmagrahaṇa-
8	nimittamunan=.				

"In the Śaka year 998, in the year³ (*which was*) the Nala year, (*and*) in the 7th year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇu-varddhana-mahārāja,— on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Māgha."

As the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. commenced⁴ between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070, a date in the month of Māgha of his 7th year must fall about the commencement of A.D. 1077, in Śaka-Saṃvat 998 expired which was the Jovian year Nala (*Anala*). In this year the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 23 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 11th January A.D. 1077, when there was no eclipse. But there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India, from 17 h. 9 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077, which was the full-moon day of Phālguna. I have no doubt that this is the day intended by the inscription, and that in the original date the month of Māgha has been quoted erroneously⁵ instead of Phālguna.

¹ In figures and in numerical words: *guṇa-Nanda-kāśu*.

² No. 151 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see p. 220 above.

³ For the word *śrāhi* compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 285.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ The case is different with the date of the Nausāri plates of Suvarṇavarsha Karkarāja of Gujarāt, edited in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 135 ff., which quotes a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha of Śaka-Saṃvat 738 expired. The eclipse undoubtedly is the one of the 5th February A.D. 817, which by the rules now in force would be the full-moon day of Phālguna. The original date is nevertheless correct, because by the rules of mean intercalation Māgha in Śaka-Saṃvat 738 was an intercalary month, so that the month which we now should call Phālguna, in accordance with those rules would have been called the second (or proper) Māgha, or simply Māgha, as it is actually called in the inscription. In Śaka-Saṃvat 998 expired there was no intercalation of either description.

40.— In the Bhimésvara temple at Drākshārāma.¹

- 1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r*]shāmbulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mā(ma)hārājula
 2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-saṁvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-pa[kshamu]na ēkāda-
 3 [ś]iyu Budhavāramu nāṇḍu uttarāyaṇa-vyatiyipāta-²nimittamuna.

"In the Śaka year 1036 (and) the 45th heavenly year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja,— on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Dhanu,— on the occasion of the *vyatipāta* of the Uttarāyaṇa."

A date in the month of Dhanu of the 45th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1114, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1036 expired. In this year the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanu commenced 7 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114 (when the *nakshatras* were Āśvinī and Bharanī, and the *yogas* Śiva and Siddha, Nos. 20 and 21, not Vyatipāta, No. 17), and ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.— The sidereal Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti took place, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 20 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, which was the last day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* on the same day was Anurādhā, and the *yogas* were Gaṇḍa and Vṛiddhi, Nos. 10 and 11.— Lastly, the tropical Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti took place on Wednesday, the 16th December A.D. 1114, on which ended the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Dhanu.

Having considered these results of my calculations, I have come to the conclusion that the choice of the proper equivalent of the original date can only lie between Wednesday, the 9th, and Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114; and the following reasons make me decide in favour of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114. If we were to accept Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, as the equivalent of the date, the writer would have been guilty of quoting, not only a wrong weekday, but also a wrong lunar fortnight. On the other hand, accepting Wednesday, the 9th December, as the equivalent, we indeed have to admit that the words *uttarāyaṇa-vyatipāta-nimittamuna*— supposing them to be intended for 'on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti,'³— have been wrongly added; but similar statements are added, apparently wrongly, in many other dates where the word *vyatipāta* is made use of.⁴ In the date under discussion and in a number of other dates this term can neither denote the *yōga* Vyatipāta nor convey any of the three other meanings of *vyatipāta* which I have given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292 f. What it means exactly, I do not know; but it may be suggested that *e.g.* in the present date the writer by *uttarāyaṇa-vyatipāta* wishes to say, not that the donation— for such I suppose to be spoken of— was actually made at the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti, but that it shall be regarded as equivalent in merit to one which may be made on the occasion of an Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.

B.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

41.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Śevilimēḍu.⁵

- 2 Śrīmad-Vikra[ma]-Chōlādēva-nṛpatēr-vva[ra]hē śubhē
 shōḍaśē grāmē śrī-Nṛipaśundar-īti viditē Vaiśākha-māsē-parē [i*] pakshē
 s-Ōttara-Chandravāra-viditē kālē.

¹ No. 374 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; see above, p. 220 f.

² Read *-vyatipāta*.

³ *Uttarāyaṇa-vyatipāta* undoubtedly is equivalent to *uttarāyaṇasaṁkrānti-vyatipāta* which occurs in at least eight other dates.

⁴ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 292, note 52. The dates referred to in that note are all in Kanarese, and I have not found yet any Sanskrit date in which the word *vyatipāta* is similarly employed.

⁵ No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900; see above, pp. 228 and 229.

"In the auspicious sixteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladêva, in the month of Vaisâkha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with an Uttarâ (nakshatra)."

The term *Uttarâ* of the date might denote any one of the three *nakshatras* Uttarâ Phalguni, Uttarâ Ashâdha, and Uttarâ Bhadrapadâ. As it occurs here in connection with the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha, it must denote either Uttarâ Ashâdha which is generally joined with the 5th *tithi*, or Uttarâ Bhadrapadâ which is generally joined with the 11th *tithi* of that dark fortnight. The calculation of the date shows that the *nakshatra* intended is really Uttarâshâdha, and that the *tithi* of the date would be the 5th of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha.

I have previously¹ arrived at the conclusion that the reign of Vikrama-Chôla commenced 'most probably' on the 18th July A.D. 1108. There remained just the possibility² that it might have commenced on the 15th July A.D. 1111. If it commenced on the earlier date, the present date, of the month of Vaisâkha of the 16th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1124, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1046 expired; and if it commenced on the later date, the present date ought to fall in A.D. 1127, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1049 expired. It so happens that the date would be quite correct for either Śaka year.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1046 expired the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha ended 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

And in Śaka-Saṃvat 1049 expired the same *tithi* ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd May A.D. 1127, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

There is absolutely nothing which could make us prefer one of these possible equivalents to the other, and it is only the following date, No. 42, which in my opinion definitely shows that the king's reign commenced in A.D. 1108, and that the true equivalent of the present date therefore is Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124.

42.—In the Késavasvâmin temple at Chêbrôlu.³

10	.	.	.	.	.	śrîma[t*]-Tribh[u]-
11	vanachakravartti					Vikrama-Chô-
12	ladêvara					pravardda(rddha)mâna-vi-
13	jaya-râjya-saṃvatsarambu-					
14	lu	9	agun=8[ṇṭi]			Sa(śa)ka-[va]-
15	rushambulu			1049		a-
16	gu	Shla(pla)va-saṃvatsara				Jêaṣṭha- ⁴
17	mâsa		sômagrahana(ṇa)-nimitya-			
18	muna.					

"In the 9th year of the increasing reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chôladêva, (and) in the Plava year which was the Śaka year 1049,—on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyaisṭha."

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1049 expired which was the year Plavaṅga—not Plava, which would be Śaka-Saṃvat 1043 expired—there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India just after sunset on the 27th May A.D. 1127, which was the full-moon day of Jyaisṭha. If the king commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this day would fall in the 19th, not the 9th year of his reign.

¹ See above, p. 24.

² See above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 264.

³ No. 153 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see above, pp. 224, 226, and 227.

⁴ Read *Jyêṣṭha*- or, more correctly, *Jyaisṭha*-.

I have no doubt that the 27th May A.D. 1127 is the proper equivalent of this date, and believe that the writer erroneously has quoted the 9th instead of the 19th regnal year, and the year Plava instead of Plavaṅga. And, as intimated already, this date, faulty as it is, in my opinion would definitely prove that Vikrama-Chôla commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108.

43.—In front of the Chôlêśvara temple at Niḍubrôlu.¹

62 Svasti śrīmat-Tribhuvanachakravartti
63 śrī-Vikrama-Chôḍadêvara vijaya-
64 rājya-saṁvatsarambulu pa[d]iyôḍ=a-
65 gun=êṁḍu Śaka-varshambulu 1054
66 gun=êṁṭṭi Vaiśākha-śuddha-ttṛitṭiya-
67 yu² Guruvāramu nāṇḍu ||

"In the seventeenth year of the reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôḍadêva, (and) in the Śaka year 1054,— on Thursday, the third *tithi* of the bright (fortnight) of Vaiśākha."

The date is correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 1054 current, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131.

According to what we have found before, this day would fall in the 23rd, not the 17th, year of Vikrama-Chôla's reign. A date in the month Vaiśākha of his 17th year would fall in A.D. 1125, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1048 current; but for that year the date would be incorrect. I can only assume that the writer has quoted the regnal year erroneously.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

44.—In the Êkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.³

1 Tribhuvanachohakkaravattiga! Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiya[ṇ] muḍi-
ttalai[yu]ṇ=goṇḍ=aru[li]ya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Sôḷadêvaṅku yāṇḍu 27 āvadu
2 ivv-āṇḍai Vaigāśi-māsattu=p[pa]ḍiṇṇān=diyadiyum Vi[yā]la-
kila]mai perṇa Aṇḷamum=āṇav-aṇṇu.

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chôḷadêva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh day of the month of Vaigāśi in this year."

As we have found⁴ that Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. commenced to reign between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178, a date in the month of Vaigāśi, i.e. the solar month Jyāishṭha, of his 27th year must fall in A.D. 1205, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1127 expired. In this year the Vṛishabha-saṁkrānti by the Ārya-siddhānta took place 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th April A.D. 1205, and the 11th day of Vaigāśi therefore was Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205. The *nakshatra* on this day was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA III.

45.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrirāṅgam.⁵

1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] [Śī]r maṇṇi

¹ No. 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² Read *-trittṭiya*.

³ No. 10 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 122 and note 9.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

- 3 kô Irâśakêśaripaṃmar-âṇa Tiribu[va]ṇachchakkaravatti[ga] śrī-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 16 vadin
 4 edir-âṇ-âṇḍu Kaṇṇi-nâyaṅgu=ppûrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyu[m] perṇa Tiruvôpattu nâl.

"In the year which was opposite the 16th year (*of the reign*) of king Râjakêśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyâ."

To simplify matters, I may state here at once that this date and the following dates 46-54 work out well on the supposition that the reign of Râjarâja III. commenced between (approximately) the 17th March and the 13th August A.D. 1216.

The year opposite the 16th was the 17th year of the king's reign. A date in the month of Kanyâ of this year must fall in A.D. 1232, in Śaka-Samvat 1154 expired. In this year the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Kanyâ ended 13 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232**, when the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

46.—In the Êkâmranâtha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]ḥ [Ḷ] Tr[i]bhuvanaścha(cha)kravattigaḥ śr[i]-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 17 vadu
 2 Magara-nâyaṅgu pûrvva-pakkattu=Tśe(chche)vvây-kkiḷamaiyum Aśvatiyum=â[ṇa]v-aṅgu.

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Aśvini and a **Tuesday** in the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date, in the month of Makara of the 17th year of the king's reign, must fall in Śaka-Samvat 1154 expired. In this year the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday, the 16th January A.D. 1233**, when the *nakshatra* was Aśvini for 20 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

47.—In the Dharmêśvara temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.²

- 1 Tribhuvanaśchakkarava[t]tigaḥ śrī-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 18 vadu Simha-nâ-
 2 [ya]ṅgu apara-pakshattu dvit[i]yayaiuñ=Jevvây-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Rêvati-nâ[1].

"In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rêvati, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

This date, in the month of Simha of the 18th year of the king's reign, may be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, in Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired. In this year the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Simha ended 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233**, when the *nakshatra* was Rêvati from 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.³

- 1 T[i]ribhuvanaśchakkaravatt[i]ga[1] śrī-Râjarâjadêva-

¹ No. 6 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 41.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 39.

2 ku yāṇḍu 18 vadu Dhanu-nāya[rr]u pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budan-
kiḷamaiyum pe-

3 rra Avitṭatti=ṇā[.].

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

This date, in the month of Dhanus of the 18th year of the king's reign, must fall in the same year as the last, Śaka-Saṃvat 1155 expired. In this year the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanus ended 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅḡalam.¹

2 Tribhuvanachchakra[r]ttiga[.] śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 18
āva[d]u

3 Magara-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷamaiyum perṅa
Tiruvō[ṇat]tu nāḷ.

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date, in the month of Makara of the 18th year of the king's reign, also must fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1155 expired. In this year the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa for 17 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Ādhipuriśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr.²

2 . . . Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrī-Rājarāja-

3 d[ē]vaṅku yāṇḍu 19 vadu Si[m*]ha-nāyaṅgu=p-

4 pū[rva]-pakshattu tritīyaiyum Uttiraṭṭādiyum pe-

5. rra Nāyaṅgu-kkiḷamai-nāḷ.

"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on a Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Uttara-Bhadrapadā and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṃha."

This date, in the month of Siṃha of the 19th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1234, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1156 expired. This it undoubtedly does, but the date is not quite correct. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1156 expired the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Siṃha ended 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 30th July A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī for 21 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise; and the third *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the same month ended 14 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. This shows that either the *nakshatra* Uttiraṭṭādi has been wrongly quoted for Uttiram (Uttara-Phalgunī), or that instead of *pūrvva-pakshattu* we must read *apara-pakshattu*. I am inclined to adopt the latter alternative,³ and to regard Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234, as the proper equivalent of the date.

¹ South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. III. No. 40.

² No. 110 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

³ At the same time, I may state that in one of the Vijayanagar inscriptions (P.S.O.C.I. No. 25) Uttara-Bhadrapadā has really been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Phalgunī. The mistake made in the present inscription has also been made in the Kadamba plates in Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35.

51.— In the Śvētāraṇyēśvara temple at Tiruveṅṇāḍu.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tribuvaṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Rājarājadēvarḥkku yāṇḍu 22
vadu Mīṇa-nāyaṛṛu apara-pakkattu śa[d]u[r*]tthiy[u]m Śe[v*]v[āy]-
kkilamaiy[u]m peṛra Uttirattādi-nāḥ.

In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

This date, in the month of Mīna of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1238, in Śaka-Samvat 1159 expired, and it undoubtedly does so; but the wording of the date is intrinsically wrong because, in the month of Mīna, the *nakshatra* can never be Uttara-Bhadrpadā on the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight. What suggests itself at once is that the fourth *tithi* has been quoted wrongly instead of the fourteenth; and for this *tithi* the date is correct. In Śaka-Samvat 1159 expired the 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna ended 21 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole of the day, and by the equal space system from 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. I feel certain that this is the proper equivalent of the date.

52.— In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḥ temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.²

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tribhuvaṇa[chcha]k[karava]ttigaḥ [śrī]-Rājarājadēvar[kku yāṇ]ḍu
[i]rubattiraṇ[ā]vadi[ṇ] edir-ām=āṇḍu ³Mīṇa-nāyaṛṛu [a]para-paksha[t]tu
navam[i]yum Tīṅga-kilamaiyum peṛra Pūr[ā]ḍa[t]tu [nā]ḥ.

“In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pūrvāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

The year opposite the 22nd year of this date and of the two following dates was the 23rd year of the king's reign, and the three dates, being all of the month of Mīna, will therefore be expected to fall in A.D. 1239, in Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired. In this year the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna entirely occupied⁴ Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239, when the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāśāḍhā, by the equal space system the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

53.— In the Kailāsenātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.⁵

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvā[ṇa]chchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Rājarā[ja]dēvarḥkku
yāṇḍu i[rubāt*]tirāḍāva[di]n edir-ām=āṇḍu Mi(mi)ṇa-nāya[r]ṛu apara-pa[kshatt]u
da[sam]i[yum] Budan-kīḷa[maiyum] p[e]ṛra Uttirāḍa[t*]tu nāḥ.

“In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

¹ No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

² No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

³ Read *Mīṇa*.

⁴ It commenced 38 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday and ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the following Tuesday, and would therefore be properly described (for the Monday) as *prathama-narami*.

⁵ No. 99 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired¹ the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Mina* ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, the **2nd March A.D. 1239**, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarāṣāḍhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

54.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.²

1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti[ga]! śr[ī]-Rājarājadēvarkku [y]āṇ[ḍu]
irubattiraṇḍāvadi[n ed]i[r]-ām=[āṇ]ḍu M[i]ṇa-nā[yaṇ]u a³
[tray]ē[d]i[ś]iyu[m⁴ Velli]-kk[i]lam[ai]yum] p[e]ṇṇa A[vittat]tu nāi.

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mina*."

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired⁵ the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Mina* commenced 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday**, the **4th March A.D. 1239**, when the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhā** for 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

No. 28.— PLATES OF DANTIVARMAN OF GUJARAT;
SAKA-SAMVAT 789.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These copper plates were brought to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, from Gujarāt; but he does not know the name of the village where they were found. The plates are three in number, each measuring about 1' 1" by 9¼". Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, the remaining two being engraved on both sides. They are strung on a copper ring which measures about 3¼" in diameter and is about ⅜" thick. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were sent to Dr. Hultzsch. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a circular seal, measuring about 1⅞" in diameter and bearing, in high relief on a countersunk surface, a much corroded figure of **Garuḍa**, squatting and facing to the full front. The engraving is clear, bold and deep, but not well executed. Very often the letters are not fully engraved, and in a good many places they are drawn carelessly.—The language is **Sanskrit** throughout. There can be no doubt that the *kāśmār* has engraved the original document without understanding it, as will be seen from the numerous mistakes pointed out in the footnotes. Allowing for the misspellings and inaccuracies due to an unskilled engraver, there are certain solecisms⁶ for which the official who drew up the grant must be held responsible. There is one compound in line 55, which cannot be justified by the rules of grammar. Other grammatical mistakes may be noticed in such instances as *Sarhātāilāṭakiya-dvichatvāriṣaty-āntargata*⁷ in line 59, *-mahāparvām=uddiṣya* in line 66, and so forth.—As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn (1) to the word *vāśḍpaka*⁸ (l. 58) which occurs in the list of the officials and functionaries to whom the royal grantor addresses himself, and (2) to the term *Talāprahāri* (l. 57) which appears to have been an appellation of Dantivarman.⁹—In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noted (1) that the rules of *sandhi*:

¹ See date No. 52.

² No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

³ Restore *apara-pakṣhattu*.

⁴ Read *trayōdaśiyum*

⁵ See date No. 52.

⁶ [Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, note 31.—E. H.]

⁷ [Note also *sānabhogika* (l. 81), which is an older form of *sānabhōga*, *sānabōva*, etc., 'the clerk of a village or of some village.' (Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*).—E. H.]

are often disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; (3) that the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; (4) that *dh* is doubled (by *d*) in conjunction with a following *y* or *r* in ll. 42 and 82; (5) that the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhūpas=trivishṭapa*^o (l. 6) and *-Kanakādri=iv=Īndrarājah* (l. 7), and (6) *gh* instead of *h* in *rāja-singhaḥ* (l. 3); (7) that the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya* are used in *bhṛityaḥ=kisha(ya)dbhir=* (l. 9) and in *udyataḥ=praṇatē* (l. 49); (8) that the *visarga* followed by *s* has been twice changed to that letter, in *manastas=samam=ēva* (l. 4) and *tanayas=samabhūt* (l. 41); (9) that the final *m* of a word, instead of being changed to an *anusvāra*, is joined to a following *p*, *bh* or *v* in ll. 9, 25, 40, 45, 46 and 78; (10) that the *anusvāra* before *y*, *v* and *s* is sometimes represented by *n* (ll. 3, 21, 25, 26, 58); and (11) that the sign of *avagraha* is employed once in l. 51.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and in general agree with those of the grants of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa princes; but the sign for *d* in the words *yadā* and *āra(da)dita* in ll. 76 and 78 and the sign for the conjunct *nn* in the words *dhvastin=nayann=abhimukhō* (l. 2), *prabhinna* (l. 6), etc. are worthy of note. Another point that calls for special notice is that most of the letters of the sign-manual of Dhruvarāja and one letter of that of Dantivarman at the end, and a few in the benedictory verse at the beginning, are engraved with their tops nail-headed.

The inscription is one of Dantivarman, of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, or, as he is described in line 56 f., 'the *Talaprahāri śrī-Dantivarmadēva*, who has the *biruda* of *Aparimitavarsha*, who is the lord of great feudal chiefs (*mahāsāmanta*), and who has obtained the five great sounds (*mahāśabda*).' The inscription opens with the salutation *ōm ōm namō Buddhāya*, which furnishes an indication, at the very outset, of the grant being Buddhist. It then gives one verse (which is well known from other Rāshtrakūṭa grants) invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then in lines 1-49 the genealogy of Dantivarman is set forth, exactly in the same verses (with a few unimportant variants) as in the Bagumrā plates of Dhruvarāja II. Then follow three verses (ll. 49-52) which are peculiar to this grant, and which tell us that Dantivarman was a younger brother of Dhruvarāja II. After this there is another well known verse on the vanity of this life. The proper object of the inscription is stated in prose, in ll. 53-67. Dantivarman informs all the officials called *rāshṭrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grāmakūṭa*, *niyukta*, *ādhyakṛika*, *vāsāpaka*, *mahattara*, etc. that, having bathed in the great river *Pūrāvi*, on the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of *Pausha* in *Śaka-Samvat 709* (in words and in figures), on the great occasion of the *Uttarāyana*, he granted to the *vihāra* at the sacred place (*tīrtha*) of *Kāmpilya* the village of *Chokkhakuṭi*, situated in the north-west of, and included in, the forty-two (villages) named after *Sarthātāilāṭa*, to be enjoyed by the succession of the pupils of the holy *Āryasaṃgha*, for defraying the expenses of perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps and ointments, and of the repairs of the temple broken in parts. The boundaries of the village granted were, in the east the village of *Da[nt]jellamka*, in the south the village of *Apasundara*, in the west the village of *Kālūpallikā*, and in the north the river *Mandākinī* (*Gaṅgā*). Lines 67-72 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might resume it. Lines 73-80 quote seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the inscription then (from line 80) concludes thus:— "The *dātaka* of this (charter) is the great minister *śrī-Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa*. And this has been written by the *sēnabhōgika* Golla, the son of *Rāpappa*. (This is) the pleasure of me, the glorious Dantivarman, the son of the glorious *Akālavarshadēva*. Also, (this is) the pleasure of me, the glorious Dhruvarājadēva, the son of the glorious *Akālavarshadēva*."

The gain from this inscription for the social and political history of Gujarāt is considerable. In the first place, this grant, as will be seen from the above summary of the contents, was made to the *Āryasaṃgha*, or Buddhist community, settled at Kāmpilya. This shows that Buddhism was still in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era a living religion, favoured by kings in Western India. Secondly, the inscription adds to the list of the Gujarāt

Rāshtrakūṭa princes the name of Dantivarman, who, as stated above, is styled a *mahāsāmantā-dhipati* who had obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda*. This indicates that he was ruling over some province as a minor chief. Further, as we have seen, the sign-manual of Dantivarman is followed by that of his elder brother Dhruvarāja II. From this it is plain that both Dhruvarāja II. and Dantivarman were alive when the charter was issued, and that Dantivarman was wielding power under Dhruvarāja II. This enables us to settle another point of importance, connected with the history of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Bagumrā plates of Śāka-Saṃvat 810¹ mention Kṛishṇarāja-Akālavarsha (II.) as their donor. And to judge from their contents, which are full of misspellings and omissions, he appears to be the son of Dantivarman. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the grant, held that this Dantivarman must be placed between Dhruvarāja II. and Kṛishṇarāja II. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, however, was of opinion that this Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarāja II., was identical with Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda plates of Karka.² Now, the date of the Baroda plates is Śāka-Saṃvat 734, and that of the plates of Kṛishṇarāja II. is Śāka-Saṃvat 810, so that if, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's supposition, we hold that Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda charter dated Śāka-Saṃvat 734, was the father of Kṛishṇarāja II. whose grant bears the date Śāka-Saṃvat 810, the son is separated from the father by no less than seventy-six years. This is highly improbable, though not altogether impossible. But our grant mentions another Dantivarman as brother of Dhruvarāja II., and its date is Śāka-Saṃvat 789, whereas that of Kṛishṇarāja II., as has been just stated, is Śāka-Saṃvat 810. Thus the Dantivarman of our grant is brought close to Kṛishṇarāja II., and there can be little doubt that Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarāja II., is no other than Dantivarman, the younger brother of Dhruvarāja II., the donor of our grant. The new plates therefore show that the view of Dr. Hultzsch is correct.

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, the *Kāmpilya tīrtha* is, in my opinion, to be identified with *Kampil* in the Kaimganj tahsil of the Farukhābād district in the North-West Provinces. This Kampil, whose ancient name was *Kāmpilya*, was for long the capital of Southern Pañchāla and was once a sacred place of the Jainas. The river *Pūrāvi* is perhaps identical with the modern *Pūrṇā*, in the Surat collectorate. For, in an unpublished grant belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Pūrāvi* is spoken of as being in the vicinity of *Nāgasārikā*, which is evidently the modern *Nausāri*, and the river which is close by *Nausāri* is the *Pūrṇā*. The river *Mandākinī*, which is mentioned in defining the boundaries of the village granted, cannot be identified with the Ganges, as we have no grounds whatever to suppose that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas extended their dominions as far as the Ganges. And since the name *Mandākinī* is used also to designate other rivers than the Ganges, the river *Mandākinī* mentioned in these plates may have been some river in Gujarāt, and the village granted was probably situated in that province. Instances of grants made to religious establishments remote from the village granted are not wanting in modern times, and there can therefore be nothing improbable in the supposition that the Buddhist *vihāra* at Kampil in the North-West Provinces enjoyed the income accruing from a village in Gujarāt.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

1 श्री⁴ श्री न[मो] बुधाय⁵ ॥ स वीर्यादेधसा धाम य(१)नाभिकमलं
कृतं । हरय यय⁶ कान्तेदुकलयया कमलकृतं ॥ [१*] आसीद्विषदि-⁷

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff.

² *History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 127 f.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read बुधाय.

⁶ Read यय.

⁷ Read आसीद्विषदि.

- 2 मिरमु[य]तमंडलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरोष । भूपः शुचि[र्वि]-
धुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविंदराज¹ इति र[ज]²
- 3 राजसिंहः³ ॥ [२*] दृष्टा⁴ चमूमभिमुखो⁵ सुभटादृष्टासामुन्नामित[स्य]पदि⁶
ये[न] रणेन नित्यं । दृष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटीं
- 4 ललाटे खड्गं कलं⁷ च हृदयस्य निजं च सत्वं⁸ ॥ [३*] खड्गं करा-
ग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानी म[न]स्तस्मैमेव यस्य । मञ्जाहवे ना-
- 5 [म] निग्र[र]म्य स[य]क्य[य]⁹ रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४*] तस्या-
त्मजो जगति¹⁰ विभ्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधा-
- 6 मधारी ।¹¹ भूपस्तृविष्टपटुपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोचमर्षिर्व-
भूव¹² ॥ [५*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटश्चुतदानद[न्ति]-
- 7 दन्तप्रहाररुचिरोत्तिष्ठितांसपोठः । [आ]पः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः
सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृविदेन्द्रराजः¹³ ॥ [६*]
- 8 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तन[य]श्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्याः । भोक्ता¹⁴ भुवः शतक्रतु-
सदृशः¹⁵ श्रीदन्त्रिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥ [७*] कांची-
- 9 [श]केरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधा[न]दक्षं ।¹⁶ कर्णाटक[स्य]-
लमचिंत्यमजेयमन्येर्ध्वैक्षिप्रहिरभि¹⁷
- 10 यः सहसा जिगाध¹⁸ ॥ [८*] आ सेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसङ्गोलोर्ध्विमा-
लाजलादा प्रालेयकलंकिवाम[ल]शिलाज[र]ला-¹⁹
- 11 सुषाराचलात् । आ पूर्व्वपर[वा]रिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेयेने[य]श्चगती²⁰
स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपञ्चीकृता ॥ [९*] न[स्मि]²¹
- 12 दिवं [प्र]पाते²² वज्रभराजेकृतप्रजावाधः²³ । श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्ध्वीपतिः कृष्णराजो-
भूत् ॥ [१०*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशे-
- 13 षोष्मादितारि[दि]कृत्तं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराज[स्य] ॥ [११*]
शुभतुंगवंगतुरंगप्र[वृ]हरेणू[ह]रहर[वि]करणः²⁴ । श्रीशे-
- 14 पि नभो निखिलं प्रावृट्कालायने²⁵ [स्य]ष्टं ॥ [१२*] राहुप्यमा[त्म]भु-
जजातव[ला]वलेपमाजौ²⁶ विजित्य निशिता[सि]लताप्रहारैः । पालि-

¹ Read °गोविन्द°.² Read °राजसु°.³ Read °सुखौ°.⁴ Read °सर्व्व°.⁵ Read °कोत्ति°.⁶ Read °सर्व्विष्टप°.⁷ Read °भोक्ता°.⁸ Read °मन्ये° and °यद्विरपि°.⁹ Read °जिगाध°.¹⁰ Read °बलि°.¹¹ Read °वाधः°.¹² Read °बला°.¹³ Read °सिंहः°.¹⁴ Read °तं सपदि°.¹⁵ Read °खड्ग°.¹⁶ Read °संभूव°.¹⁷ Read °दन्त्रि°.¹⁸ Read °जिगाध°.¹⁹ Read °बलि°.²⁰ Read °वाधः°.²¹ Read °बला°.²² Read °सिंहः°.²³ Read °तं सपदि°.²⁴ Read °खड्ग°.²⁵ Read °संभूव°.²⁶ Read °दन्त्रि°.²⁷ Read °जिगाध°.²⁸ Read °बलि°.²⁹ Read °वाधः°.³⁰ Read °बला°.³¹ Read °सिंहः°.³² Read °तं सपदि°.³³ Read °खड्ग°.³⁴ Read °संभूव°.³⁵ Read °दन्त्रि°.³⁶ Read °जिगाध°.³⁷ Read °बलि°.³⁸ Read °वाधः°.³⁹ Read °बला°.⁴⁰ Read °सिंहः°.⁴¹ Read °तं सपदि°.

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E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

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- 15 ध्वजवलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतान्तान ॥ [१३*]
पाता ^१यश्चतुरम्यराशिरसनालंकारभाजो भुवः^२ [च]प्याचा-
16 पि कृत[हि]जामरगुरु[प्रा]ञ्जल्यपूजादरो^३ [i] दाता मानभृ[दग्र]णीर्गणवतां
योसौ त्रिये^४ वल्ल[भो] (i) भोजं^५ [स्व]र्गफलानि भूरितपसा
17 स्थानञ्जगामामरे^६ ॥ [१४*] येन खेता[त]पत्रप्रहतरविकरचातवापास्व-
लीलं^७ जग्मे^८ [ना]सीरधूलीधवलि[त]शिरसा वल्ल[ना]खाः^९ स-
18 राजौ^{१०} । धीमन्नोवि[न्द]राजो ^{११}जितज[ष]दहितःप्रेणवैधव्यदक्षः^{१२} तस्याभीत्सू-
नुरेकः ^{१३}क्षरणदलितारातिम[त्ते]भकुं-
19 भः ॥ [१५*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराज[ना]मा महानुभावः^{१४} प्रह[तः]
प्रतापः । प्रसाधिताशेषन[रेन्द्रचक्र]ः क्रमेण (i)

Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 ^{१५}वालाकैवपुर्वभूव^{१६} ॥ [१६*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सङ्गुपचूडा-
मणौ (i) गुर्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुखा-
21 मिनि प्रत्यहं । सत्य[न्स]त्यमति^{१७} प्रशासति सति ^{१८}[आमा]मसुद्रा-
न्तिका[मा]सीदन्मपरे [गु]णामृत[नि]धौ सत्यव्रताधि[ष्टि]-^{१९}
22 ते ॥ [१७*] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं । राज्यं ध[र्मे]ण
लोकानां कुता^{२०} तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥ [१८*] तस्यात्मजो [ज]गति
23 सत्यथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः । त्यागी पराक्रम-
धन[ः] प्रकटप्रताप(i)सन्तापिताहित-
24 जनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [१९*] पृथ्वीवल्लभ इ[ति] च प्रथितं यस्यापरं
जगति नाम । यश्चतुरदधिसुसीमामेको वसु-
25 धाम्बशे^{२१} चक्रे ॥ [२०*] ^{२२}एकेनेकनरेन्द्रपुन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि
प्रोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधरां^{२३} वध्वा महासन्धु-^{२४}
26 गे [i*] लक्ष्मी[म]प्यचलां चकार विलसत्सन्धामरग्राहिणी^{२५} सन्सी[दु]हु-
विप्रसज्ज[न]सुहृदभूपभोग्यां^{२६} भुवि ॥ [२१*] तत्पुत्रो-

^१ Read °रन्वु°.

^४ Read त्रियो.

^७ Read °त्राततापा°.

^{१०} Read °दाजौ.

^{१६} Read °भावीप्रहतर°.

^{१८} Above the letter *ksha* of *kshana* and *na* of *raja*, what looks like the sign of the vowel *ē* is engraved.

^{१७} Read सत्यं सत्यमिति.

^{२०} Read कृता.

^{२३} Read °विधुरान्वध्वा.

^{२६} Read °हन्वु°.

^२ Read भुवस्त्रयाचापि.

^५ Read भोजं.

^८ Read जग्मे.

^{११} Read °जगदहितक्षेण°.

^{१९} Read बाला°.

^{१८} Read आमासमुद्रा°.

^{२१} Read °धां वशे.

^{२४} Read °संयु°.

^३ Read °दरः.

^६ Read °मामरं.

^९ Read वल्लभाख्यः.

^{१२} Read °दक्षसस्यासीत्सु°.

^{१५} Read °वभूव.

^{१९} Read °ष्टि°.

^{२२} Read एकी°.

^{२५} Read °ग्राहिणी संसीद°.

- 27 च गते नाकमाकम्पितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजमर्ष्याख्यः खातो¹ राजाभ-
वद्गुणैः ॥ [२२*] अर्थिषु यद्यार्थतां यः
- 28 समभीष्टफलावाप्तिलब्धतेषु² । वृद्धिनिनाय परमामभीष्टवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥
[२३*] राजाभूतत्पि[ठ]व्यी रिपुभववि-
- 29 भवोद्भूतभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीमानिंद्रराजो गुणनृपनिकरान्तसत्कारकारी³ । [रा]-
गाद[न्या]ग्युदस्य प्रकटितविष-
- 30 या⁴ यं नृपाः⁵ सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव [च]क्रे सकलकविजनीहीततथ्य-
स्वभावः⁶ ॥ [२४*] निर्व्याणावाप्तिवाणासहितहितज-
- 31 ना यस्य मानाः सुष्ठुत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्यराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्सर्वतो
[हिन्का]केभ्यः⁷ । एकाको दृप्तवैरिखलनकृतिगह[पा]-⁸
- 32 तिरी[ज्ययाशं]कुर्लाटीयं मडलं⁹ प[स्तन]य इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥
[२५*] सनुर्वभूव¹⁰ खलु तस्य महानुभावः ¹¹शास्त्रार्थबोधसुखला-
- 33 लितरित्कवृत्तिर्यो¹² गोण[ना]मपरिवारसुवाह पूर्व्य श्रीकर्कराजसुभ[ग]व्यप-
देश[सु]चेः¹³ ॥ [२६*] श्रीकर्कराज इति रक्षितरा-
- 34 ज्यभारः सारं कुल[स्य] तनयो नयशालिशौर्यः । तस्याभव[हि]भवनंदि-
तवन्धुसार्यः¹⁴ (i) पार्थः सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शु[ची]-
- 35 नां ॥ [२७*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा धीर्येण शौर्येण च
कोपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेत्ति¹⁵ कीर्तिः सकीवका¹⁶
भ्राम्यति य[स्य] लोके ॥ [२८*]
- 36 [स्वेच्छा]गृहीतविषया[न्*] ददसंघभाजः ¹⁷प्रोदृत्तदृप्तयशस्विकराष्ट्रकूटा¹⁸ ।
उत्खातख[ङ्ग]निजवाहवलेन¹⁹ जित्वा योमोघव-
- 37 यं इति राज्यपदे²⁰ व्यधत्त ॥ [२९*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृतो
कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यः । वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रहन्दो वभूव²¹

¹ Read खातो.² Read °कव्यतीषेपु.³ Read °समत्कार°.⁴ To this letter *yā* a superfluous sign of the vowel *d* is conjoined.⁵ Read नृपान्.⁶ Read °स्वभाव.⁷ The reading intended is probably हिंसकेभ्यः as in the Nausāri plates of Karka (*J. B. B. B. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 132*).⁸ Read °कृतिसङ्गप्रातिराज्यशङ्कु°.⁹ Read मडलं य°.¹⁰ Read °वभूव.¹¹ Read शास्त्रार्थबोध°.¹² Read °लितचित्तवृत्तिः । यो गोण°.¹³ Read °सुचेः.¹⁴ Read °वन्धु°.¹⁵ Read वेति.¹⁶ Read सकीवका.¹⁷ Read °दृप्ततर°.¹⁸ Read °कूटान्.¹⁹ Read °वाहुवलेन.²⁰ Read °लोचवर्षमचिरारक्षपदे in accordance with the Baroda plates of Dhruva I.²¹ Read वभूव.

i.



ii a.



Second Plate; Second Side.

- 38 सनुर्द्धवराजनामा ॥ [१०*] चंदो जडो हिमगिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्या
वातखलस्य तपनस्तपनस्त्रभावः । चारः प-
- 39 योधिरिति तैः सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निरुपम(१)स्तत एव
गीतः ॥ [११*] रणसरसि^१ खड्गघातैर्व्यङ्ग-
- 40 भदण्डम्पराड्मुखीकृत्य । शस्त्रशतशुद्धदेह[:*] स्वर्गमगादेक ए[वा]-
सौ ॥ [१२*] तस्याशेषनराधिपहृतय-
- 41 शसः स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्तिः । श्रीमानकालवर्षस्तन[य]स्मभूत्कुशलान्वः^२ ॥
[१३*] वज्रभभाराक्रान्तं विघ-
- 42 ^३[टि]तदुष्टान्वजो[वि]वर्गेण^४ । पितृपर्यागतमचिरात्खड्गलमघ्रासितं ये-
[न] ॥ [१४*] प्रियवादी सत्यध[न]ः श्री-
- 43 माननुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपक्षचोभकरः शुभतुंगः शुभकरः सुहृ-
दां ॥ [१५*] तस्मिन्स्वर्गभूते गुण-
- 44 वति गुणवा^५ गुणाधिकप्रीतिः । समभूद्धवराजसमो^६ ध्रुवराजस्तुष्टि-
लोकी ॥ [१६*] इतोभिमुख-
- 45 'माप[त*]अवलगौर्जराणाम्बल'^७ इतोभिमुखवज्रभो विव्रतिमागता वा-
न्धवा^८ । इतोनुजविकु-
- 46 त्वितं सममगात्समस्तभयादहो स्फुरणमद्भुतं(१) निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥
[१७*] ^{१०}गूर्जरवलमतिवलव-^{११}
- 47 त्समुद्यतं वृद्धितं^{१२} च कुक्ष्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराड्मुखं लीलया
येन ॥ [१८*] यथाभिषिक्तत्मात्रः^{१३}
- 48 परं यशः(१)स्वागशौर्यसंपन्नः^{१४} । शुभतुंगयोनिर्तुंग^{१५} पदं पदासेति^{१६} ना-
चित्रं^{१७} ॥ [१९*] यद्य स्वभुजवलार्ज-^{१८}
- 49 तज[य]लक्ष्मीन्दातुमुद्यतप्रणते । भयमपि विद्वेषिजने रनर्थदा[व]र्यिते^{१९}
कामं ॥ [२०*] रामस्येव^{२०} सौमित्रिर्दम्भ-

^१ Read 'शिरसि.^२ Read 'लंबः.^३ The lower end of ṭ is prolonged into a curve turning to the left.^४ Read 'दुष्टान्वजो.^५ Read गुणवान्.^६ Read 'भूद्धव.^७ Read 'प्रवल.^८ Read 'वा' वलमिती.^९ Read बान्धवाः.^{१०} Read 'वल.^{११} Read 'वलव.^{१२} Read वृद्धितं.^{१३} Read 'मापः.^{१४} Read 'शौर्यतीव्रप in accordance with the Bagumra plates of Dhruvarāja II.^{१५} Read 'तुंगजीतितुंग.^{१६} Read यदाप्रीति.^{१७} Read नी चित्रं.^{१८} Read 'वला.^{१९} Read वनं ददावर्जि.^{२०} Insert हि or some such short syllable after रामस्येव.

- 50 स्येव धनंजयः । अस्य भ्राताभवद्भ्यो दन्तिवर्मेति वीर्यवान् ॥ [४१*]
यस्य निशितासि[धारा]मरिकरिणः संग-
51 रे सदाऽवर्त्ताः । स(ः) दन्तिवर्म्माणां ख्यातोऽस्यैवानुजः प्रसभं ॥ [४२*]
प्रचुरकरिकुम्भदारितविगलि[त*]मुक्ता-
52 फलैरहितकरणा¹ । रंजितदोईण्डयुगः² विजयति³ समरे रिपू⁴ खड्गे ॥
[४३*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चलमव⁵
53 लोक्य जी[वि*]तमसारं(ः) । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो⁶ धर्मदायी-
यं ॥ [४४*] स [च] हरि[णै]व⁷ विक्रमाक्रान्तसम-
54 स्तभूमण्डलः⁸ दोईण्डस[मा]कृष्टकोदण्डकोण्डलितशत्रुमहासामन्तः⁹ लक्ष्मीस-
माध्यासितवच्च[.*]स्थलः

Third Plate; First Side.

- 55 पवनसूनुरिव¹⁰ निजभुजवलविनिर्जिताशे[ष]वरवैरिपतिप्रजनितजगविविख्यात-
प्रतापः¹¹ ती-
56¹² क्षासिलतांप्रहारदलितरिपुकभिकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलप्रकररंजितदोईण्डयुगः स-
मधिगतपंचमहा-
57¹³ शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपत्यपरिमितवर्षविरुदतलप्रहारिश्रीदन्तिवर्म्मदेवः¹⁴ सर्वानेव
यथासम्बन्धमानकां-¹⁵
58¹⁶ ब्राह्मपेतिविषयपतिश्यामकूटनियुक्ताधिकारिकवासापकमहत्तरादीन्समनुबोधयत्य-
स्तु¹⁷ वः सन्निदितं¹⁸ य-
59 था [मा]तापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यय[शो]भिवृष्टये सार्थातैलाटकीयद्विच-
त्वारिंशत्यान्तर्गतवाय¹⁹-
60 व्यदिग्भागावस्थितचोक्लकुटिनामग्रामः कांपित्यतीर्थकीयविहाराय यत²⁰ चाघा-
टनानि पूर्वतो द[न्ते]क्ष-
61 क[ग्राम]सीमा दक्षिणतो(ः)पसुंदरग्रामसीमा पश्चिमतो²¹ कालूपक्षिकाग्राम-
सीमा उत्तरतो मंदाकिनी

¹ Read °करिषां.

² Read °युगो.

³ This ought to be विजयते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit the metre.

⁴ Read रिपूखड्गेः.

⁵ Read °विद्युच्च.

⁶ Read प्रवर्तितो.

⁷ Read हरिरिव.

⁸ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

⁹ Read °काण्डदलित°.

¹⁰ Read °वल°.

¹¹ Read °जगद्विख्यात°.

¹² Read °लता° and °करिकुम्भ°.

¹³ Read °शब्द°.

¹⁴ Read °विरुद°.

¹⁵ Read °संबन्धमानका°.

¹⁶ Read °ब्राह्मपति° and °ग्रामकूट°.

¹⁷ Read °बोध°.

¹⁸ Read सन्निदितं.

¹⁹ Read °शद्वन्तर्गत°.

²⁰ Read यस्य.

²¹ Read पश्चिमतः.

- 62 नदी [१*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सपरिकरः सवृक्षमालाकुलः ससी-
मापयन्तः^१ सीत्यद्यमानवेष्टिक-
- 63 ^२धाष्णहिरण्यादेयो(अ)चाटभटप्रवेशः सर्व्वराजकीया[ना*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आ-
चंद्रार्कागर्णवावनिस-
- 64 रित्यर्व्वतसमकालीनः श्रीआ[र्य]संघस्य^३ शिष्यानुशिष्यक्रमोपभुंजतो^४ [पूर्व्व-
प्रदत्तव्रेहदायदे-^५
- 65 [व]दायरहितोभ्यंतरसिद्धा^६ शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु स[त]सु नवाशी-
त्यधिकेष्वंकतोपि सं-
- 66 वत्सरशते ७८८ ^७पौषवहुलनवम्यांसुत्तरायणमहापर्व्वमुद्दिश्य^८ पूरावीमहानद्यां
आत्वोदका-
- 67 तिसर्गण गंधपुष्पधूपदीपोपलेपनार्थं खण्डस्फुटितप्रासादपुन[ः*]संस्करणार्थं
प्रतिपादितः [१*] यतोस्यो[चि*]-
- 68 [त]या देवदा[य]स्थित्या भुंजतो भोजापयतो वा क्षपतो^९ कर्षापयतो
वा प्रतिदिशतो न केनचित्परिपंथ-
- 69 नीयस्तथागामिनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूदानफलमवेत्य (म)
विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्चर्या-
- 70 णि तृणा[प्र]जलविंदुचंचलं^{१०} च जीवितमाकलय्य ^{११}स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मदा-
योनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयित-
- 71 व्यस्य ॥ यस्याज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराष्ट्रिंद्यादाष्ट्रिंद्यमानकं^{१२} [वा]नु[मो]-
दकं^{१३} स पंचभिर्भूहापात-
- 72 [कै]रुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[ः*] स्यादित्युक्त[म्]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 73 भगवता वेदव्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि [स्त्र]र्णे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
आच्छेत्ता^{१४} चानुम[न्ता] च तान्येव (न)
- 74 नरके वसेत् ॥ [४५*] विंध्याट[वी]ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । ^{१५}कृष्ण-
हयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदान^{१६} हरन्ति

^१ Read °पर्यन्तः.

^२ Read °धान्य°.

^३ After श्रीआर्यसंघस्य the letter अ; was originally engraved, but was afterwards cancelled.

^४ Read °भीम्यः.

^५ Read °ब्रह्म°.

^६ Read °सिद्धा.

^७ Read °वहुलनवम्यासुत°.

^८ Read °पर्व्वमुद्दिश्य.

^९ Read °क्षपतः.

^{१०} Read °विंदु°.

^{११} Read °शेषी°.

^{१२} Read °दाष्ट्रिंद्य°.

^{१३} Read °मोदक°.

^{१४} Read आच्छेत्ता.

^{१५} Read °कृष्णा°.

^{१६} Read °दान°.

- 75 ये ॥ [४६*] चम्पेरपत्तं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्खेणवी सूर्य[सु]तास गावः ।
लोकचयं तेन भवेद्दि दत्तं^१ यः [का]-
- 76 [च]नं गां च महीं च दद्यात्^२ ॥ [४७*] 'वहु[भि]र्बहुधा दत्ता'
राजभिः [स]गरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
- 77 तस्य तदा^३ फलं ॥ [४८*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि 'धर्मा-
धियसस्कराणि [१] निर्माप्यमानप्रतिमा-^४
- 78 नि तानि की ना[म] साधुः पुनरादत्तं^५ ॥ [४९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्त-
त्वा^६ य[द्वा]द्रक्ष नराधिप ॥ मही^७ म[हि]मतां श्रेष्ठ
- 79 रा . राज्ञेयो^८ च पालनं ॥ [५०*] इति कमलदत्ताम्बविन्दलोकां^{१०}
त्रियमनुचिंत्य^{११} मनित्यजीवितं च । अतिवि[म]ल-
- 80 म[नो]भि[रा]त्मनोर्नैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विज्ञोप्याः ॥ [५१*] दूत-
कोच महामात्यश्रीकृष्णभट्टः [१*] लिखितं
- 81 चैतस्तेनभोगिकगोक्षेन राण्यसुतेनेति ॥ मतं मम श्रीदन्तिवर्धनः श्रीम-
दकालवर्षदेवसू-
- 82 नोः । तथा मतं मम श्रीद्रुवराजदेवस्य श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवसूनोः ॥ ॐ ॥

No. 29.— SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA ;

[KALACHURI.]SAMVAT 361.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates are in the possession of Patel Karsan Daji at Sarsavni (Sarasavni), a village four and a half miles south of Pâdra, in the Pâdra subdivision of the Baroda State. Through Mr. Keshavlal Ranchhod Kirtania they were brought to the notice of Mr. Withal Nagar of Baroda, who kindly informed Dr. Hultzsch of their existence; and at the latter's request Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Ravenshaw, Officiating Resident at Baroda, was good enough to send the plates to him for examination. I edit the inscription which they contain from excellent impressions, furnished to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10½" broad by 7½" high, and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2½" and 2¼" in diameter. There is no seal, and no indication of one having been attached to the plates.— The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ⅓". The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from Valabhi inscriptions and from the inscriptions

^१ Read दत्तं.^२ Read धर्माधियसं.^३ Read दत्तां वा.^४ Read °दत्ताम्बविन्द°.^५ Read बहु°.^६ Read °वात्तप्रति°.^७ Read मही.^८ Read मनुच्य°.^९ Read तदा.^{१०} Read °राददीत°.^{११} Read दानाच्छेयीमुपालनं.

iii b.



SCALE · 40

Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta (Vol. IV. No. 24).

iv b.



SCALE TWO THIRDS.

Mayidavolu Plates
(Vol. VI. No. 8).

Plates of the time
of Sasankaraja.

SEALS.

FULL-SIZE.



E. HULTZSCH.

Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

of the Gujarāt Chalukyas. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the following signs: the initial *ś*, e.g. in *śha*, and the initial *ḥ*¹ in *Kumārivaḍaḥ*, both in l. 20; the *kh* in *likhitam*-, l. 34, and *akṣhāṭita*-, l. 6; the *ḍ*, e.g. in *piḍita*- and *-maṇḍalaḥ*, l. 10; the subscript *ṃ* in *arṇava*-, l. 21; the *ṣh*,² e.g. in *prithivyām*=*apratirathaḥ*-, l. 9, and *dharmamārthi*-, l. 32; the *ph*, e.g. in *phalaḥ*, l. 31; the two forms of *l*, e.g. in *phalaṃ* and *°pālanam*, l. 31, *salilā*³ and *balāpā*-, l. 9; the final *m* and *t* in *prajānam*, l. 17, and *vasāt*, l. 29; the *jihvāmāliya* and *upadhmāniya*, e.g. in *paraḥ-kalaṅka*-, l. 4, and *vigrahaḥ=parā*-, l. 7. The writing, in line 35, also contains numerical symbols⁴ for 300, 60, 10, 5, and 1.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 28-32, the text is in prose. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of *anusvāra* the guttural and dental nasals are employed in the words *vaśā*, ll. 6 and 12, *vaśīya*, l. 24, and *pradhvansa*, l. 16; final *visarga* is changed to the *jihvāmāliya* in *paraḥ-kalaṅka*- and *rahitāḥ=kula*-, l. 4, and to the *upadhmāniya* in *vigrahaḥ=parā*-, l. 7, *°patibhiḥ=prabala*-, l. 24, *°mantavyaḥ=pāla*⁵, l. 27, and *eddhuḥ=punar*-, l. 32; *śh* is (wrongly⁶) doubled after *r* in *varshaka*-, l. 28, and *dh* (correctly) before *y* in the word *anuddhyāta*, twice in line 14. Besides, the word *prithivī* is written *prithivī* in line 9, and a few times the rules of *sandhi* have been neglected.

The inscription is one of *Buddharāja*, the son of *Śaṃkaragaṇa* who was the son of *Kṛṣṇarāja*, of the family of the *Kaṭachohuris*.⁵ It records an order of *Buddharāja*'s, issued from the royal residence or camp at *Ānandapura*, to the effect that he granted the village of *Kumārivaḍaḥ*, which was near to *Bṛhannārikā*, in the *Gōrajā-bhōga* of the *Bharukachohha-vishaya*, to the *Brāhmaṇ* *Bappasvāmin*, an inhabitant of *Dēbhaka*. It is dated,⁷ in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th of the dark half of *Kārttika* of the year 361.

The names of the three kings or chiefs—the inscription does not furnish any titles for them—who are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, are not new to us. As the date of the inscription must undoubtedly be referred to the Kalachuri era, it would fall in either A.D. 609 or A.D. 610,⁸ and it is therefore certain that the donor of the grant, *Śaṃkaragaṇa*'s son *Buddharāja*, is identical with that *Buddharāja*, the son of *Śaṃkaragaṇa*, who according to the *Nerūr* plates (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) was put to flight by the Western Chalukya *Maṅgalarāja* (*Maṅgalēsa*), and to whom the *Bādāmi* (*Mahākūṭa*) pillar-inscription (of A.D. 602 (?), *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 16) refers when it states that *Maṅgalēsa*, having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered [the *Kalatsūri*] king *Buddha* and took away his wealth. *Śaṃkaragaṇa*, again, clearly is that '*Śaṃkaragaṇa*,' the son of *Kṛṣṇarāja*, whose feast according to the *Sāṅkhēḍā* plate of *Śāntilla* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23) were meditated on by the *Bhōgikapāla Mahāpīlupati* *Nirihullaka*,⁷ and our grant proves the correctness of Prof. Bühler's suggestion (*ibid.* p. 22) that the reading *Śaṃkaragaṇaḥ* of the *Sāṅkhēḍā* plate should be altered to *Śaṃkaragaṇaḥ*.

Though the eulogy of the three kings, which fills just one half of the inscription, does not contain any historical allusions, it is not void of interest. Some of the epithets applied to the

¹ Compare the same letter in the word *Śrumbhāḍa*, in the *Surat* plates of the Gujarāt Chalukya *Yuvardja Śrīśaṅkara-Śilāditya*, *Vienna Or. Congress*, Arian section, p. 226, l. 21, Plate. The initial *ś* occurs in the word *śikṣā*, above, Vol. III. p. 55, l. 21, Plate; the initial *ś* in *Andamēghayā*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, l. 21, Plate.

² The same form of *ṣh* we have in the *Sātārā* plates of *Viṣṇuvardhana I.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309, Plate.

³ The symbols agree with those given by Prof. Bühler from *Valabhi* plates.

⁴ Compare *Pāṇini*, VIII. 4, 49. For other instances where sibilants are wrongly doubled, compare *yassya*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 73, and *pañchadaśīdyam* and *śīrīdyā*, *ibid.* p. 253.

⁵ So this word is written also in the *Aihole* inscription, above, p. 5, l. 6 of the text.

⁶ With my epoch for the later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pārvaṃdanta* *Kārttika*) would correspond to the 2nd October A.D. 609; but in agreement with the dates of the *Nanāri* and *Kāvi* plates of the Gujara *Jayabhūta III.* (Nos. 402 and 403 of my *List of Northern Inscr.*) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October A.D. 610. The date, of course, does not admit of verification.

⁷ See my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

second king, Śaṃkaragaṇa, shew that the author was acquainted with, and borrowed or imitated, certain epithets which are found only in some of the Gupta inscriptions.¹ On the other hand, it is clear that the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kaṭachchuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants² of the Gurjara Dadda [II.] Praśāntarāga of the [Kalachuri] years 380 and 385, and of the [Gujarāt] Chalukya Vijayarāja³ of the [Kalachuri] year 394. Of the last named grant the first two lines may be said to be identical with the same lines of the present grant, and the description of Vijayarāja in lines 5-8 to a great extent literally agrees with the description of Śaṃkaragaṇa in lines 8-14 of the present inscription.⁴ In the case of the Gurjara grants the agreement is not so close, but about the fact that their author knew and made use of some such Kaṭachchuri grant as the one here edited, there cannot be the slightest doubt. In his opening sentence he too compares the family of the Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahōdadhi*), and in describing that ocean he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *guṇaratna*, *udbhāsta*, *avilāṅghitāvadhi*, *gāmbhīrya*, and the phrase *mahāsattvayātīduravagāhā*, which to the reader of the present grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛishnarāja is described as from his very birth (*ā janmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita ēva*) worship the sun. He moreover, just as is the case in the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna . . . yaṃ cha . . . yasya cha*, etc.); and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyānag-ōpatyakāh* in line 10, he imitates,⁵ and labours to improve on, the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *dśō* in line 7 of the present grant. So far as I can judge, his plagiarism, if I may call it so, is not without some importance for the history of the Gurjaras. In my opinion, it tends to indicate that the family of these chiefs rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja.⁶ If Dadda Praśāntarāga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *prasasti*, most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kaṭachchuri grant.

¹ See my notes on the translation.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88.

³ See *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 248.

⁴ The present inscription shews that in line 7 of Vijayarāja's grant the intended reading is *-nirbhūṭ*, not *-nirmūṭ*.

⁵ In both inscriptions the king is compared with an elephant (*vanavāraṇa-yūthapa* and *bhādra-matāṅga*). Instead of the epithet *ruchira-vamśa-sōbhin* of the present grant, the author of the Gurjara grant puts *sad-vamśa-dhita-sōbhā-gaurava*, where also the word *vamśa* has the double meaning of 'backbone' and 'lineage.' The word *ruchira*, which the imitator here discards, he employs in the same line in *ruchira-kṛti-vasā-sahya*, 'accompanied by his bright fame' as the elephant is 'by his charming mate.' In a similar way he treats the following epithet of the present inscription, *askhalita-dāna-prasava*. The first and last word of this compound suggest to him his *askhalita-padaṃ prasavataḥ*, and the sense of the whole compound he expresses, in a more elaborate manner, by the compound commencing with *asirata-dāna-pravāha*. Of his own he adds, that his chief took delight in the lands lying at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.—As it concerns a point of history, I may perhaps state, here that I differ from those scholars who understand the epithet *krishṇa-sātru-ndga-kula-sāmtatī* in lines 3 and 4 of the Gurjara grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 82) to mean that Dadda I. conquered some hostile tribe or family of the Nāgas. In my opinion, *ndga* here means nothing but 'snake,' and the author simply says that Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuda destroys the snakes. The compound is exactly like *prṇit-ārthi-madhukara-kula* in line 8 of the same inscription, which everybody would admit to mean that the king (by his liberality) delighted the suppliants as the elephant (by his rutting-juice) does the bees. If the eulogy of Dadda I. does contain any historical allusion, it is furnished, in my opinion, by the epithet *Krishṇa-hriday-dhīdēpadaḥ* in lines 2 and 3, the word *Krishṇa* of which, in addition to denoting the god Krishna, may perhaps denote the Kaṭachchuri Kṛishnarāja, and which therefore may represent Dadda I. as a favourite (or feudatory) of that Kaṭachchuri king; as the *Kaustubha* gem is placed on Krishna's breast, so Dadda found a place in Kṛishnarāja's heart. That the epithet *Krishṇa-hriday-dhīdēpadaḥ*, just like the *Śrī-sahajanmā* by which it is preceded, does convey a double meaning, is not at all doubtful; the only question is whether it might not be taken to mean 'he whose actions (*dēpada* = *kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.'

⁶ Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 315.

I may further point out that in the wording of the formal part of the grants also the two inscriptions of Dadda Praśāntarāja referred to above agree most closely with the inscription here edited. We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed (*sarvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādihikārik-ādīn*); the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted (from *ēsha grāmaḥ* to *putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyaḥ* in lines 20-22 of the present inscription); with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and, with the omission of one verse, the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order. And one cannot help asking oneself how very different all this might have been, if the existing Gurjara grants of Śaka-Samvat 400, 415 and 417¹ were really genuine documents.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Ānandapura, from where the grant was issued, probably is the same Ānandapura from where the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII. Dhṛubhaṭa of Valabhī of the year 447 was issued, and which has been identified by Dr. Fleet² with the modern Ānand, the chief town of the Ānand subdivision of the Kaira district. And Bharukachohha, so often mentioned elsewhere, is the modern Broach. Dēbhaka, the place of residence of the donee, apparently is Dabka,³ a village in the Baroda State, about 8 miles west of Pādra and 40 miles north of Broach. On the remaining localities Dr. Fleet, who at my request has kindly searched the sheets No. 22, S. E. (1883) and No. 36, S. W. (1897) of the *Indian Atlas*, of which copies were not accessible to me, has sent me the following note:—“The Gōrajā of this grant must be the ‘Goraj’ of sheet No. 36, in lat. 22° 20', long. 73° 32', in the Hālōl subdivision of the Pañch Mahāls: it is shewn as a town or large village 11 miles on the south of Hālōl, and is about 54 miles towards the north-east-by-north from Broach. Kumārivaḍaō must be the ‘Kawarwara’ of sheet No. 22, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from ‘Goraj,’ and about 8 miles east-south-east from Baroda; it is about 24 miles almost due east of ‘Dabka.’ And Bṛihannārikā must be the ‘Banaiya’ of the same sheet, 4½ miles on the south of ‘Kawarwara.’”

TEXT.⁴*First Plate; Second Side.*

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Ānandapura-vāsakāch=chharad-upagama-prasanna-gaganatala-vimala-vipulē vividha-purusharatna-guṇa-
- 2 kiraṇa-nikar-āvabhāsitē mahāsa[t*]tv-āpāsraya-durllāṅghē gāmbhīryavati sthity-anupālana-parē mahōdadhāv=iva Kāṭa[choh]u.⁶
- 3 riṇām=anvayē sakala-jana-manōharayā chandrikay=ēva kīrti[ā] bhuvanam=avabhāsayann=ā janmana ēva Paśupati-samāsra-
- 4 ya-parah=kalaṅka-dōsha-rahitaḥ=kula-kumudavana-lakshmi-vibōdhanas=chandramā iva śrī-Kṛishṇarājō yas=samāsraya-viśē-
- 5 sha-lōbbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ saṁpanna-prakṛiti-maṇḍalō yathāvad=ātmany=āhita-śakti-
- 6 siddhir=yyēna cha ruchira-vaṇśa-śōbbhinā niyatam=askhalita-dāna-prasarēṇa prathita-bala-garimṇā vanavāraṇa-yūtha-
- 7 pēn=ēv=āviśaṅkam vicharatā vana-rājaya iv=āvanamitā diśō yasya cha śāstram=āpanna-trāṇāya . vighrahaḥ=par-ā-
- 8 bhīmāna-bhaṅgāya śikshitam vinayāya vibhav-ārjjanam pradānāya pradānam dharmmāya dharmmaś=śrēyō-vāptayē tasya putraḥ

¹ See my *List of Northern Inscr.* Nos. 347-349.² See *Gupta Inscr.* p. 173.³ See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. VII. p. 542.⁴ From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultsch.⁵ Expressed by a symbol.⁶ The consonants of the *akṣara cāchā* are not clear in the impressions, but I do not think that the *akṣara* can be read differently.⁷ Read *-vaśīśa-*.

- 9 pri(pri)thivyām=apratirathas=chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśā Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-
 Āntaka-sama-prabhāvaḥ sva-bāhu-bal-ōpā-
 10 tt-ōrjjita-rāja-śrīḥ pratāp-ātisay-ōpanata-samagra-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ paraspar-āpīdita-
 dharm-ārtha-kāma-nishēvi
 11 prapātimātra-superitōsha-gambhīr-ōnnata-hṛdayaḥ samyak-prajāpālan-ādhigata-bhūri-
 draviṇa-viśrāṇan-ā-
 12 vāpta-dharmmakriyaś=chir-ōtsannānām nṛpati-vaśśānām¹ pratishṭhāpayit=
 ābhuyuchchritānām=unmūlayitā dīn-āndha-kṛpāṇa-sa-
 13 mabhilashita-manōrath-ādhika-nikāma-phala-pradaḥ pūrva-āpara-samudr-ānt-ādi-dēśa-
 svāmī mātāpitri-pādā-
 14 nuddhyātaḥ parama-Mā[h]ēśvaraḥ śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇaḥ² tasya putras=tat-
 pādānuddhyātaḥ sakala-mahimaṇḍal-aika-tilakaḥ
 15 sātisāya-prathita-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshya-dākshinya-dhairya-śaurya-sthairya-ādy-
 aśēsha-guṇa-samanvitaḥ praba-
 16 la-ripu-bal-ōdbhūta-darppa-vibhava-pradhvanśa-³hētuh sētuh sthitinām-āyatanaḥ
 siddhēr=apratihata-chakraś=Chakradha-
 17 ra iv=ārtti-prasamana-karaḥ prajānām parama-Māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Buddharājaḥ

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 18 sarvvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādhikārik-ādi⁴
 samājñā-
 19 payaty=astu⁵ vō viditam=asmābhiḥ Bharukachchha-vishay-āntarggata-Gōrajjā-⁶
 bhōgē Bṛhannārikā-pratyāsanna-
 20 Kumārivaḍaō⁷ ēsha grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sarvv-ādāna-saṁgrāhyaḥ
 sarvva-ditya-viṣhti-pratibhēdikā-
 21 parihipō bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna⁸ a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-
 kshiti-sthiti-samakāliṇaḥ putra-pau-
 22 tr-ānvaya-bhōgya⁹ Dēbhakavāstavya-Pārāśarasagōtra-VājasaneyāKaṇvasabrahmachāri-
 brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭu-putra-
 23 Bappasvāminē bali-charu-vaiśvadev-āgnihōtr-ādi-kriy-ōtsarppaṇ-ārtham mātāpitrōr=
 ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayaś¹⁰
 24 udak-ātisarggēṇ=ātisriṣṭō¹¹ yatō=smad-vaśśayair=¹²anyair-vv=āgāmi-nṛpati-bhōgapatibhiḥ=
 prabala-pavana-prērit-ō-
 25 dadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalam jīva-lōkam=abhāv-ānugatān=asārān=vibhāvān=dīrggha-
 kāla-sthēyasaś=cha guṇā-
 26 n=ākalayya sāmānya-bhōga-bhū-pradāna-phal-ēpsubhiś=śāśi-kara-ruchiram chirāya
 yaśaś=cha chishubhir=¹³ayam=asmad-dāyō=nu-
 27 mantavyaḥ=pālayitavyaś=cha [!]¹⁴ Yō v=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyād=
 āchchhidyamānām v=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhi-
 28 r=mmahā-pātakais=samyukta¹⁵ syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna ||
 Shashṭim¹⁶ varshsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ [!]
 29 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Vindhy-ātavishv=atōyāsu
 śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [!]¹⁷ kṛṣṇāhayō hi jāya-

¹ Read -vaśśānām.

² Read °gṛāma-.

³ Read -pradhvanśa-.

⁴ Read -dīna-.

⁵ Read payati | Astu vō viditam | Asmābhiḥ.

⁶ It is just possible that the name engraved is Gōrajjā.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Read -nyāyēna-chaṭa-.

⁹ Read -bhōgyō.

¹⁰ Read °ddhaya.

¹¹ Read °sriṣṭōh |.

¹² Read -vaśśayair-.

¹³ Read yaśaś=chichh-ubhir-.

¹⁴ Read °ktas=nydd=iti | Uktam.

¹⁵ Metre of this and the next three verses: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).— Read vāśśa-.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥

E. HULTSCH.
 SCALE '8
 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

- 30 ntē bhūmi-dāyaṁ haranti yē || Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-
 ādibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya
 31 tadā phalaṁ || Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīra [1*]
 mahi[m*] mahimatā[m] śrēṣṭha dānāḥ=chhreyō-nupālanam || 1Yān=īha da-
 32 ttāni purā narēndrair-ddānāni dharm-ārtha-yaśas-karāpi [1*] nirbbhukta-mālya-
 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ=punar-ādaditi(ta)[||]
 33 Samvatsara-śata-trayē¹ śkashashṭy-adhikē Kārttika-bahula-pañchadaśyām
 Gōkulasvāmi-vijñāpanayā mahābalā-
 34 dhikṛita-śri-Prasavyavagraha-dātakaṁ likhitam=idaṁ mahāsandhivigrahādhikaraṇ-
 ādhikṛita-Śivarājñ=ēti ||
 35 Sam 300 60 1 Kārttika-ba 10 5 ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail ! From the royal residence ² of victory, fixed at Ānandapura :—⁴

In the lineage of the Kaṭachohuris— which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the vault of the sky clear on the advent of autumn ; illumined by the mass of the rays of the manifold excellences of jewels of men (as the ocean is by those of its gems) ; difficult to be crossed because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals) ; endowed with profundity (and) intent on observing the limits of what is right (as the ocean is on keeping within its proper limits)— (there was) the glorious Kṛishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame that charmed all mankind, who from his very birth was devoted to the service of Paśupati (Śiva), who promoted the fortune of his family (and who thus, though) free from blemish,⁵ was like the moon which illumines the earth with its light pleasing to all mankind, which is ever resting on Śiva, (and) which causes the groups of night-lotuses to expand. From a desire, as it were, of securing a choice resting-place, he was resorted to by all the qualities that make a king the object of attachment,⁶ as well as by every other excellence. He was fully endowed with all the constituent elements of royalty, and duly reaped the beneficial results (of his management) of the regal powers.⁷ As the chief elephant of the herd, distinguished by its splendid backbone, with the flow of its rutting-juice never ceasing, displaying the might of its strength, fearlessly roams about and breaks down rows of forest-trees, so he, who was illustrious by his splendid lineage, and the stream of whose liberality was never failing, and the might of whose power was well-known, marched about without apprehension and brought to subjection the regions. He wielded the sword to protect people in distress,⁸ made war to break the conceit of adversaries, engaged in study to learn propriety of conduct, gathered wealth to make donations, made donations for the sake of religious merit, and acquired religious merit to obtain the bliss of final emancipation.

(L. 8.) His son, who meditated on his parents' feet, (was) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious Śamkaragana, the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western seas and of other lands ; who⁹ on the earth had no antagonist equal to him ; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans ; whose might was like that of Dhanada,

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

² Read -traya.

³ Or 'from the camp . . . pitched at.'

⁴ The sentence is continued below, in the words 'the glorious Buddhārāja.'

⁵ The beauty of the moon is marred by a dark spot.

⁶ On the passage containing the word *dhigdmika* compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, l. 16, and p. 169, note 2.

⁷ Vis. the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy.

⁸ Compare the *Sakuntala*, in the first act, *drta-trāṇḍya vaḥ śāstram*.

⁹ This epithet and the two next— one with a slightly different reading— are well known from Gupta inscriptions ; compare e.g. *Gupta Inscr.* p. 26, l. 1 of the text ; and D. Fleet's note, *ibid.* p. 14, note 4.

Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka;¹ who by the strength of his arms² acquired the fortune of powerful kings; before whose pre-eminent prowess there bowed down the circle of all the neighbouring princes; who engaged in the pursuit of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and elevated mind was well pleased only by submission;³ who accomplished acts of religion by distributing in charity the ample wealth acquired by properly protecting his people; who reinstated families of princes long subverted,⁴ and uprooted the exalted; and who to the afflicted, the blind and the poor granted the object of their desire, more fully even than their hearts longed for.

(L. 14.) His son, who meditates on his feet, who is the unique frontal ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is endowed with all the most celebrated qualities, such as prudence, good conduct, compassion, liberality, cleverness, dexterity, fortitude, heroism, firmness and the rest; who causes the destruction of the might of conceit, arising from power, of powerful enemies; who is a dam to safeguard all ordinances, and a resting-place of success; and who, like the Discus-bearer (Vishṇu) with his irresistible disc, with his irresistible army relieves the distress of the people—he, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious Buddharāja, issues this order to all Rājās, Sāmantas, Bhōgikas, Viśhayapatis, Rāshṭra- and Grāma-mahattaras, Ādhikārikas and others:—

(L. 19.) Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents and ourselves we have granted, with pouring out of water, the village of Kumārivaḍaḥ which is close to Brihannārikā, in the Gōrajā-bhōga that lies within the Bharukachchha-vishaya,—with the udraṅga, with the uparikara, with all imposts and taxes,⁵ exempt from all dītya, forced labour and prātibhēdikā, according to the maxim of bhūmicchhīdra, not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, for as long as the moon, the sun, the sea and the earth endure, to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu, who is an inhabitant of Pēbhaka, a member of the Pārāsara gōtra, and a student of the Kaṇva śākhā of the Vājasaneyā Vēda, for the maintenance of the bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihōtra and other rites. Wherefore, let future kings and Bhōgapatis, whether of our own family or others—bearing in mind that the world of living beings is unsteady like a wave of water of the sea raised by a fierce wind, that wealth is liable to perish and void of substance, and that virtue endures for a long time—desirous of sharing in the reward of (this) donation of land, and anxious to accumulate for a long time fame as bright as the rays of the moon, consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whosoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, should take it away or permit it to be taken away, he shall be guilty of the five great sins! And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—[Here follow five imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33.) In three hundred years increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth tithi of the dark half of Kārttika, at the request of Gōkulasvāmin,⁶ this (edict)—the dūtaka of which is the Mahābālādīkṛita,⁷ the illustrious Prasahyavigraha—was written by the Mahāsādhivigrahādhikarāḍdhikṛita⁸ Śivarāja.

The year 300 60 1 Kārttika-badi 10 5.

¹ I.e. the guardian deities of the northern, western, eastern and southern quarters.

² Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 26, where the compound *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Indr-Antaka-sama* is followed by another, commencing with *sva-bhūja-bala-*.

³ Compare *ibid.* p. 8, l. 25, *bhaktiyanatimātra-grāhya-mridu-hṛidayasya*.

⁴ Compare *ibid.* p. 8, l. 23, *anśka-bhrashṭardjy-śīsaana-rājasaṁśa-pratishṭhāpana*.

⁵ The original has *sarva-ddāna-saṁgrāhya*, which may have some more specific meaning.

⁶ I am unable to state the position of this personage with regard to either the donor or the donee.

⁷ I.e. 'the great *Bal-ddhikṛita* (or general)'; see my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

⁸ I.e. 'the great *Sādhivigrahā-ddhikarāḍdhikṛita* (or officer charged with the ministry of peace and war)'; compare e.g. the Gurjara grants, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 84, l. 50, and p. 90, l. 50.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Hultsch has sent me for examination the texts and English translations of fifty-four **Pāṇḍya dates**.¹ Of this number I now publish, with the results of my calculations, twenty-six dates, together with four others (Nos. 1, 5, 14 and 16 of my list), which have been published by Dr. Hultsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, and for two of which (Nos. 14 and 16) the European equivalents have been already ascertained by the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit. All these dates quote only regnal years, not years of any era; and in a number of cases it was uncertain whether the dates connected with a particular name belonged to the reign of one king or to the reigns of two or more kings bearing the same name. How my results will fit into the history of the time to which the dates refer, others may decide; I have been solely guided by the dates, and have not allowed myself to be influenced by other considerations. Though the dates do not quote years of any era, the fact that some of them, in addition to the weekday, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra*, also give the corresponding solar day, has helped me greatly in ascertaining what I consider to be the proper European equivalents, and makes me place great confidence in the results which I now put forward. The reader will understand this when he sees, that *e.g.* for the date No. 1 there is only a single day in 500 years that would fully satisfy all the requirements of the original date. To Dr. Hultsch I owe sincere thanks for having enabled me to do this work.

A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

1.—Date in the larger Tiruppūvaṇam grant.²

Plate i. a, line 4 f.

Nijē vatsarē pañchavimśē chaṇḍāmsāv=āṭṭa-Chāpē Kanakapati-tithau kṛishṇapaksh-
Ārkivāra-Svāti-yōgē;

“in his twenty-fifth year, while the sun was in Chāpa, on the *tithi* of Kanakapati, at the union of Saturday and Svāti in the dark fortnight.”

Plate v. b, line 2 f.

Padiṇmūṇṇāvaḍiṇ=edir paṇṇiraṇḍām=āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyaru nālān=diyadiyum apara-
pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kkilamaiyum porra Śōḍi-nāl;

“the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Dhanus, in the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth.”

Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 there is only a single year for which this date would be absolutely correct, *viz.* the year 1214. In this year the Dhanuḥ-samkrānti took place 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanus. The 4th day of the month of Dhanus therefore was Saturday, the 29th November. And on this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) ended 9 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. Accordingly, if the date does fall between A.D. 1000 and 1500 and has been correctly recorded, Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214, must be its proper equivalent.

¹ [It is but right to state that these dates were looked up, transcribed and translated by my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, and that I have done nothing but checking his transcripts and renderings.—E. H.]

² See Dr. Hultsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288.

2.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] [Pāvi]ṇ kilatti²
 5 śrī-kō=Chchadaiypan[ma]-
 6 r=[ā]ṇa Tri[bhuvana]chchakravartigaḥ śrī-Kulaśēgarad[ā]vaṛkku yāṇḍu
 paḍiṇmu(mā)ṇṛā[vadi]ṇ edirām=āṇḍu Mīṇa-nāyaru nālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu
 daśa-
 7 [miyum] Viyāla-kkilamai[yum] perṛa Pār[ā]dattu nāḥ.

"In the year opposite to the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pūrvāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Mīna."

Under No. 1 we found that a date of the 12th opposite to the 13th year, *i.e.* of the 25th year, of the king's reign fell in November A.D. 1214. If such was really the case, this date No. 2, of the month of Mīna of the year opposite to the 13th, *i.e.* of the 14th year, of the same reign, must fall in February-March of either A.D. 1203 or 1204. As a matter of fact, the date is correct for Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204. In A.D. 1204 the Mīna-samkrānti took place 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 23rd February, which was the first day of the month of Mīna. The fourth day of the month of Mīna therefore was Thursday, the 26th February; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshāḍhā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

The way in which this date works out proves that the equivalent found for the date No. 1 undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of that date; and the two dates together shew that the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara commenced between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.³3.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō Mārapanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḥ Śōṇāḍu
 koṇḍu Muḍikonḍaśō-
 2 lapurattu vi(vī)rābhishēkam paṇṇiy=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pā[ṇ]ḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu
 paḍiṇēlāvadi[ṇ*]
 3 edirām=āṇḍi[ṇ*] edi[r]ām=āṇḍu
 5 yivv-ā[t]-
 6 ṭai=Ppurattādi-māsattu ēlān=diyadiyum deśa[m]iyum T[i]ṇ[ga]ṭ-k[i]lamaiyu[m]
 perṛa Uttarādattu nā[ḥ].

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōḷa country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikonḍaśōlapuram,— on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the tenth *tithi*, and to the seventh solar day of the month of Puraṭṭādi in this year."

Between A.D. 1200 and 1300 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1234. In this year the Kanyā-samkrānti took place 16 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 28th

¹ No. 123 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² See the larger Tiruppāvanam grant.

³ I add the numbers 'I.' and 'II.' here and below merely for convenience of reference so far as this list is concerned. There may have been other kings of the same names before those here numbered as I.

⁴ No. 155 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

August. The 7th day of the month of Kanyā (or Purattādi) therefore was Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Bhādra-pada) ended 13 h. 6 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

4.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

- 1 Śrī-kō [M]āra[va]ṇmar=āṇa Tribhu[va]nachchakra[va]rttigal
Śōṇāḍu=gōṇḍu Muḍikōṇḍa-
- 2 [v]īrābhishēkam paṇṇiy=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvaṛku
yāṇḍu 17vadin=edirām=āṇḍin=edirām=āṇ-
- 3 ru iruba[t]tē[l]ān=diyadiyu[m] pūrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu prathamaiyūn=
Dīngal-[k]iḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūra(ra)tt[ā]di-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōḷa country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikōṇḍa[śōḷapuram],—on the day of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-seventh solar day of . . ."

Although the name of the solar month of this date is broken away or quite illegible, the fact that during that month the first *tithi* of the bright half was joined with the *nakshatra* Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, at once suggests the conjecture that the month was that of Kumbha; and this conjecture is shewn to be correct by the calculation of the date. The date, which is of the same regnal year as No. 3, corresponds to Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235. In A.D. 1235 the Kumbha-saṁkrānti took place 8 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 24th January, which was the first day of the month of Kumbha. The 27th day of the month of Kumbha therefore was Monday, the 19th February; and on this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 0 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

5.—In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.²

- 1 Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribuvanaachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Śōṇāḍu
valaṅgi aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛ[k*]ku yāṇḍu oṇḍāḍavadu
- 2 Mēsha-nāyaṛru apara-pakshattu tṛitṭiyaikum Vēḷi-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Viśāgattu
nāḷ.

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to present the Chōḷa country,³—on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

As the two preceding dates Nos. 3 and 4, of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year, *i.e.* of the 19th year, of the king's reign fell in A.D. 1234 and 1235, this date No. 5, of the 9th year of the same reign, will be expected to fall in A.D. 1224 or 1225. The date actually corresponds to Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 22 h. 45 m., and the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 133 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 344.

³ See the smaller Tiruppāṇam graṇṭh.

6.—In the Agniśvara temple at Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārāpaṇma[r=ā]na Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga! Śōṇāḍu
vaḷaṅgiya Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāṇḍu 7āvadu Mīna-nāyaru=ppūrvva-
pakshattu navamiyu[m] [yu]m [pe]rṛa Pūsattu nā!
- 2 Rishabham muhūrttattu.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who presented the Chōḷa country,— on the auspicious occasion of the Rishabha (*lagna*) on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

The three preceding dates Nos. 3-5 shew that a date of the month of Mina of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1223, and in my opinion this date No. 6 undoubtedly corresponds to [Monday,] the 13th March A.D. 1223, which was the 19th day of the month of Mina, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. There is the difficulty that by our Tables the 9th *tithi* of the bright half had ended 0 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of the 13th March, but it may be reasonably supposed that by other Tables it ended shortly *after* mean sunrise. The name of the weekday which would have removed all doubt unfortunately is illegible or broken away.— On the day found Rishabha was *lagna* from 2 h. 28 m. to about 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 3-6 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.

C.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

7.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō Mārāpaṇ[ma]r=āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkarava[t]t[i]ga! śrī-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍiṅ-ōṇṛāvad[iṅ]=edir[ā]m=āṇḍiṅ=edirām=āṇḍu
Magara-nāyaru [i]rubattunālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśamiyu[m] Budan-
kilamaiyum perṛa Aṇilattu nā-
- 2 1.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

Between A.D. 1150 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1251. The Makara-saṁkrānti took place 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 26th December A.D. 1250, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the month of Makara therefore was Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausha) ended 17 h., and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

8.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārāpaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-[Śunda]ra-
[P]ā[ṇ]ḍiya[d]ē[va]rkkku yāṇḍu [11]va[d]iṅ edirām=āṇ[ḍi]-
- 2 ṇ edirām=āṇḍu Magara-nāyaru irubat[t]unālān=diyadiyum a[pa]ra-paksha[t]tu da-
śamiyum Bu[daṇ]-kilamaiy[um] perṛa Aṇiḷa[t]tu nā!

¹ No. 52 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ No. 146 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Anurādhā**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of **Makara**."

This date is the same as No. 7, except that in the expression 'opposite to the 11th year,' numeral figures are used by the writer.

9.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

1 Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribh[u]va[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga[!] śr[i]-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu paḍiṇ-ṇṇāvadiṇ=edirām=[ā*]ṇḍiṇ=e[di]rām=ā[p]ḍṇ M[i]ṇa-nāyayru=ppat[t]oṇ[baḍ]ān=di[ya]diyudiyum² a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu navamiyum Budaṇ-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Aśvini**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the nineteenth solar day of the month of **Mina**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Mina** a 9th *tithi* of the dark half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* **Aśvini**. The probability is that the month intended was that of **Mithuna**, and calculation proves that it *was* that month. The date, which is of the same year as No. 7, corresponds to **Wednesday**, the 14th June A.D. 1251. In A.D. 1251 the **Mithuna-samkrānti** took place 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May. The 19th day of the month of **Mithuna** therefore was **Wednesday**, the 14th June; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (*of the month Jyāishṭha*) ended 5 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Aśvini** for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

10.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

1 Svasti śrī [[*] Kō Mārapaṇ[ma]r-āṇa Tribhu[vaṇa]chchakra[vat]t[i]gaḷ śr[i]-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍ[i]ṇo-
2 ṇṇāvadu Vaigāśi-[m]āṣattu mudaṇ=tiyadi Nāyirru-kkiḷamai peṇṇa Attattu nā[!].

"In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to **Sunday**, the first solar day of the month of **Vaigāśi**."

As the dates Nos. 7-9, which are of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 11th year, i.e. of the 13th year, of the king's reign, have been found to fall in A.D. 1251, this date No. 10, which is of the 11th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1249. It actually corresponds to **Sunday**, the 25th April A.D. 1249, which was the first day of the month of **Vaigāśi**—the **Vṛishabha-samkrānti** having taken place 0 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise—and on which the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

The dates Nos. 7-10 together prove that the reign of **Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.** commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.

¹ No. 147 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² Read =*diyadiyum*.

³ No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

11.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Kō=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Ti[r]ibuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2āvadu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu
ēkādaśiyum Viyāla-kkīlamaiyum peṇṇa Śad[ai]yat[tu nā].

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

To shorten my remarks, I may state here at once that the six dates Nos. 11-16 work out correctly on the assumption (and prove thus) that the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1251.

This date, No. 11, corresponds to Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253, which was the third day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 2 h. 20 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

To ascertain whether this date could possibly be one of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I have calculated it also for the years A.D. 1277, 1278, and 1279, and have found that it would be incorrect for any one of these years. The same remark applies to the dates Nos. 12 and 13.

12.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadaiva[r*]mmar=āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattigaḥ śrī-
[Su]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2vadu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu
śadu[r]tthiyum Śaṇi-kk[i]lamaiyum peṇṇa Mu(mū)lattu nā.

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 2 h. 59 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mūla by the equal space system for 5 h. 16 m., after mean sunrise.

13.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chchadapa[ṇmar=āṇa] Tiru(ri)bu[va]ṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yā[ṇ]ḍu 3vadu Vṛiśchika-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu
[sha]shthiyum Budāṇ-kīlamaiyum peṇṇa Uttirāḍattu nā.

"In the 3rd year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253, which was the second day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kārttika) ended 18 h. 4 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 254 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

³ No. 89 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

14.—In the Védagirisvara temple at Tirukkalukkupram.¹

- 2 Tribhuvanachakrava[r]ttiga[!]] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛkku yā[ṇ]ḍu
 9āvadu Ishava-nā[ya]ṛru pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v*]vāy-kkiḷa-
 3 maiyum peṛṛa Puṇarpūśattu nā!.

"In the 9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaisākha) ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

15.—In the Védagirisvara temple at Tirukkalukkupram.²

- 1 Śrī-kōḷ=Chadaipañmar-āṇa Tiru(ri)buvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ emma-
 2 ṇḍalamuṇ=gond=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛkku y[ā]-
 3 ṇḍu 9āvadu Miduna-nāyaṛru apara-pakshattu navamiyum Nāyaṛru-[k]kilamai-
 4 yum peṛṛa Irēba(va)di-nā!.

"In the 9th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259, which was the 20th day of the month of Mithuna, and was entirely occupied by the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyāishṭha), and on which the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

16.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrirāṅgam.³

- 2 Kō=Chchadaipañmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṇ=
 gond=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛ[ku] yāṇḍu 10vadu pattāvadu Rishabha-
 nāyaṛru apara-[pa]kshattu Budan-kilamaiyum prathamaiyum peṛṛa A[ni]-
 3 lattu nā!.

"In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaisākha) ended 0 h. 4 m.,⁴ and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

17.—In the Pushpavanēśvara temple at Tiruppanḍurutti.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [!]* Pū-[ma]lar [va]lar
 16 śrī-[k]ō=Chcha[ḍa]pañmar-āṇa Tiribuvanachcha[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-
 Śu[n]dara-Pāṇḍiya[d]ē[va]ṛku yāṇḍu

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 343, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

² No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 121, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

⁴ The *tithi* ended later after true sunrise.

⁵ No. 166 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894. The king took Kaṇṇaṇṇar from the Hoysala king and covered the temple at Śrirāṅgam with gold.

17 7āvadu Kanni-nāyaṛṛu [a]gha(pa)ra-gha(pa)kshattu trayôdasiyūm Nāyaṛṛu-
kk[i]lamaiyum [p]eṛra Atta[t]tu nāḷ.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The wording of this date, so far as I can see, is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the dark half can never be actually joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta. Judging by the preceding dates Nos. 11-16, a date of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1257 or 1258; and during these two years the date would be correct only for the month of Tūlā, which follows immediately upon the month of Kanyā. For the month of Tūlā it regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257, which was the 10th day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Āśvina) ended 7 h. 31 m., and the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

18.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-Chcha[ḍapa]ṇmar Tiribuvanaḥchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiya-
- 2 dēvaṛku yāṇḍu llāvadu Kaṛkaḍaga-nāyaṛṛu apara-pakshattu sha-
- 3 shṭhiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum peṛra Āśvati-nāḷ.

"In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Āśvini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

As this date is of the month of Karkāṭaka of the 11th year, it should fall in A.D. 1261, if it is a date of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.; but for that year it does not work out properly. In A.D. 1261 the 6th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Karkāṭaka ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 19th July, which was the 23rd day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Āśvini from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. As I obtain no really better result for other years of the same reign, and no satisfactory result at all for the 11th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I would take Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261, to be the intended day, and assume that in the original date the weekday has been given incorrectly.

E.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

19.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 2 Śrī-[k]ō Māraṇmar=ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanaḥcha-
- 3 kravart[t]igaḷ e[m*]maṇḍalamuṇ-gop-
- 4 ḍ-aruliya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṛku [y]ā[ṇ*]-
- 5 ḍu 27va[d]u Dhanu-nā[ya]ṛṛu 14 tiyadiyu[m]
- 6 Velli-kkiḷamaiyum apara-paksha[t]tu
- 7 saptamiyum peṛra U[t]tira-nāḷ.

"In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to a Friday, and to the 14th solar day of the month of Dhanu."

¹ No. 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1294. In this year the Dhanuṣ-saṁkrānti took place 1 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanus. The 14th day of the month of Dhanus therefore was **Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294**; and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) commenced 4 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

20.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrīraṅgam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tēri pōl
 4 śr[i]-kō Māra[pa]ṇmā(ma)r=āṇa Tiribuva[na]chchakkaravattiga! śrī-
 Ku[la]śēgaradēvarkku yāṇḍu pattāvadu [Ma]gara-nā[ya*]ṛṇu pū[r]vva-pakshattu
 dasamiyum
 5 yuṁ² Budaṇ-kiḷamaiy[u]m peṛra [U]rōṣaṇi-nāḷ.

"In the tenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Rôhini, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**."

If the equivalent obtained under No. 19 for the date of the 27th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 20, of the 10th year of the king's reign, will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1277. It actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278**. This day was the 11th of the month of **Makara**; and on it the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Māgha) ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhini** by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

21.—In the Nallaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

- 1 [Sva*]sti śrī [||] Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakra-
 2 [va*]rttiga! emmaṇḍalamu[n]=go[n]ḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Kula-
 3 śēgaradēvaṛku [y]āṇḍu [2]ḍvadu Vṛīschika-nā[yaṛ]ṇu
 4 irubatt[i]ra[n]ḍā[n]=diyadiyum [a]para-[pa]kshattu [dv]iti-
 5 yaiyu[m] B[u]daṇ-kiḷamaiyum p[er]ra Puṇa[r]pūṣa-n-
 6 [ā]ḷ.

"In the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-second solar day of the month of **Vṛīschika**."

The results obtained under Nos. 19 and 20 shew that this date, of the month of Vṛīschika of the 26th year of the king's reign, must fall in about A.D. 1293. The date, in my opinion, actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293**. In A.D. 1293 the Vṛīschika-saṁkrānti took place 6 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October, which was the first day of the month of Vṛīschika. The 22nd day of the month of Vṛīschika therefore was **Wednesday, the 18th November**; and on this day the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of the same day was the third (not the second) *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha).— I have no doubt that in the original date the second *tithi* (*dvitīyaiyum*) has been wrongly quoted instead of the third (*tritīyaiyum*).

¹ No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

² No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ Cancel *yum*.

22.—In the Śvétāraṇyēśvara temple at Kaḍappēri.¹

- 1 Kō Māṇu(ṛa)paṇmar Tiru(ri)[buva]ṇachohakravattika(ga)l śrī-
Kulaśēgaradēvar[k*][k]u [y]āṇḍu 40 Mi(mi)ṇa-nāyaṛu pūrvva-pakshattu
dviṭiyaiyum Śaṇi-kk[i]lam[ai]yum peṛra Rēvati-nāḷ.

“In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

The results obtained under the three preceding dates shew that this date, of the month of Mīna of the 40th year of the king's reign, must fall in either A.D. 1307 or A.D. 1308. It actually corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308. On this day the Mīna-saṅkrānti took place 8 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the day therefore was the first of the month of Mīna; the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) ended 12 h. 32 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 19-22 together prove that the reign of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 25th February and the 18th November A.D. 1268.

F.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

23.—In the Iḷamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṛ=Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachohakravattigaḷ śrī-Śundara-
Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu pad[i]mu(mū)ṇṛāvadu Śimha-nāyaṛ[u]
pūrvva-pakshattu trayōḍasiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum peṛra Uttarāḍattu nāḷ.

“In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśhāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Śimha.”

24.—In the Ādhipuriśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṛ=Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachohakkaravattigaḷ śrī-
2 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu padinmu(mū)ṇṛāvadu Śimha-nāyaṛu
3 a[pa]ra-pakshattu tritīyaiyum Vēḷi-kk[i]lamaiyum peṛra Uttirāṭ-
4 tād[i]-nāḷ.

“In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrāpadā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śimha.”

The two dates Nos. 23 and 24 are both stated to be of the month of Śimha of the 13th year of the king's reign. In No. 23 the 13th *tithi* of the bright half is combined with a Monday and the *nakshatra* Uttarāśhāḍhā, in No. 24 the third *tithi* of the dark half with a Friday and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrāpadā. Of all the years between A.D. 1236 and 1325 there is only a single year that satisfies all the requirements of both dates, *viz.* the year 1289. For that year the date—

No. 23 corresponds to Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of the month of Śimha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 5 h. 23 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise; and the date—

¹ No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

² No. 24 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

³ No. 400 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

No. 24 corresponds to **Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289**, which was the 8th day of the month of **Sirha**, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Bhadrapadā**, according to Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if these were dates of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., they would fall in A.D. 1263, but that either of them would be incorrect both for that year and for A.D. 1264. For A.D. 1262 No. 24 would be correct, but not No. 23.

25.—In the Ṭamiśvara temple at Tāramāṅgalam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Kôḥ=Chohaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]ga[l] śr[ī]-
 Śutta(nda)ra-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu Gāvadu āṇavadu Kaṇḍadaga-nāyaṇṇ[u]
 2 pūrvva-pakshattu chat[u]rtthiyum Tiṅgaṭ-ki[la]maiyum peṇṇa Uttirattu nāḷ.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

Considering that the two preceding dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are said to be of the 13th year of the king's reign, fall in A.D. 1289, this date, which is of the 6th year of the reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1282. But the date apparently corresponds to **Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281**, which was the 25th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 9 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

Here again, if this date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1256; but for that year it would be incorrect.

26.—In the Jayaṅgaṇḍanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.²

- 14 [Ś]rī-kô=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribhuvaṇachchak-
 15 karavattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-
 16 varkku yāṇḍu paṇṇiraṇḍāvadu Kaṇ-
 17 ṇi-[n]āyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyu[m]
 18 [V]eḷḷi-[kk]iḷamaiyum peṇṇa Śōdi-nāḷ.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Svāti**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Kanyā** a 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* **Svāti**. Supposing the *nakshatra* to have been given correctly, the *tithi* in the month of **Kanyā** would in all probability be the third of the bright half. And for this *tithi* the date regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287**, which was the 15th day of the month of **Kanyā**, and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Āśvina**) ended 4 h. 7 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Svāti** by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

Here too, if the date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1262; but for that year it would be incorrect (also for the third *tithi* of the bright half).

¹ No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

27.—In the Iḷamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṛ-Chaḍapaṇmar-āṇa Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāḍu paṇḍālāvaduk-edirāvadu Rishabha-nāyaṅṟu [pū] [Tiṇ]gaṭ-kiḷamaiyum perṟa Pūṣattu nāl.

“(In the year) opposite to the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday, [of the first fortnight] of the month of Rishabha.”

Judging by the dates Nos. 25 and 26, this date, which is of the year opposite to the 14th, *i.e.* of the 15th year, of the king's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1290. Though the number of the *tithi* is broken away or illegible, the fact that on the *tithi* in question during the month of Rishabha the *nakshatra* was Pushya, permits us to conjecture that the *tithi* was approximately the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Jyaisṭha, or perhaps the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha. Now the year A.D. 1290 does contain a day which satisfies all the requirements of the date, and which I therefore take to be its proper equivalent. It is Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290, which was the 20th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which [the 5th *tithi*] of the bright half (of the month Jyaisṭha) ended 4 h. 24 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya by the equal space system and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise (and somewhat longer after true sunrise).

If this date were one of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1265 or 1266. In A.D. 1265 the month of Rishabha contained no Monday on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya. In A.D. 1266, during the month of Rishabha, the *nakshatra* was Pushya from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 10th May; but the 10th May A.D. 1266 would have belonged to the 16th, not the 15th, year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

The difficulty presented by the five dates Nos. 23-27 is this that, while according to the three dates Nos. 25-27 the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. would have commenced between approximately the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, by the two dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately the 6th August A.D. 1276. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos. 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of ‘the year opposite to the 13th,’ *i.e.* the 14th year, an assumption which would make the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, as suggested by the dates Nos. 25-27.

G.—MĀRAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

28.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 1 Śrī-kō M[ā]raṇmar-āṇa [Tr]ibuvāṇachchakravattigal śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvarkku yāḍu eṭṭāvadu Vriśchika-nāyaṅṟu=ppaṇḍiṇān=
2 [diyadiyu]m [apara]-cha(pa)kshatta(ttu) navamiyum [Śa]ṇ[i]-kkiḷamaiyum pe[r]ṟa Uttirattu nāl.

“In the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the seventeenth solar day of the month of Vriśchika.”

¹ No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1400 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1321. In this year the Vṛiśchika-saṁkrānti took place 12 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October. The 17th day of the month of Vṛiśchika therefore was **Saturday**, the 14th November A.D. 1321; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Kārttika) ended 19 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., according to Garga from 8 h. 32 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

If this date were one of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I., it would fall in either A.D. 1275 or 1276; I need hardly say that for both these years it would be incorrect.

29.—In the Brihadiśvara temple at Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Kō Mā vaṇachchakkaravattiga! śrīḥ(śrī)-
Kulaśē[garā]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4vadu Katka(rka)ṭaka-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu
chatu[r]ddaṣiyum Śaṇi-[k]kīlāmaiyum [p]eṅṅa
- 2 Uttirāḍattu nāḷ.

“In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharaḍēva,— on the day of **Uttarāshāḍhā**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkātaka**.”

If the equivalent obtained under No. 28 for the date of the 8th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 29, of the 4th year of the king's reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1317. It actually corresponds to **Saturday**, the 23rd July A.D. 1317. This day was the 26th of the month of **Karkātaka**; and on it the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 22 h. 22 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarāshāḍhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if this were a date of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I., it would fall in either A.D. 1271 or 1272, but that for both these years it would be incorrect.

30.—In the Brihadiśvara temple at Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram.²

- 1 [Kō] Māraṇṇamar Tribhuvanachchakravattiga! śr[ī]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku
yā[ṇḍu] 5āvadu S[i]mā-nāyaṅṅu
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaṣiyum Tiṅga yum peṅṅa Pūsattu nāḷ.

“In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharaḍēva,— on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Simha**.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Simha** the *nakshatra* on the 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be **Pushya** or any *nakshatra* near **Pushya**. The probability is that the month of the date was **Mina**; and actual calculation shews, not only that it was **Mina**, but also that the word *Pūsattu* of the text should be altered to *Pūrattu*, i.e. that the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, not **Pushya**.

I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of the date is **Monday**, the 5th March A.D. 1319. This was the 10th day of the month of **Mina**; and on it the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Phālguna**) ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system during the whole day, according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

² No. 78 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

The three dates Nos. 28-30 together prove that the reign of **Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara II.** commenced between (approximately) the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314.

For convenience of reference I now give a list of the above thirty dates, in the order of the results obtained, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king put in brackets after his name.

A.—Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (February 27—November 29, A.D. 1190).

No. 2. Year opp.¹ to 13 (i.e. 14th year) : February 26, A.D. 1204.

No. 1. Year 12 opp. to 13, or 25th year : November 29, A.D. 1214.

B.—Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (March 29—September 4, A.D. 1216).

No. 6. 7th year : March 13, A.D. 1223.

No. 5. 9th year : March 28, A.D. 1225.

No. 3. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) : September 4, A.D. 1234.

No. 4. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) : February 19, A.D. 1235.

C.—Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (June 15, A.D. 1238—January 18, A.D. 1239).

No. 10. 11th year : April 25, A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (i.e. 13th year) : January 18, A.D. 1251.

No. 9. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (i.e. 13th year) : June 14, A.D. 1251.

D.—Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (April 20—28, A.D. 1251).

No. 11. 2nd year : March 27, A.D. 1253.

No. 12. 2nd year : April 19, A.D. 1253.

No. 13. 3rd year : October 29, A.D. 1253.

No. 17. 7th year : October 7, A.D. 1257.

No. 14. 9th year : April 29, A.D. 1259.

No. 15. 9th year : June 15, A.D. 1259.

No. 16. 10th year : April 28, A.D. 1260.

No. 18. 11th year : July 19, A.D. 1261.

E.—Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara I. (February 25—November 18, A.D. 1268).

No. 20. 10th year : January 5, A.D. 1278.

No. 21. 26th year : November 18, A.D. 1293.

No. 19. 27th year : December 10, A.D. 1294.

No. 22. 40th year : February 24, A.D. 1308.

F.—Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (September 13, A.D. 1275—May 15, A.D. 1276).

No. 25. 6th year : July 21, A.D. 1281.

No. 26. 12th year : September 12, A.D. 1287.

No. 23. 13th [for 14th] year : August 1, A.D. 1289.

No. 24. 13th [for 14th] year : August 5, A.D. 1289.

No. 27. [Year] opp. to 14 (i.e. 15th year) : May 15, A.D. 1290.

¹ I.e. 'opposite.'

G.—Māra-varman Kulāśekhara II. (March 6—July 23, A.D. 1314).

No. 29. 4th year : July 23, A.D. 1317.

No. 30. 5th year : March 5, A.D. 1319.

No. 28. 8th year : November 14, A.D. 1321.

(To be continued.)

No. 31.—KONDAMUDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription were received in June 1901 from Mr. R. Morris, I.C.S., Collector of the Kistna district, along with an abstract of their contents by Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L. They had been recently discovered in a mound in the village of Kondamudi in the Tenali taluka of the Kistna district and will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

The copper plates are eight in number, and measure about 7" in breadth and about 3½" in height. Their edges are not raised into rims. In the upper left corner of the first side of each plate is cut a hole for the ring on which they were strung. The ring measures about 3½" in diameter and about ¼" in thickness, and its ends are soldered into the base of a circular seal of about 1½" diameter. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates came into my hands. In the centre of the seal is, in relief, a trident the handle of which seems to end in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon, and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates.¹ The preservation of the plates is tolerably good; but the first side of the first plate is so much corroded that it can be read only with great difficulty. Besides, two corners of the first plate are broken off, and it has in this way become detached from the ring.

The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman (No. 8 above). It shows the same peculiar *s*, *m*, *j*, and *e*. The group *jā* (ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavolu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *n* (or *ṇ*) is identical in shape with the lingual *ṇ*, but the dental *d* is represented by a separate character, while in the Mayidavolu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters. Initial *o* occurs twice (ll. 19 and 27), and *ph* (l. 4), *qh* (l. 17), *gh* (l. 19), *th* (l. 37) and initial *t* (l. 18) once.

The language is Prākṛit, with the exception of the two Sanskrit words *Mahēśvara* (l. 3) and *Bṛihatphalāyana* (l. 4) and the Telugu village name *Pāṁṭāra* (ll. 24 and 29). As in the Mayidavolu plates, the orthography follows the practice of the cave inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for a double letter.² Double *n* and double *m* are expressed by *anusvāra* and *n* (ll. 15 and 19) and *m* (ll. 5 and 44), respectively; a superfluous *anusvāra* occurs before the groups *mḥ* and *nḥ* (ll. 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 26 and 29). The instrumental *eteḥi naṁ* (l. 35) is known from the Andhra inscriptions and from the Jaina Prākṛit.³ The curious phrases *etasa chasa* (l. 28) and *etam chasim* (l. 36) also have their parallels in the Andhra inscriptions.⁴ A peculiar word is *asi* (ll. 13, 14, 15 and 18), *aṁsi* (ll. 17, 20 and 22) or *aṁsikā* (l. 21), 'a share,' which seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *aṁśa*. *Divāḍha* (l. 17) represents the Ardhamāgadhi *divaḍḍha*, 'one and a half.'⁵

¹ Just as here two different alphabets are employed for Sanskrit and Prākṛit, the inscriptions of the Tamil country use the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the Tamil alphabets for Tamil words and the Grantha alphabet for Sanskrit words.

² The only exception would be *aṁsikāddāḍḍā* (l. 21), if this reading is correct.

³ *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 104, note 9. Prof. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 114) derives the particle *naṁ* or *ṇaṁ* from the Sanskrit *śānam*.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* text line 8; p. 106, text line 5; p. 106, text line 11; and p. 112, text line 3.

⁵ Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 320.

The eight copper plates are marked with the numerical symbols '1' to '8' on the left of the second line of each plate. On plates ii. to viii. the figure occupies the first side, but the figure '1' stands on the *second* side of the first plate. The reason of this is that the writing on the first side of the first plate does not form part of the inscription itself (which begins on the second side of the first plate), but is a kind of docket which was probably added after the remaining 15 pages had been engraved. In ll. 12 to 15, 20, 22 and 41 occur further instances of numerical symbols, among them '10' (l. 41) and '20' (l. 22). A dash resembling the symbol '1' is used as a mark of punctuation at the end of 12 lines, and after 3 words in the middle of lines.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (*rājan*, l. 5) or, as he is styled on the seal, the *Mahārāja Jayavarman*, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas* and was a worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). From his camp (or capital), the town *Kūdūra*, he informs his executive officer at *Kūdūra* that he has granted the village *Pāṇṭūra* in the district of *Kūdūra* (*Kūdūrahāra*, l. 23) to eight *Brāhmaṇas*. The royal order was copied on copper plates by a military officer on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year (of the king's reign, l. 41).

Neither Jayavarman nor his *gōtra* are known from other records. The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince *Śivaskandavarman* who issued the Mayidavōlu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nāsik inscriptions¹ of *Gautamiputra Śātakarni* (Nos. 4 and 5)² and *Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāyi* (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction.

As suggested by Mr. Ramayya, *Kūdūrahāra* may be a more ancient form of *Gudrahāra*, *Gudravāra*, *Gudrāvāra* or *Gudrāra*.³ The same district is probably mentioned in the plates of *Vijayanandivarman* (l. 3), where I propose to read from the photo-lithograph *Kudrāhāra* instead of *Kuḍuhāra*, the reading of the printed texts.⁴ *Kūdūra*, which was the head-quarters of this district and the residence of king Jayavarman, and the village *Pāṇṭūra* I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 S . [v] . pato⁶ vijaya-khamdhāvārā
- 2 nagarā Kūdūrāto
- 3 Mahēśvara-pāda-parigahito

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 Bṛihatphalāyana-sagoto
- 5 rājā siri-Jayavarmmo
- 6 ānapayati Kūdūre

¹ A still closer resemblance exists between Jayavarman's plates and the Kārlē inscription No. 19, at the beginning of which the king's name is lost; see below, p. 319, notes 1 and 7.

² I am quoting the Andhra inscriptions according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's numbering in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. (Nāsik), and *Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India* (Kārlē).

³ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 47, note 1; above, Vol. IV. p. 84, and Vol. V. p. 123.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 176, and Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, second ed., p. 135.

⁵ From the original plates.

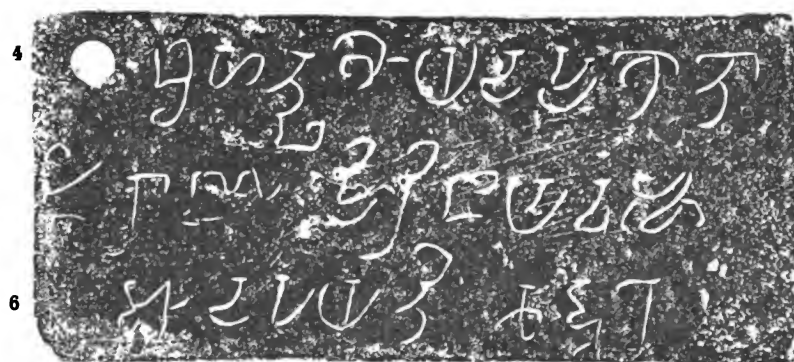
⁶ The two first letters are broken away at the top. The lower portion of the letter *v* is preserved on a separate piece of the plate, which is broken off and therefore could not be shown on the accompanying photo-zincograph. Of the two possible restorations, *sava* (*sarva*) and *siva* (*śiva*), the second appears preferable, because documents generally open with a word of auspicious import.

Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman.

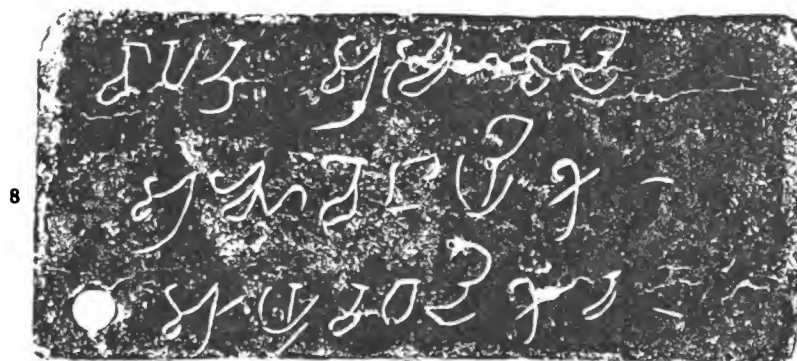
i b.



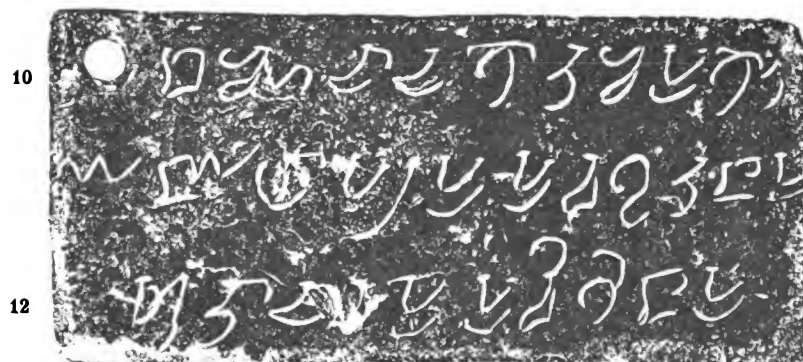
ii a.



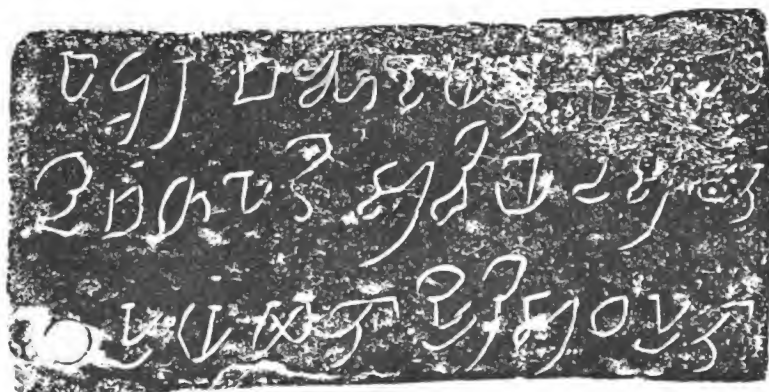
ii b.



iii a.

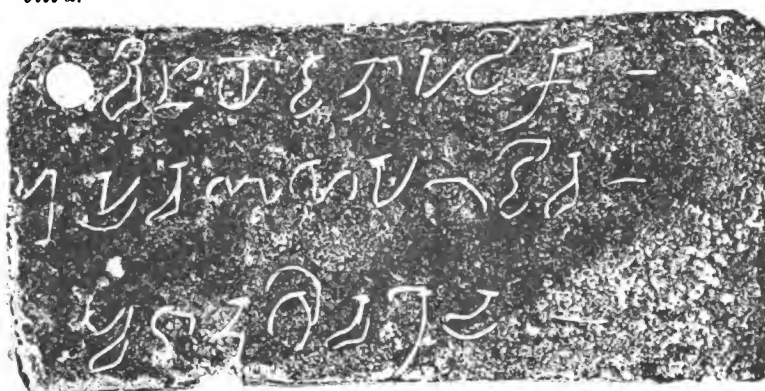


vii b.



38

viii a.



40

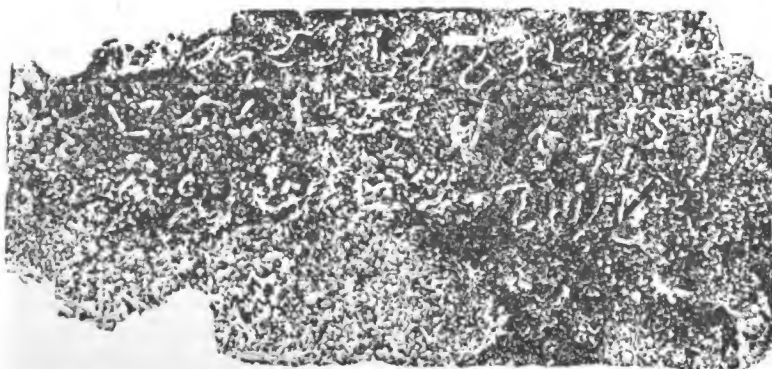
42

viii b.



44

i a.



2

(L. 25.) "Parcel off¹ that village Pā[ṇ]tūra from this (*district*), having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 28.) "And to this village Pāṇtūra we grant (*all*) immunities, having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 31.) "(*Let it be*) free from being entered, free from being meddled with, free from diggings for salt, *araṭṭasaṃvinayika*, and endowed with immunities of all kinds.

(L. 35.) "Exempt² (*it*) with (*all*) these immunities.

(L. 36.) "And having made this village Pā[ṇ]tūra a *brahmadēya*, cause a charter to be drawn up³ to this effect."

(L. 38.) The order was issued by word of mouth.⁴

(L. 39.) (*The charter*) was signed⁵ by (*the king*) himself. Fortune, wealth, power⁶ and victory⁷ were given (*by the doones to the king as a reward for the grant*).

(L. 40.) (*This*) set of plates was prepared on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year by the *Mahādandanāyaka Bhāpahānavarman*, the best of the *Mahātagi* (*family*?).

(First plate, first side.) (*Order referring*) to the *brahmadēya* Pāṇtūra in Kūdūrahāra, (*granted*) to 8 people, to Brāhmaṇas, to the *Mahājānas* (headed by) Savagutaja.⁸

(On the seal.) (*The seal*) of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious Jayavarman, who belongs to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas*.

No. 32.—TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT SIYAMANGALAM.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The village of *Siyamangalam* near *Dēśūr* in the Wandiwash (*Vandavāśi*) *tāluka* of the North Arcot district contains a Śiva temple named *Stambhēśvara* or (in *Tamiḷ*) *Tūṇ-Āṇḍār*,⁹ which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *maṇḍapas* in front of it, and a stone enclosure.¹⁰ The two rock-cut pillars of the gate by which the shrine is entered bear the two subjoined inscriptions. Besides, there are several *Chōḷa* inscriptions on the walls of the enclosure and on the rock in the

¹ The second singular imperative is addressed to the official at Kūdūra. The verb *oyapḍepeti* is probably derived from *avayava*, the *v* having been hardened into *p* as in *apḍessa* (l. 31). In the Kārlē inscription No. 19 read also *oyapḍepeti* instead of *deya papahi* (*A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 3).

² See note 1 above. I believe that the second singular imperative is also intended in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 4 (*parihariha*), p. 104, text line 4, and p. 111, text line 14 (*pariharthi*); and the second plural imperative *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11 (*pariharetha*).

³ The second singular imperative *nibamdhḍepeti*, which is quite clear on the copper plate, has been misread in various ways in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, text line 5, p. 111, text line 14, and p. 112, text line 5. The second plural imperative (*nibamdhḍepetha*) is meant *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11.

⁴ On *aviyena* see *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, note 2.

⁵ In his valuable paper on the Kārlē inscriptions, which will appear in Vol. VII. of this journal, Dr. Senart derives *chhata* from *khaṇ*, 'to hurt' and hence 'to write.' The king cannot have written the order himself, because the inscription expressly states that he issued it by word of mouth. Hence I propose to translate *chhata* by 'signed.' The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied. In the latter the royal signature is represented by the seal on which they are strung.

⁶ On *sattā* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 332.

⁷ Compare the Kārlē inscription No. 19, where Dr. Senart (see note 5 above) reads *riṇṇayathasattre* or *sattakkhe*. If the second alternative is accepted, the compound would mean "victory, wealth, power and fame."

⁸ This passage is a kind of docket, stating the contents of the whole document.

⁹ I.e. 'the lord of pillars.' This name seems to refer to the two pillars in front of the cave.

¹⁰ Compare Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 170, and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, new edition, Vol. II. p. 445.

north-east corner of the temple, from which we learn that Śīyamaṅgalam belonged to **Tēppārrūr-nāḍu**,¹ a subdivision of **Palaguppa-kōṭṭam**,² a district of **Jayaṅgonḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam**. The temple itself was then called **Tirukkaṇṇāḷi**, i.e. 'the sacred stone temple' (Nos. 60 and 69 of 1900), and **Tūṇ-Āṇḍār** (Nos. 61, 62, 63 and 65 of 1900).

A.—Inscription of Lalitāṅkura.

This inscription (No. 67 of 1900) is engraved on the right pillar of the gate. It consists of a single Sanskrit verse in the Āryā metre and is written in the same archaic alphabet as the cave inscriptions at Trichinopoly³ and Mahēndravāḍi.⁴ It records that "this (temple) named **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**" was caused to be made by king **Lalitāṅkura**. From the cave inscription at Vallam⁵ we know that **Lalitāṅkura** was a surname of **Mahēndrapōtarāja**, who, according to Mr. Venkayya's researches,⁶ is probably identical with the **Pallava** king **Mahēndravarman I**. Two other surnames of the same king were **Śatrumalla** and **Guṇabhara**, of which the first occurs at Trichinopoly and Vallam, and the second at Trichinopoly, Vallam and Mahēndravāḍi. Thus the **Pallava** king **Mahēndravarman I**, who reigned about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, is now known to have excavated four rock-cut shrines, of which that at Mahēndravāḍi was dedicated to Viṣṇu, and the three others to Śiva. The name of the Śīyamaṅgalam cave, **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**, means 'the Īśvara (i.e. Śiva temple) of the **Pallava** (king) **Avanibhājana**.' Hence **Avanibhājana**,⁷ i.e. 'the possessor of the earth,' must have been another surname of **Mahēndravarman I**.

TEXT.⁸

- 1 Lalitā[m]kurēṇa rājñ=Āva-
- 2 nibhāja[na]-Pallavēśvaran-nāma [I*]
- 3 kārītam=ētat=svē[dh]ā(chchhā)-karaṇḍa-
- 4 m=iva puṇya-ratnānām [II*]

TRANSLATION.

By king **Lalitāṅkura** was caused to be made this (temple) named **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**—a casket, as it were, (worked at) his will (and enclosing) jewels, (vis.) good deeds.⁹

B.—Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

This inscription (No. 68 of 1900) is engraved on the left pillar of the gate. Its alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the Grantha words *svastī śrī* at the beginning and *śrī* in line 10, and resembles that of the Tiruvallam rock inscription of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**; but the letter *ṇ* has throughout its archaic form, while in the Tiruvallam inscription the modern form with fully developed central loop occurs twice.¹⁰—The language is Tamil. As in the Madras Museum plates of **Jaṭilavarman**,¹¹ the rules of *saṁdhi* are not observed in *Perumbālavūr* (l. 7 f.)

¹ This subdivision was named after **Tēppāttūr**, No. 127 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Wandiwash taluka.

² The same district is mentioned in two inscriptions at Tirumalai near Pōḷḍr (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 72 and 74), in a Tiruvallam inscription (*ibid.* Vol. III. No. 58), and in the Ālampūḍi plate (above, Vol. III. p. 226).

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 33 and 34, and Vol. II. Plate x.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 19.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 72.

⁶ *Madras Christian College Magazine* of November 1893, and above, Vol. III. p. 278.

⁷ The synonymous *biruda* **Bhuvanabhājana** occurs in the inscriptions of the **Pallava** kings **Narasimha** and **Rājasimha** at Māmallapuram and Kāñchi; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 3, 7, and 25, 23rd niche.

⁸ From inked estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao in 1900 and 1901.

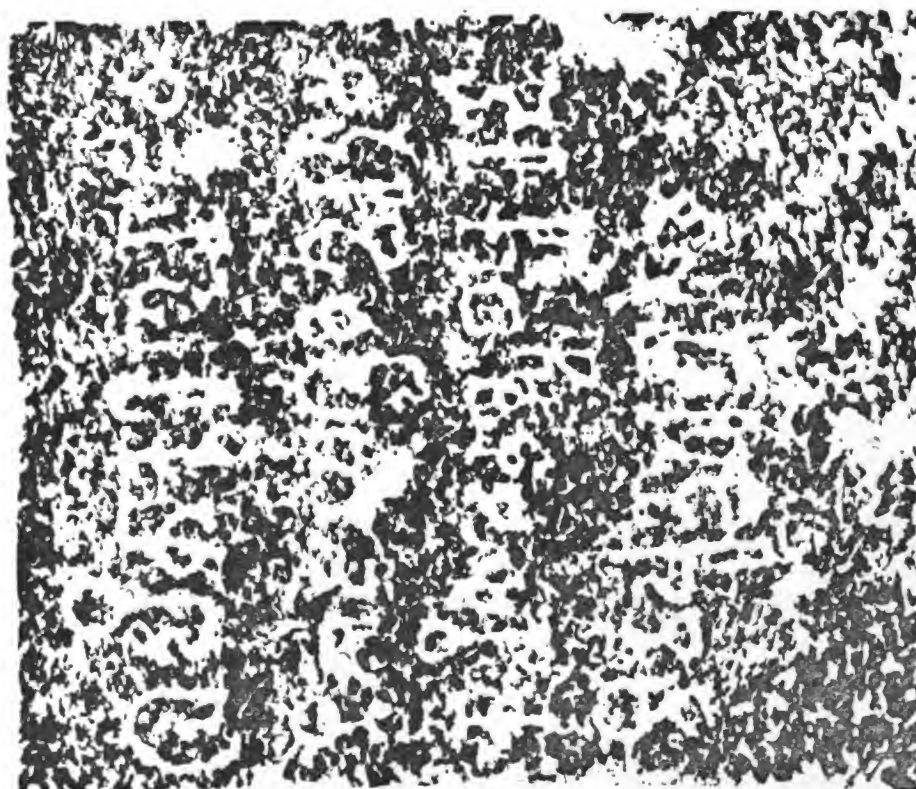
⁹ By this simile the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

¹⁰ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90 and note 6.

¹¹ See Mr. Venkayya's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 68 f.

Siyamangalam Cave Inscriptions.

A.



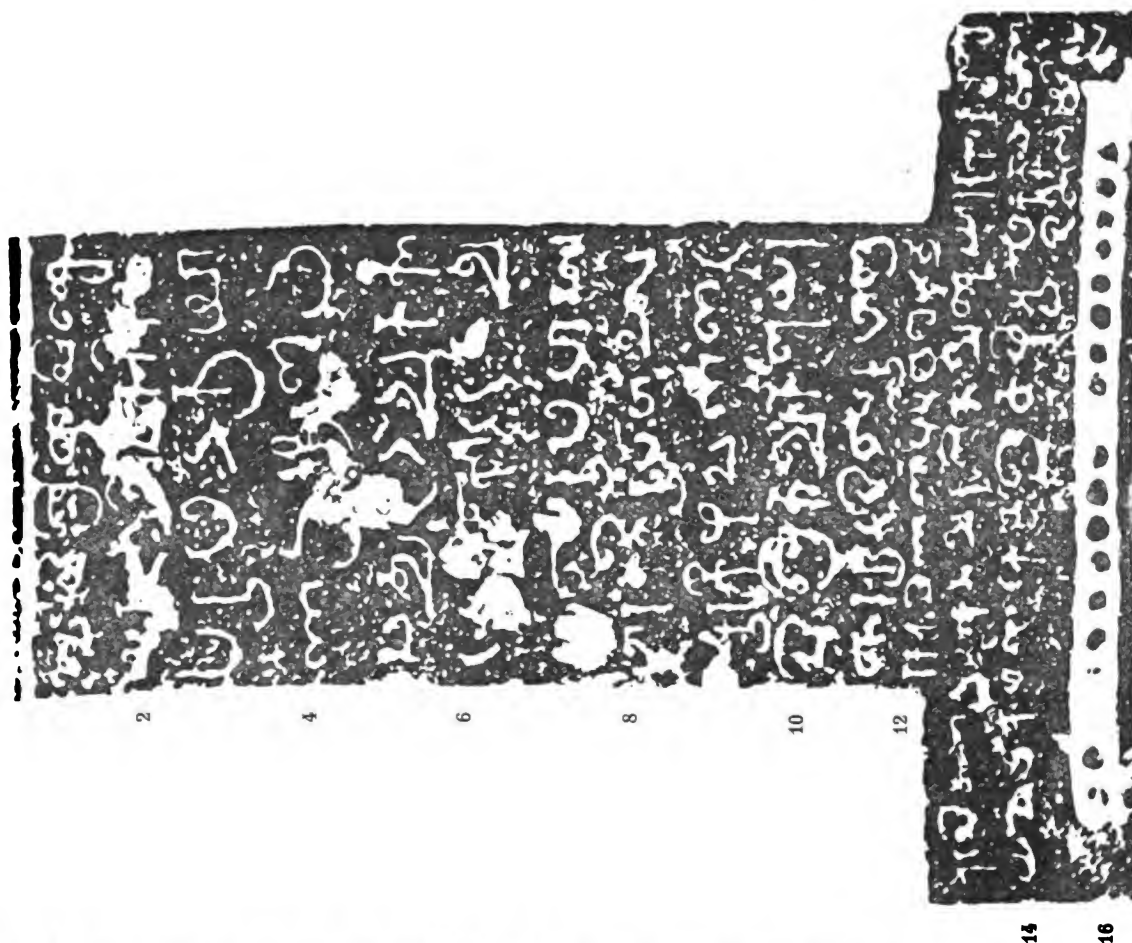
2

4

SCALE ONE-THIRD.

E. HULTZSCH.

B.



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO.

for *Perumbālaiyūr* and in *aḷiḍmai* (l. 14) for *aḷiyḍmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aḷiyḍmal*. The final *ṇ* of *kiḷavan* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamanḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkaḷ inscription of Kṛishṇa III.¹

The inscription is dated in the third year of the reign of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅgavikramavarman and placed in the ninth century of the Christian era.² This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēri, Viriñchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.³ Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nripataṅgavikramavarman,⁴ two inscriptions of his grandfather Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman⁵ and four inscriptions of his own reign⁶ were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śaḍaiyar temple at Tiruchchennambūṇḍi near Kōvilāḍi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.⁷ Two of these mention Mārambāvai, "who was the great queen of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Pallavati[ka ?] family."⁸ The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakesarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nripataṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōḷa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Aḍavi with the permission of a Gaṅga chief named Nērguṭṭi, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near *Perumbālaiyūr* in Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam. This district owes its name to Ūṟṟukkāḍu, a village in the Conjeeveram tāluka, and *Perumbālaiyūr* is perhaps the same as *Pālaiyūr* which is mentioned in the Kaśākūḍi plates.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] .Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[rama]-
- 3 parumaṇku yā-
- 4 ṇḍu m[ū]ṇṇā-
- 5 vadu [Ū]ṟṟukkā-
- 6 ṭ[ṭu-k]kōṭṭa[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]erumbālai-
- 8 ūr-¹¹Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kiḷavanṇ-Aḍa-
- 10 vi śri-Gaṅgaraiyar
- 11 Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇā-
- 12 rkku viṇṇappaṇ-jeydu

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 43.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 28.

⁵ No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No. 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

⁶ No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 26th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

⁷ No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.

⁸ *Pallavati-kulattu Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēviydr-āṇa aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍan Mārambāvaiydr.*

See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 345.

⁹ From two inked stampages.

¹¹ Read 'bālaiyūr.

- 13 Aḍavi taṇ-rāyār Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgaiyārk-k-āga=chche-
 14 yda mugamaṇḍagam [!"] id-aḷiāmai=kkāttāṇ-a-
 15 ḍi eṇ muḍi mē-
 16 la [!"]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the third year (of the reign) of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,—Aḍavi, the headman of Tiruppālaiyūr (near) Perumbalaiyūr in Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, having made a request to (i.e. having obtained the sanction of) the glorious Gaṅga king Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇ,—(this) Aḍavi made the *maṇḍapa* in front (of the shrine) for (the merit of) his mother Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgai.

(L. 14.) The feet of him who protects this (gift) without destroying (it), (shall be) on my head.³

No. 33.—RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA;
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1293.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

In the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*, a modern Tamil work which professes to be based on a Sanskrit poem in 3,000 verses by Tṛitīya-Brahmatantrasvatantṛasvāmin, we are told that, when the Musalmāns¹ had captured Tiruchohirāppalli (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Rāṅganātha temple on the island of Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṇ (Viṣṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati).² Subsequently a certain Gōpaṇarāyar is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śiṅgapuram near Śeṇji, and thence back to Śrīraṅgam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakṣmī and the Earth).³ On this occasion he was praised by the Vaiṣṇava preceptor Vēdāntadēśika in the following verse :⁴—

शानीयानीलनृक्षुतिरचितजगद्रक्षनादक्षनादे-
 सक्षामाराध्य कंचित्समयमय निहत्थोहनुष्कान्¹ तुहत्थान् ।
 लक्ष्मीक्षाम्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्वापयसङ्गनाथं²
 सम्यङ्कर्त्तुं सपर्यामकृत भुवि यज्ञःप्रापणी गोपणार्थः ॥

Mr. Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamil work, entitled *Kōyilolugu*, i.e. "Benefactions to the Temple," which registers the donations made to the Rāṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Samvat 1149 expired,⁵ the Akshaya-samvatsara, the Muḥammadans (*Tulukkar*) occupied the Tondai-maṇḍalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrīraṅgam that the enemies had passed Samayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Perumāḷ to Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlukōṭe in the Mysore State)

¹ Read =*aiydmāi*.

² *Turushka-Yavan-dḍigal*.

³ Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4990, the Virōdhi-samvatsara, p. 124 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 127 f.

⁵ Read °नाथं.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. III. p. 98 and note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁸ This must be an error for 1249.

⁹ Read °नुष्कान्.

by way of Jōtiakkuḍi, Tirumālirūjōlai, Kōlikkūḍu (Calicut) and Puṅgaṇūr (in the North Arcot district). The image was kept for "many days" at Mēlukōte and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muḥammadans had conquered the Pāṇḍya country and, through the influence of Vidyāraṇya, the kingdom of Āṇaikkondi (Vijayanagara) had been established. Its king, Harihararāya (II.), reconquered the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. One of his officers, Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār, who resided at Śēṇji, took the above-mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śīṅgapuram (near Śēṇji),¹ where it was duly worshipped. He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muḥammadans completely. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, the Paridhāvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vaiḡāśi, he brought back the image of Perumāḷ to Śrīraṅgam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts. He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman² the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, and which reads here as follows:—

शानीयानीलम्बुधुतिरचितजमद्रक्षणादक्षनादे-

खेक्षामाराध्य कंचिद्वसयमथ निहत्वीधनुष्कांसुलुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीक्षामाभ्यासुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्ननाथं

सम्यक्वयीं सपर्यीं कुरुत निजयशोदर्पणी गोपचार्यः ॥

The *Kōyilōḷuḡu* further states that Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār granted fifty-two villages to the Raṅganātha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararāya (II.), and Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of the latter, performed the *tulāpurniṣa* ceremony at the same temple.⁴

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined Grantha inscription (No. 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing Śaka-Saṁvat 1293⁵ (= A.D. 1371-72). This date implies that the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* either must be wrong in making Gōpaṇarāya a contemporary of Vēdāntadēśika, or— what is more probable— that the alleged birthday of Vēdāntadēśika in Kaliyuga 4370, the Śukla-saṁvatsara⁶ (= A.D. 1269-70), is a pure invention. Gōpaṇarāya is referred to in the inscription as Goppaṇārya (verse 1) and Gōpaṇa (v. 2). His residence (*rājadhāni*, v. 2) was Cheñchi (v. 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamil Śēṇji, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district.⁷ Añjanādri⁸ (v. 1) and Vṛishabhagiri (v. 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

Goppaṇa or Goppaṇṇa is known as an officer of Kampana-Uḍaiyār or Kampanṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of Vira-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyār, from an inscription at Achoharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901)

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 226.

² This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Raṅganātha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial.

³ Read 'यान्मज्जत-

⁴ It is interesting to note that this Tamil work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, which are described in one of the Raṅganātha inscriptions (above, Vol. III. p. 7 ff.). The king is said to have defeated the Chēra, the Chōḷa and Vallā[ā]dēva (i.e. the Hoysala king) and to have assumed the title *Emmaṇḍalai-gōṇḍa-Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who conquered every country." Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Por-māynda-Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Viṣṇu called after this surname. His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated. He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakṣas* of gold coins (*poṇ*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts.

⁵ The same year is quoted in the *Kōyilōḷuḡu*; see above.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 94.

⁷ *Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 226.

and from three inscriptions at Kāñchi.¹ Aiyappa, the son of Appa Goppappa, is mentioned in another Kāñchi inscription of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar, the son of Bukkana-Udaiyar (No. 33 of 1890). The same inscription shows that Goppappa was a Brāhmaṇa, as it states that he belonged to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*.

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppappa's sovereign, Kampana-Udaiyar, was the son of Bukkana-Udaiyar or Vira-Bokkana-Udaiyar. I feel no hesitation in identifying this Bukkana-Udaiyar with king Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, whose name appears as 'Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru of Vijayanagara' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1293, the Virōdhikṛit year, at Bhatkal,² and in identifying Kampana-Udaiyar with Chikka-Kampanna-Oḍeyaru, the son of Bukka I.³ The word *Chikka* or *Kumāra*, which is prefixed to the name of Kampana-Udaiyar in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle Kampana.⁴ In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty Kampana-Udaiyar will henceforth appear as Kampana II., and his uncle as Kampana I. Mr. Taylor⁵ calls Kampana-Udaiyar the "general or agent" of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muḥammadan invaders from the Pāṇḍya country. Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff. The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā is testified to by chronicles and coins,⁶ and Kampana-Udaiyar's conquest of the Pāṇḍya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, the Viśvāvasu year, at Tiruppuḱkuḷi (No. 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhira, he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."⁷ Rājagambhira is known to have been a surname of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara,⁸ whose Tiruppūvaṇam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214.⁹ Hence 'the kingdom of Rājagambhira' seems to denote the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that Kampana II., the son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, expelled the Muḥammadans from Madhurā. Two inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi¹⁰ show him in possession of a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler. His prime-minister (*mahāpradhāni*) Sōmappa is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mēlpāḍi (No. 89 of 1889) and Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901). To return to Goppappa, he seems to have taken part

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 86-88. When publishing these three inscriptions (*op. cit.* p. 117 f.), I represented Kampana-Udaiyar as the son of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar on the strength of a Tirumalai inscription (*ibid.* No. 72). But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l. 2 f. of this record, *śrī-Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar Kumdra-śrī-Kampana-Udaiyar kumdrar śrī-Ommaṇa-Udaiyar* has to be translated by "Ommaṇa-Udaiyar, the son of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar (*alias*) Kumāra-Kampana-Udaiyar."

² Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 1. An inscription of Vira-Bokkana-Udaiyar at Vēppūr (No. 20 of 1890) is dated in the Rākshasa year (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1297); another at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam (*Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1298); and one at Achcharapākkam (No. 255 of 1901) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 90, Ml. 23 and 76; Vol. IV., Ch. 113 and 117.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; Vol. IV., Yl. 64 and Gu. 32.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 36.

⁵ *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 488 f.

⁶ See e.g. Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 42; Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 223 f.; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p. 32 f. and p. 66 ff.; and the late Mr. Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 49 ff. No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi. No. 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Aḥsan Shāh 738* (of the Hijra, i.e. A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Husainiyya*.

⁷ *Irājagambhira-irāḍyam kai-kkōṇḍu sti(sthira-simhāsanattil pr[i](pri)thivi-irāḍyam paṇṇi aruḍa-ṇ[i]ṇṇa*. This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

⁹ See page 301 above.

¹⁰ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 301 f.

in his master's wars against the Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā, as the Ranganātha inscription alludes to his conquest of the Tulushkas.

The subjoined list of inscriptions of Kampapa II. shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Rāmnād in the south, and that he was in power between A.D. 1361-62 and A.D. 1374. The Tirumalai inscription of his son Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar¹ is dated on the 11th December A.D. 1374.² Of his father Bukka I. we have inscriptions of still later date, viz. A.D. 1375-76 and 1376-77.³ To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details.

1.—No. 250 of 1901; at Achcharapākkam. Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vīra-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 12[83], Plava.

2.—No. 89 of 1889; at Mēlpādi. Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. Plava.

3.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 86; at Kāñchi. Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvāvasu.

4.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 87; at Kāñchi. Vīra-Kumāra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvādi (i.e. Viśvāvasu).

5.—No. 18 of 1899; at Tiruppuḱkuḷi. Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vīra-Bukkapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, Viśvāvasu. *Śakābdam āyirattu-irunḍṛru-ēṇḍattu-ēḷiṇ mēl tēḷḷṇiṇṇa varttamā[na]-Viśvāvasu-saṃvatsarattu Vṛishika-nā[ya]ru pūrva-pakshattu shashṭi(shṭi)yum Avittamum perra Budaṇ-kiḷamai-nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1287 expired = Viśvāvasu the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 19th November A.D. 1365, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

6.—No. 163 of 1892; at Bhussanahalli. Vīra-Kumāra-Kampapa-Uḍeyaru, the son of Vīra-Buk[k]app-Uḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṃvat 12[8]8, Parābhava.

7.—No. 21 of 1890; at Vēppūr. Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. *Parāba[va]-varuṣham Atvika-nāyarru pūrva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Nā[ya]rru-kkiḷamaiyum perra Pāsattu nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamil] strange word for the solar month, *Atvika*, may be intended for *Āṇi*, and that *Pāsattu* may be a mistake for *Pārattu* (Pūrva-Phalgunī). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 1366, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalgunī, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

8.—No. 33 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Vī[ra]-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkapa-Uḍaiya[r]. *Śakābdam 12[8]8 l mēl Parābha[va]-saṃvatsarattu Kumbha-nā[ya]rru pūrva-pakshattu ēkādaṣiyum V[i]yḍḷa-kk[i]ḷamaiyum perra Pu[ṇa]rpāsattu [nā]ḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 11th February A.D. 1367, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

¹ See above, p. 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Udeiyār'; see Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III. p. 82. Another son of Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍeyaru, named Nañjappa-Uḍeyaru, is mentioned in an inscription at Doḍḍa-Kaulande (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 108), which is dated *Saka-varuṣha saṃda 1296 neya Ananda-saṃvatsarada Vaisāka-ṛu 15 Gu[ruvāra]* *sōmagrahaṇadalli*. Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Śaka-Saṃvat 1296 expired = Ananda the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisāka ended 28 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th April A. D. 1374, and there was no lunar eclipse on that day."

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 3, No. 135.

³ See above, p. 324, note 2.

9.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. Plavaṅga.

10.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; at Tagadūru. Chikka-Kampaṇṇ-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 1290, Kṛlaka.

11.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 88; at Kāñchi. Vira-Kampaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Kilaka-varushattu Makara-nāyaru apara-pashakshattu¹ saptamiyu[m*] Śevvāy-kkilaḷaimaiyum² perra [T]ēr-nāl.³*

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī on a 7th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Makara."—F. K.

12.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yl. 64; at Māmbaḷli. Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Oḍeyaru. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4470, Saumya.

13.—No. 293 of 1895; from Kārapai near Kaḍambattūr, now in the Madras Museum. Vira-Kampaṇa-[U][ḍaiyar*], the son of Vī . . . Uḍaiyar. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 447[2*], Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, Virōdhikṛit. [*Kali**]yuga-varusham nālāyirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu . . . āgiya Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mūn . . . sellāni[n*]ra Virōdhikṛit-varushattu [M]ithuna . . . apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budaṇ-kilamai . . . ra Avittattu nāl.

"For Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 expired = Virōdhakṛit the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 4th June A.D. 1371, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

14.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 301; at Tiruppullāpi. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1293.

15.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 32; at Guṇḍlupēte. Chikka-Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varitamāna-Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-ku 2 A.⁴

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1294 expired = Paridhāvin the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 7th March A.D. 1372."—F. K.

16.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 302; at Tiruppullāpi. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1296.

17.—No. 28 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-va[r*]sham Ādi-māda[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāḍa-bagula-ohatu[r*]ddasi Śkravāramum perra n[ā].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place 9 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A.D. 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭa or Ādi. The 10th day of the month of Ādi therefore was Friday, the 7th July A.D. 1374; but the *tithi* which ended on this day, 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tithi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date."—F. K.

18.—No. 185 of 1894; at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam. Vira-Kumāra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-[va]rushattu Ku[n]i-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]ta[miyu]m [V]el[ī]i-kkilaḷaimaiyum perra [Punor]pū[ta]ttu n[ā].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Kanyā commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 1st September A.D. 1374, when

¹ Read -pakshattu.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 133, No. 9.

³ Read -kkilaḷaimaiyum.

⁴ I.e. *Ādityaśrādaḍa*.

the *nakshatra* was *Punarvasu*, by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and according to Garga during the whole day.— Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A.D. 1874, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 1 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Punarvasu* for 7 h. 13 m. or 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*.”— F. K.

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakonda (No. 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr. Sewell,¹ we learn that *Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru* (i.e. Bukka I.) had another son, named *Vira-Virupanna-Oḍeyaru* (I.), by his queen *Jommādevi*. While Bukka I. was ruling the territory of the Hoysala kings at Hosapaṭṭana, and while his son Virupanna I. was governing the province (*rājya*) of Penugonda, which had been entrusted to him by his father,²—the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) Ananta[ra]ja-Oḍeyaru built the fort of Penugonda in Śaka-Samvat 1276, the *Jaya-samvatsara*, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Chaitra,³ i.e. on the 25th March A.D. 1354.

A copper-plate grant at Narasipura mentions a third son of Bukka I., named *Mallinātha* or *Mallapp-Oḍeyaru*, whose son was *Nārāyanapādēv-Oḍeyaru*.⁴ It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A.D. 1397.⁵

The successor of Bukka I. on the throne of Vijayanagara was his son by Gauri,⁶ *Harihara II.*, whose name is given as *Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru* in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos. 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamil form of his name was *Hariyappa*- or *Ariyappa-Uḍaiyar*.

1.—No. 57 of 1900; at Pattūr near Āraṇi. *Harihara-Uḍaiya*[r*]. *Śakābdam* 1299 *mē* *śellānīra Piṅgala-varuṣham Āḍi-mādam* [30] *tēdi Tiṅgal-kīlamei*.

“In Śaka-Samvat 1299 expired = Piṅgala the Karkata-samkrānti took place 3 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of Karkata or Āḍi. The 30th day of the month of Āḍi therefore was Monday, the 27th July A.D. 1377.”— F. K.

2.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannamalai. *Ariyappa-Uḍaiyar*. Śaka 1299, Piṅgala.

3.—No. 126 of 1901; at Bārūkūr. *Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru*. *Samvaruta* 1301 *nye(ne)ya* *K[ā*]layukta-samvatsarada* [*d*]vitiya-Jy[ē*]ṣṭa-su 15 *Śukravāradalu*
sōmāparāga-puṁn[y] *akāḍadalu*.

“Śaka-Samvat 1301 current = Kālayukta: Friday, the 11th June A.D. 1378 (the full-moon day of the second Jyāishṭha); a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h. 1 m. to 15 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India.”— F. K.

4.—No. 155 of 1901; at Bārūkūr. *Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru*, the son of *Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru*. *Śaka-varuṣha* 130[1] *neya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuktdkshi-samvachhha(tsa)rada* *Mārggasira-su* 1 *Sōmavārad-amdu*.

¹ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 119.

² *Śrīman-mahāmāndalācārya erirḍya-vibhāḍa bhāṣagopāya-rḍyā-gaṇḍa* *Hiṁḍḍya-satātṛṇa pārcsa-paṭṭhima-samudr-dāhipati* *śrī-Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru* *Goṭal-dvaya-mahāpāra mādint-māndalavānu* *ni[ja]-bhūja-māndanav-āyī* *pālisu[ta]* *Hosapaṭṭadali* *sukha-samkrānti-vinōdadi* *rājya* *geyyūtū* *taṇṇa* *paṭṭad-āra* *Jom[mā]deviyaru* *kumāra* *śrī-Vira-Virupanna-Oḍeyarig[ā]* *Pēnugon-[ḍeya]* *rājyavānu* *kōṭṭu* *d* *paṭṭadali* *sukhadim* *rājyava* *pālisutta*.

³ *Śaka-varuṣha* 1276 *neya* *Jaya-samvachhha(tsa)rada* *Chaitra-su* [1] *Mam[galavāradalu*]*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that “in Śaka-Samvat 1276 expired = *Jaya* the first *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra commenced 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A. D. 1354.”

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Cora.* Vol. III. TN. 64.

⁵ See above, Vol. III. p. 115 and note 12.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 331, No. 10.

⁷ Read *Śaka-varuṣha*.

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 *current* = Kālayukta. The date is incorrect; it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgasīra ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were 2, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."—F. K.

5.—No. 32 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Vīra-Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śakābdam 1300 *n mēl tellānippa* K[ā]layukta-varshattu Mārga[ḷi]-mā[sa]m 2 tēdi pūrva(rva)-pakshattu sapta[miyu]=Nāyarru-kkiḷamaiyum perra Śadayattu nāl.

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1300 expired = Kālayukta the Dhanuṣ-saṃkrānti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanuṣ or Mārgaḷi therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatras* were Uttara-Bhadrāpadā and Rēvatī. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhiṣaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vṛiścika (Kārttigai)."—F. K.

6.—No. 59 of 1901; at Kāntāvara. Vīra-Hariyappa-O[ḍe]yaru. Sa(śa)ka-varuśa(śha) 1301 nevi(ya) Sidhādhā(dādhā)rtthi-saṃvatsarada ¹Vaiśākha-su 1 Sōmavā[ra*]da[lu].

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 expired = Siddhārthin: Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1379; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 6 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

7.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 64; at Homma. Harihara II. or Vīra-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayanagara. Śaka-varuśa 1302 neya Raudri-saṃvatsarada Śrāvāṇa-su 5 Ādīrādalu.

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa ended 14 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380."—F. K.

8.—No. 174 of 1901; at Bārūkūr. Vīra-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-varuśa(śha) 1304 Duṃdubhi-saṃ[va]tsarada ¹Vaiśākha-su 15 Śō.³

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi: Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

9.—No. 31 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śakābdam 1307 mēl se[l*]lān[i]ppa Krōdhana-varsham Āni-mādam [12 tēdi] amāvāsaiyum Guru[v]āram Mṛigaśīrīshattu³ nāl.

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1307 expired = Krōdhana the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 14 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Āni therefore was Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385; and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyāishṭha) ended 9 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

Harihara II. had three sons: Virūpāksha I., Bukka II. and Dēvarāya I. The first of them is known from the Ālampūṇḍi plate (No. 2 below) and from the *Nārāyaṇivildāsa*⁴ and has to be identified with Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar (II.), the son of Hariyappa- or Hariyanna-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 1 and 3-5 below).⁵

1.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vīra-Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1301.

2.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 225; Ālampūṇḍi plate. Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Saṃvat 1305, Raktākshin.

¹ Read *Vaiśākha*.

² I. e. *Sōmavādrādalu*.

³ Read *īrīshattu*.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v.

⁵ The *Kōyilolūga* also mentions "Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariharaiyar;" see page 323 above.

3.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vira-Viruppappa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1310, Vibhava.

4.—No. 114 of 1897; at Kōliyaṅṭr. Vi[ru]ppapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1 . . . , Vi[bha]va.

5.—No. 112 of 1900; at Śēngama. Viruppappa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. *Sakābdam 131[8] n mēṛ=che[llā*]niṅṇa [Dh]ātu-saṁvatsarattu Mēsha-nāyarru pūruva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Tiruvādiraiyum perṛa Guruvāra-nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1318 expired = Dhātu (Dhātṛi) the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 13th April A.D. 1396**, which was the 19th day of the month of Mēsha and when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 35 m., and the *nakshatra* was Ārdṛā, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

To the time of **Bukka II.**, the second son of Harihara II., belong the following six inscriptions.

1.—No. 41 of 1890; at Tirupparattikkunṇu. Bukkarāja, the son of Arihararāja. *Dundubhi-varsham Kāt[tig]ai-[m]āddatt[i]l pūruva-pakshattu=Ti[t]iṅgaṭ-kiḷamaiyum paurṇaiyum perṛa Tā(kā)tt[i]gai-nāḷ.*

"This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi it would correspond to Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1382, with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇi. It would be incorrect also for the lunar month Kārttika of the same year, and for the Śaka years 1303 and 1305 expired."—F. K.

2.—No. 11 of 1900; at Kambayanallūr. Immaḍi-Bukkarāja (i.e. 'Bukka the second'), the son of Hararāja (i.e. Harihara II.) and grandson of Bukkappa-Uḍaiyar (i.e. Bukka I.). *Kshaya-varushattu Paṅṇuṇ[i]-māddam mudal t[i]yadi pūruva-pakshattu Uttirattāḍ[i]yum perṛa nāḷ.*

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1308 expired = Kshaya the first day of the month of Paṅṇuṇi (or Mīna) would correspond to either the 24th or the 25th February A.D. 1387, but on the former of these two days (which both fell in the bright half) the *nakshatras* were Kṛittikā and Rōhiṇi (Nos. 3 and 4) and on the latter Rōhiṇi and Mṛigaśīrsha (Nos. 4 and 5), not Uttara-Bhadrpadā (No. 26)."—F. K.

3.—No. 12 of 1893; at Kāñchi. Vira-Pratāpa-Bukkarāja-mah[ā]rā[ya]. *Sakābdam 1328 n mēl sellā[n]iṅṇa Veya-saṁvarsarattu Mēsha-nāyarru pūruva-pakshattu satta[m]iyum Sukkīravādrum perṛa Tiruvādirai-nāḷ.*

"This date for Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya clearly corresponds to **Friday, the 26th March A.D. 1406**, which was the day of the *Mēsha-saṁkrānti* (that took place 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise¹), and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was Ārdṛā, by the equal space system for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

4.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 28; at Vaidyanāthapura. Bukkarāja, the son of Harihara-mahārāja. *Saka-varusha 132[8] neya Bya(vya)ya-saṁvatsarada Jēshṭha-tu 5 Gu.*²

"This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1406, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaisṭha ended 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

5.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 55; at Vēppambattu. Vira-Pratāpa-Bukkamahārāja. *Sakābdam 132[8] n mēl sellāniṅṇa Pārtivā-saṁvatsarattukku=chchellum Viya-saṁvatsarattu Jēshṭha-bahula-amāvāsyaikum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum perṛa nāḷ.*³

¹ Accordingly, the date was the last day of the month of Mīna of the solar Śaka year 1327 expired.

² I.e. *Guruvāradālu*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 203, note 50.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Samvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June A.D. 1406, when the new-moon *tithi* of Jyaishta ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise." —F. K.

6.— No. 41 of 1901; at Mūḍabidure. Vīra-Bukkarāya, the son of Harihararāya. Śaka-varsha 13[2]9 *neya Vyaya-samvatsarada Bhādrapada-tudhāda(dāha) 10 Budhavāradolu*.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Samvat 1329 *current* = Vyaya it would correspond to Tuesday, the 24th August A.D. 1406, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure of the *tithi* were 11, the date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 25th August A.D. 1406." —F. K.

From manuscripts and coins¹ we know a son of Bukka II. by Tipp[ā]mbā, named Vīra-Bhūpati, to whom we have to assign two inscriptions of Vīra-Bhūpati-Uḍaiyar, which are noticed by Mr. Venkayya, viz. one of Śaka-Samvat 1331 at Śrīraṅgam,² and one of Śaka-Samvat 1336, the Manmatha year, at Tiruppanurutti.³

TEXT.⁴

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीः । बन्धुप्रिये यकाब्दे । धानीयानीलमृगद्युतिरचितजगद्र[क्ष]ना-
दक्षनाद्रेषे[क्ष]माराज्य कश्चित् समयमथ निहत्वीपुलुष्कास्तुलुष्कान् [i]
लक्ष्मीकाम्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनगरे स्वा[प]यन्
- 2 रंगनाथं सम्यग्व्याप्तं स[प]र्याम् पुनरकृत [य]शोदर्पणी गोपणार्थः ॥ [१*]
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात् गो[प]णः (i) क्षो[षि]देवी नीत्वा स्वां
राजधानीमिजबलनिहतोत्सिक्ततौलुष्कसैन्यः [i] कृत्वा
- 3 [श्री]रंग[भू]मिम् [कृत]युग[सहितान्त]न्तु ल[क्ष्मी]महीभ्यां संस्थाप्यास्वां सरो-
जोत्भव⁵ इव कुर्वते साधु च[र्य]ां सपर्याम् ॥ [२*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year (expressed by the chronogram) bandhupriya (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1293).

(Verse 1.) Having brought (*the god*) from the Afjanādri (*mountain*), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world, having worshipped (*him*) at Cheñchi for some time, then having slain the Tulushkas whose bows were raised,—Goppanārya, the mirror of fame, placing Raṅganātha together with both Lakshmi and the Earth in his own town,⁶ again duly performed excellent worship.

(V. 2.) Having carried Raṅgarāja, the lord of the world, from the slope of the Vṛishabhagiri (*mountain*) to his capital,¹⁰ having slain by his army the proud Taulushka soldiers, having made the site of Śrīraṅga united with the golden age (*Kṛitayuga*), and having placed there this (*god*) together with Lakshmi and the Earth,—the Brāhmaṇa¹¹ Gōpaṇa duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahmā), the worship which has to be practised.

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV. p. 318, No. 6.

² The same of August 1890.

³ Read °रव्यं.

⁴ Read °जीवय.

⁵ Kṛīḍidra. Compare p. 324 above.

⁶ Madras Christian College Magazine of March 1892.

⁷ From an inked estampage prepared in 1892.

⁸ Read °तटादी°.

⁹ I.e. in Śrīraṅgam.

¹⁰ Read °भूमि.

¹¹ I.e. to Cheñchi; see verse 1.

No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.¹ I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,² from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is Tamil and Grantha. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamil prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdûla metre, and a Tamil verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, viz. the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshi, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) Eļiņi (ll. 1 and 7) or Yavanikā³ (l. 4); (2) Râjarâja (l. 6) or Vagaņ⁴ (l. 9); and (3) Vidugâdalagiya-Perumâl (l. 10) or Vyâmukta-śravaņôjjvala⁵ (l. 6). Eļiņi is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of Chêra (l. 1) or Kêraja (l. 3), i.e. Malabar, or of Vañji (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chêra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chêramân-Perumâl-Kôyilûr near Tiruvañjikulam in the Cochin State.⁶ Both Eļiņi and Râjarâja receive the title Adigaimân (l. 1), Adhikanpi (l. 5 f.) or Adigaņ⁷ (l. 9), i.e. 'the lord of Adigai,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.⁸ The third king is called the lord of Takaṭṭa (l. 6) or Tagaḍai (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Purañḍâru* as Tagaḍûr, and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with Dharmapuri, the head-quarters of a tâluka in the Salem district.⁹ This statement is corroborated by two Chôla inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikârjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagaḍûr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagaḍûr-nâḍu, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nâḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śôla-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Vidugâdalagiya-Perumâl was the son of Vagaņ (l. 9) or Râjarâja (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of Eļiņi. Both he and his ancestor Eļiņi must have been adherents of the Jaina religion, because

¹ Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

² *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. I. No. 75.

³ *Yavanikâ* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *eļiņi*, 'a curtain.'

⁴ According to the dictionaries, the Tamil Vagaņ and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubêra, who is also called Râjarâja.

⁵ The Tamil words *vidu*, *kḍu* and *aḷagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *mucḥ*, *śravaṇa* and *ajjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

⁷ For references to Adigaņ, Adigaimân and Eļiņi in Tamil literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chôla king and was defeated by Gaṅgarâja, a general of the Hoysala king Viahṇuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigai.

⁸ The *Kalîṅgattu-Paravai* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore tâluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 389 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*raḷiya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvaḍi-râjya (with the lingual ḍ), which was situated in the Tinnevely district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

⁹ See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

¹⁰ There is another village named Tagaḍûru in the Nañjanagûḍu tâluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hirya-nâḍu; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Cern.* Vol. III., Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at Tirumalai, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Engunavirai' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala' (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śēra-vaṇṣattu³ Adigaimā[ṇ] Eliṇi seyda dha[r]mma-
- 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyāraiyum eḷund-a[ru*]ḷuvittu eṇmaṇiyum i-
- 3 tṭu=Kkaḍappēri-kkā[lu]ḥ-gaṇḍu kuḍutt[ā]ṇ || 'Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛi-
- 4 tā Yavanikā-nāmnā su-dha[r]mm-ātmanā Tuṇḍir-āhvaya-maṇḍal-Ā[r]ha-su-⁵
- 5 girau Yakshēśvaraṇ kalpitan [||*] paśchāt-tat-kula-bhūshaṇ-Ādhika-
- 6 nripa-śrī-Rājarāj-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇō[j*]jvalē[na Takatā-nā]thēna jīrṇ-ō-
- 7 [d]dhritau || Vañji[i]yar⁶ kula-pa[ti]y=[E]ḷiṇ[i] vaguttav=iyakkar=iyakk[i]yarō-
- 8 ḍ-e[ṇ]jiyav-aḷivu tīruttīy-av-Engunavirai-tiru-malai vai[t]ṭṭāṇ-ru-
- 9 ōji taṇ [va]ḷi [va]rumavaṇ vaḷi-mudali kali Adigaṇ Vagaṇ nūl v[i]ṇṇaiyar
- 10 [ta]ḷai puṇai Tagaḍaiyar kāvalaṇ Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-[P]erumālēy [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He⁸ set up (*again*) (*the images of*) a Yaksha and a Yakshi,—meritorious gifts (*formerly*) made by Eliṇi, an Adigaimāṇ of the Chēra family,—presented a gong, and granted a channel (*which he*) had constructed to (*or from*?) the Kāḍappēri (*tank*).⁹

(L. 3.) (*The images of*) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (*and*) very pious-minded Kēraḷa king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (*maṇḍala*) called Tuṇḍira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala, the lord of Takatā (*and*) the son of the glorious Rājarāja—an Ādhika prince (*who was*) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (*of the images*) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshi, that had been set up by Eliṇi, the chief of the family (*ruling over*) the Vañjiyar,¹⁰ were repaired and placed (*on*) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities¹¹ by Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, the protector of the Tagaḍaiyar,¹² the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (*and the son of*)¹³ the brave Adigaṇ Vagaṇ—the foremost on the (*right*) path, who came from his (Eliṇi's) family after (*the latter*) had died.

B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēsināthēśvara temple at Kambayanallūr in the Ūttanṅarai tāḷuka of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are Tamiḷ.

The inscription consists of a Tamiḷ verse, which opens with the date—the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva. A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, the

¹ This is a Sanskritised form of Tuṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

² From an inked estampe.

³ Read -vaṇṣattu.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.

⁵ For the sake of the metre *Arha* is used instead of *Arhat*.

⁶ In this verse *Vañjiyar* rhymes with *ḍ-eṇjiya*, -*ruñji* and *viñjaiyar*.

⁷ Read *tīruttīy=iev*.

⁸ The subject is Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (l. 10).

⁹ The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 77.

¹⁰ *I. e.* 'the citizens of Vañji.'

¹¹ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.

¹² *I. e.* 'the citizens of Tagaḍai.'

¹³ The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l. 6) and in accordance with the Tamiḷ habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of Tagadai and (son of) Rājarāja-Adigaṇ. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers Pāli, Pennai and Poppi. The inscription records that he granted a place named Śiruk-kōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai river to Nāgai-Nāyaka of Kuḷaṇ, and that he built a temple.

The Pāli must be identical with the Pālāru river; the Pennai is the Southern Pennāru; and the Poppi is the Kāvēri. It may be assumed that the Pālāru formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvēri the western one, while the Southern Pennāru passes not far north-east from his capital Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapuri.¹ Kuḷaṇ, where the donee came from, is another form of Kuḷam or Kuḷaṇūr, the modern Ellore.² He may have been related to the Nāyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.³ His name, Nāgai-Nāyaka, is perhaps connected with Nāgaiyappalli, an ancient name of Kambayanallūr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vīra-Viśvanāthadēva (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at Sengama in the Tiruvannāmalai tāluka of the South Arcot district,—in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in the 20th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, as “the born Perumāḷ, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ,”⁴ and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the twenty-first (year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva?), as “Rājarājadēvaṇ⁵ Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ.”⁶ In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of Sēngēpi Ammaiappan Attimallan,⁷ alias Vikrama-Chōḷa-Sambuvarāyaṇ, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.⁸ Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain Sēyyagaṅgar, who is probably identical with Śiyagaṅgaṇ, a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.⁹ Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ is dated must be Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,¹⁰ and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to A.D. 1199-1200.

TEXT.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]ribuva[na]chchakkaravattiga[!] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu ௨ Urai¹² maru[vu]ḍ=Gulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅk-uraitta yāṇḍ-irubadiṇ mēl-iraṇḍir-Pennai-kkarai maruvu[ū]=Jirukkōṭṭai Ku[ḷa]ṇ Nā[gai]-Nāyagaṅk-aḷittu-kkaṇ-ṇaḷi taṇ pēr-i-
- 2 ṭṭa kār-aṇaiya-kaiyā[ṇ] tirai-maruvun-dadaṇ-gamala-Ttagadai maṇṇaṇ sēḷum Pāli [P]ennai Poppi-ttiru-nadi mūṇṇ-udaiya virai-maruvun-dār-mārvaṇ Rāja-r[ā]ja[v-A]digaṇ vilāṅgā-moḷi Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷēy ||¹³ ௨

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva.

¹ See page 331 above.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 308.

³ This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chōḷa king to whom Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-Takāṭādhirāja, alias Māra-sirṇhadēva,” in an inscription at Rāyakōṭa in the Kṛishṇagiri tāluka of the Salem district (No. 8 of 1900).

⁴ The original reads *Irdja[r]dja-A[d]igaimān*, which I correct to *Irdjardja-Adiga-magaṇ* in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

⁵ Instead of *Attimallan* (i.e. Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 182, and Vol. III. No. 61) have the title *Kaṇṇuḍaipperumāṇ*.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.* page 122.

⁸ See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p. 24 above.

⁹ From an inked estampage.

¹⁰ In this Tamil verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *karai maruvu*, *tirai-maruvu* and *virai-maruvu*.

¹¹ In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent Kulōttuṅga-Śōjadēva,—Viṭṭagādalagiya-Perumāḷ, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)¹ Rājārāja-Adigaṇ, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*vis.*) the Pāli (*whose banks are*) fertile, the Pennai (*and*) the Ponni, the king of Tagadai where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) Śirukkōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai (*river*) to Nā[gai]-Nāyaka of Ku[ḷa]ṇ and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of Gōdāvari, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were "found about two months ago by one Kodi Dosigadu of Tēki² in the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka, while working in his field."

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½" in breadth and about 6" in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6" in diameter and about ⅝" in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4" in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface:—across the centre the legend *śrī-Tribhuvandāmkuṣa*; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goat and the sun; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *ḷ* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yā* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mū* (l. 95) the vowel *ū* is represented by the marks for *u* and *ā*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya family as the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates of Vira-Chōḍa,³ but begins to differ in the description of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. It does not mention his queen Madhurāntakī, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons⁴ (v. 12). On one of these, Mummaḍi-Chōḍa,—whose name is given as Rājārāja in the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates,—he conferred the governorship of Vēṅgi after the death of his own paternal uncle Vijayāditya (VII.) (vv. 13-16). One year later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on Mummaḍi-Chōḍa's younger brother, Vira-Chōḍa (v. 18), who held it for six years (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, Chōḍagaṅga, surnamed Rājārāja (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of Vēṅgi (v. 33) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1006 (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tīthi* of Jyāishṭha, in the *nakṣatra* Jyēshṭhā and in the *lagna* Simha (v. 34). This date

¹ The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the Tirumalai inscription (A. above).

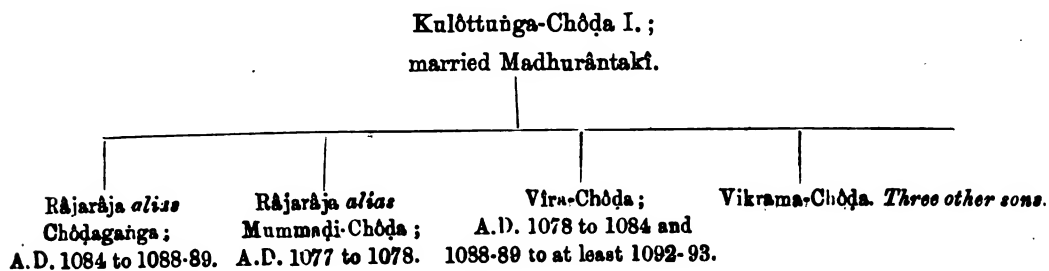
² No. 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka of the Gōdāvari district.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

⁴ According to v. 13 of the Chellūr plates and v. 12 of the Piṭhāpuram plates Kulōttuṅga I. had seven sons by Madhurāntakī.

probably corresponds to the 22nd May A.D. 1084. At the end of the inscription (l. 108) another date is given, *viz.* the seventeenth year of the reign.

The above statements involve a few important changes in the pedigree and the chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. As regards the former, the order of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I. in my Table of this dynasty¹ has to be altered; for the Tēki plates inform us that the eldest son was not, as I thought, Vikrama-Chōḍa, Kulōttuṅga's successor on the Chōḷa throne, but Chōḍagaṅga. As the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates (v. 19) state that Vīra-Chōḍa had only two elder brothers, it is now clear that these were Chōḍagaṅga and Mummaḍi-Chōḍa, and that Vikrama-Chōḍa was a younger brother of Vīra-Chōḍa. Secondly, the dates at the end of the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates, *viz.* the twenty-first and twenty-third years of the reign, respectively, cannot be referred, as was done hitherto, to the reign of Vīra-Chōḍa. For, taking the date at the end of the Tēki plates in the same manner as the seventeenth year of Chōḍagaṅga, it would correspond to A.D. 1084 + 16-17 = 1100-01, while the Chellūr plates would fall in A.D. 1078 + 20-21 = 1098-99, and Vīra-Chōḍa would thus have issued an edict during the governorship of his brother Chōḍagaṅga. The only way in which the dates of the three inscriptions can be reconciled is to refer them to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. in A.D. 1070. They would then fall in A.D. 1086-87, 1090-91 and 1092-93. The two last dates would imply that Vīra-Chōḍa administrated the Vēṅgi province a second time in succession of Chōḍagaṅga. That this was actually the case is explicitly stated in his Piṭhāpuram plates. We are there told that Vīra-Chōḍa was recalled by Kulōttuṅga I. (v. 25), but sent to Vēṅgi again in the fifth year (v. 26). The occasion when he was recalled was evidently the appointment of Chōḍagaṅga in A.D. 1084, and "the fifth year" must mean the fifth year after Vīra-Chōḍa's recall, *i.e.* A.D. 1088-89. This explanation is in perfect accordance with the fact that the Tēki plates are dated two years earlier, *viz.* in the seventeenth year of Kulōttuṅga I. = A.D. 1086-87. The fact that the Chellūr plates are silent regarding the intervening governorship of Chōḍagaṅga, and that the Piṭhāpuram plates allude to it without mentioning his name, suggests that he had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother Vīra-Chōḍa. The subjoined Table shows the relationship and the dates of the three successive governors of Vēṅgi.



Chōḍagaṅgadēva (l. 80), surnamed Rājarāja (l. 78), bore the traditional titles *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vishṇuvardhana*, *etc.* (ll. 76-78), and (like his younger brother Vīra-Chōḍa) resided at Jananāthanagarī (l. 81), which Mr. Krishna Sastri proposes to identify with the modern Rājamahēndri.² He addresses the edict contained in this inscription to the inhabitants of the country between the Mannēru (river) and the Mahēndra (mountain) (l. 83). These must have been the northern and southern boundaries of the Vēṅgi province. The Mahēndra mountain is in the Gañjām district near the Mandasa Railway Station, and the Mannēru river passes Singarāyakonḍa, now a Railway Station in the Kandukūr taluka of the Nellore district. The king's edict does not, as usual, refer to a grant of land; it confers certain honorary privileges on the

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 71.

descendants of the Teliki family (l. 92). These were subdivided into a thousand families, ten of which are mentioned by name (l. 90 f.), and were hereditary servants of the Eastern Chālukya family (v. 38 f.). They were believed to have immigrated with the mythical king Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā¹ (v. 40) and to have settled at Vijayavāṭa² (the modern Bezvāḍa), which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Chālukyas (v. 41).

The Bhāvanārāyaṇa temple at Bāpaṭla bears two inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 192 of 1897), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1076 and recording gifts by two merchants who were members of the Teliki thousand. (*Teliki-vēvuru*). The first of these merchants belonged to the subdivision (*gōṭra*) of the Musunūllu, and the second to that of the Velandunūllu, who are perhaps identical with the Velumanūllu of the Tēki plates (l. 90). I subjoin the beginning of the second inscription; that of the first is identical with it. It will be seen from the following transcript that this caste claims to have ruled over the towns of Ayōdhyā and Bejavāḷa, with both of which it is associated also in the Tēki plates (v. 40 f.).

Svasti [||*] Y[a]ma-niyama-[dharmma]-pā(pa)rā[ya*]ṇa-[B]rahma-sambhba(bha)va-Manu-vaṃś-[ā]di-śa(sa)kala-[śāstra]-viśārādulūṃ Ganakāpuray-Ayōdhyāpura-Ga[ja]pur-ādhi-nāyakulu[m] satya-śaṇḍa-ābhīmānulu [g]uru-dēva-pād-ārādhakulu Paulasti-bhagavati-sthāna-pra[t]iṣṭhī(shṭhi)tulu si(sa)hasra-śākh-ānvaya-gōṭraṇa-aina śrīma[d*]-Bejavāḷa-sā(śā)ṇanul-aina Teliki-vēvurayamdu Velamundūlla gōṭraṇḍ-aina Sūri[se]ṭṭi, etc.

The composer and the writer of the Tēki plates (l. 108 f.) were the same persons as in the case of the Chellūr plates (l. 114) and the Piṭhāpuram plates (l. 280) of Vīra-Chōḍa.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमा[न्]⁴ जगन्मयिदं हरिरादिदेव[ः]⁵ स्रष्टु⁶ विरिचिमस्रजविजनाभि-
पद्मात् [।*] तस्मादभूत् किल महामुनिरचिरस्मा-
- 2 शूडामणिः पुररिपोरदितस्सुधांशुः⁷ [॥ १*] तस्मादभुधः⁸ ततश्चक्रवर्ती
पुष्करवा(ः)स्तस्मादायुस्ततो नष्टु[ष]ः ततो ययातिः त-
- 3 [त]ः पूरुः ततो जनमेजयः ततः प्राचीयः ततस्सैन्ययातिः ततो ह्य-
पतिः ततस्सार्वाभौमः ततो जयसेन[स्ततो] महामौ-
- 4 मः तस्मादेशानकः ततः क्रोधाननः ततो देवकिः तस्मादभुधः तस्मादृ-
चकः ततो मतिवरः ततः कात्यायनः ततो नीलः [त]तो
- 5 दुष्यंतः ततो भरतस्ततो भूमन्युस्ततो हस्ती ततो विरोचनः तस्मादव-
मीलस्तत(त)स्संवरणस्ततस्सुधन्वा ततः परिक्षित् ततो
- 6 भीमसेनः ततः प्रदीपनः ततश्शंतनुः ततो विचित्रवीर्यः ततः⁹ पाण्डुराजः
ततः पाण्डवाः तेषु वंशकरादर्जुनादभिमन्युः⁹

¹ Compare l. 8 of this inscription, and the translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 58.

² In l. 93 the same town is mentioned as Vijayavāṭa.

³ From the original copper plates.

⁴ This word is preceded by a symbol, for which see the accompanying Plate; read श्रीमास्रगचय⁰.

⁵ Read स्रष्टुं विरिचि⁰.

⁶ In the letter सु the vowel-sign u is attached to either s.

⁷ The rules of *sandhi* are not always observed in the following prose passage up to तस्मादभुधः (l. 7).

⁸ The two *visargas* before पाण्डुराजः and पाण्डवाः have been entered subsequently.

⁹ Read °दर्जुना⁰.

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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHER.

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28 ದಲಬವಳನಗದವರನ
ನಾಹಾಜಿನಹಸ್ರಟಗಸ್ರಹಿ
30 ತ್ತತ್ವನುವವವಟಲತ್ವ
ರನಬಯಯಿಬನಗಾಟಿಯ
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ತಿಲಲಿಪನಲವಪುಪುಪು
40 ರದತ್ತವೆಯಪುಪುಪು
ನುಡರವಪಿವವವ
42 ಪುತ್ರನಿಪುಪುಪುಪು
ಯಿತಿಪುಪುಪುಪು

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- 7 ततः परिचित् ततो जनमेजयः ततः चेमुकः ततो नरवाहनस्ततश्च-
तानीकः तस्मादुदयनः [1*] ततः प्रभृत्यविच्छिन्न[सं]ता[ने]-
8 अयोध्यासिंहास[न]ासी[ने]ष्वेकाग्रपट्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तदंशो विजयादित्यो
नाम राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं गत्वा
9 त्रिलोचनपद्मवमधिक्षिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकांतरमगमत् [1*] तस्मिन्
संकुले पुरोहितेन वृद्धामात्यैश्च
10 सार्धमंतर्व्वक्षी तस्य महादेवी ¹मुडिवेम[न]ामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्व[र]स्तथ्येन
विष्णुभट्टसीमयाजिनां दुहि-
11 तुनिर्व्विशेषमभिरक्षिता ²विष्णुवर्द्धनं नंदनमसूत [1*] सा च तस्य
कुमारकस्य कुलक्रमोचितानि कर्म[र]णि कारयित्वा
12 तमवर्द्धयस[त्] ³च मात्रा विदितवृत्तांतो निर्मात्य चतुर्गिरौ नंदाभगवतीं
गौरीमाराज्य कुमारनारायणमातुगण[ि]सं-
13 तर्प्य ⁴श्वेतातपत्रैकशंखपंचमहाशब्दादीनि कु[ल]क्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव
साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडंबगंगादिभूमि-
14 पार्त्तिजित्य ⁵[सि]तुनर्मदामध्यं दक्षिणा[प]थं पालयामास [1*] तस्यासी-
द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्द्धनचूपतेः ⁶[1*] पद्मवान्वयज[र]ताया
15 म[ह]ादेव्याश्च नंदनं ⁷[॥ २*] तत्सुतः पुलकेशिवत्तमः [1*] तत्पुत्रः
कीर्त्तिवम्मा ⁸[1*] [त]स्य तनयः श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-
16 सगोत्रोणां ⁹हारीतिपुत्रोणां ¹⁰कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानामश्वमेधाव[ह]-
थ[स्त्र]ानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्थानां ¹¹कुलम-
17 (लम)लंकरिणीस्त्रत्याश्रयवत्तमेद्रस्य ¹²भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि
वेंगीदेशमपालयत् [1*] तत्सुतो जयसिंह[व]- ¹³
18 ज[भ*]स्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् [1*] [त]दनुज इन्द्रभट्टारकस्त्रय दिनानि [1*] तत्सुतो
वि[ष्णु]वर्द्धनो नव वर्षाणि [1*] तत्सुनुर्मगियुवराजः पंचविंशति ¹⁴[1*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 19 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश [1*] तद्वरजः कीकिलिष्यमासान् [1*]
तस्य भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्च[र]य सप्तत्रिंशतं [1*] तत्पुत्रो

¹ The four other published inscriptions which contain this passage read मुडिवेमु°.

² Read विष्°.

³ Read °यत् । स च.

⁴ Read °पार्त्तिजित्य.

⁵ Read °भूपतेः.

⁶ Read नंदनः.

⁷ Read °वम्मा.

⁸ Read °सगोत्राणां.

⁹ Read °पुत्राणां.

¹⁰ Read °नां.

¹¹ Cancel the *anusudra* after श्री.

¹² The व at the end of this line and the ज at the beginning of the next were added subsequently.

¹³ The *anusudra* of त्रि is repeated at the beginning of the next plate.

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iv b.

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v.

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 106
 108

- 87 विष्णुमाद्यैर्गुलैर्भिर्जै¹ [i*] ये चालुक्यक्षितीशानां प्रस्तावप्रतिपालिनः
[॥ ३८*] अयो[ध्य]ाधीश्वरेणा-
88 दौ दक्षिणाशाजयैषिणा [i*] ये सदैव समायाता(:) विजयादित्यभू-
89 भुज[र] [॥ ४०*] रा[ज]वंशावतंसानां² राजधान्या महीभुजं[र] [i*]
पुरो विजयवाटेया³
90 ये वास्तव्यकुटुंबिनः । [४१*] ये च वेलुमनू७९लु पत्तिपालु नरियू-
७९लु⁴ कुमुडा७९लु म-
91 ७९७९७९लु पोवण्डलु सावकुलु उण्ड७९लु अनुमगोण्डलु अण्डनू७९लु
इत्यादि[कु]-
92 [ल]सहस्रमेदप्रसिद्धाः तेलि[कि]कुललव्यजन्मा[नः*]⁵ स्वधर्मकर्मनिष्ठितमनस-
[स्ते]षाम-
93 मीषां विजयवाटप्रमुखनिखिलपुरनगरग्रामपट्टनप्रभृ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 94 तिषु स्थानेषु सर्वेषु विवाहोत्सवेषु प्रवर्त्तमानेषु मिथुनस्य⁶ वी[थी]षु
तुरगा-
95 रोहणेन पर्यटनमध⁷ विवाहोत्सवावसाने राजश्रीपादमूले महागर्व-
96 वासोयुगलु⁸ निधाय प्रणतानामेषां कनकपात्रेण तांबूलप्रदानं च पू-
97 र्वमर्यादा[स]मागतमधुना⁹ परमभक्तिपरितोषितैरस्म[र]भिराचंद्रार्क¹⁰
98 शासनीकृत्य दत्तमिति विदितमस्तु वः [i*] धर्मीयमस्मादंशजैः पा-
99 र्थिवैः प्रयत्नेन पालनीयं¹¹ [i*] शत्रुणापि कृती धर्मः पालनीयो
100 मनीषिणां [i*] शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुः¹² स्थावर्धर्मशत्रुर्न कस्यचित्
[॥ ४२*] धर्मात् पैज-
101 वनो राज[र] चिराय कुमुजे भुवं¹³ [i*] अधन्याश्चैव नहुषः प्रतिपेदे
रसातल¹⁵ [॥] . [४३*]
102 य[:*] स्वयं कुह[ति] धर्मं यच्च पाति कृतं [प]रैः [i*] तयाः¹⁶
पालयिता श्रेष्ठ इति

¹ Read °संज्ञैर्भिर्जैः.² Read °शानां.³ Read °वाटया.⁴ The र is entered below the line.⁵ The कु of कुल is entered below the line.⁶ Read मिथुनस्य.⁷ Read °मध.⁸ Read °युगलं निधाय.⁹ Read °भक्ति°.¹⁰ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.¹¹ Read °नीयः.¹² Read साह°.¹³ The anusvāra is corrected from a visarga.¹⁴ Read अधन्या°.¹⁵ Read °तलं.¹⁶ Read तयोः.

- 103 प्राङ्मूर्धनीषिणः [॥ ४४*] [ध]र्माद्विवर्धते राज्य¹ धर्मात् कीर्त्तिश्च
श्राव्यती । धर्मा[त्*] तृ-

Fifth Plate.

- 104 प्यंति [पित]रो धर्मात्तुष्यंति देवता[:]. [४५*] तस्माधर्माः² प्रयत्नेन
रक्षणीयो म[ही]-
105 क्षितो³ [।*] स्वकृतोन्यकृतो वापि लोकद्वयहितैषिणा ॥ [४६*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यो
106 हरेत वसुधरां [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः
[॥ ४७*] बहुभिर्ध्व-
107 सु[ध]ा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपाक्षिता [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फ-
108 लं ॥ [४८*] श्रीविजयरान्य[सं]वत्सर⁴ सप्तदशे दत्तस्यास्य शासन[स्व][।*]-
न्नमिः कटकाधिपः कर्त्ता
109 विद्वय(भं)भट्टः लेखक[:*] पेन्नाचार्यः ॥⁵

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 36 the text is identical with that of the Piṭhāpuram plates of Vira-Chōḍa, ll. 1-43; above, Vol. V. pp. 74-77.]

(Verse 11.) There were to this chief of kings (*viz.* Kulōttuṅga I.) (*many*) virtuous queens, born in the families of renowned princes, always devoted to (*him*), full of love, (*and*) gracious,—as to the ocean (*many*) holy rivers, sprung from the ranges of lofty mountains, always running towards (*it*), full of water, (*and*) limpid.

(V. 12.) Rejoicing in the sons (*kumāra*) who were born (*to him*) in due course by these queens, who resembled him, (*and*) who were worthy to be worshipped by princes, this godlike (*king*) surely laughs at Īśa (Śiva) who has (*only*) a single Kumāra (Skanda).

(V. 13.) Appointing (*his*) sons in due order to different districts (*vishaya*), as the soul (*directs*) the senses to different objects (*vishaya*), he spake as follows to prince Mummaḍi-Chōḍa :—

(V. 14.) “Dear child ! Being desirous of conquering the world, I formerly conferred the kingdom of the country of Vēṅgi on my paternal uncle, prince Vijayāditya.⁶

(V. 15.) “And, ruling the earth for only *fifteen years*, this godlike prince, who resembled the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (*now*) gone to heaven.”⁷

(V. 16.) Out of obedience he (Mummaḍi-Chōḍa) took up that burden (*viz.* the kingdom of Vēṅgi) which (*his*) father, the emperor, had given him with these words, though he could not bear the separation from him.⁸

¹ Read राज्य.

² Read तस्माद्धर्माः.

³ Read क्षिता.

⁴ Read वत्सरे.

⁵ Here follow three symbols, for which see the accompanying Plate.

⁶ This verse is identical with v. 13 of the Piṭhāpuram plates, and nearly identical with v. 14 of the Chellūr plates of Vira-Chōḍa.

⁷ This verse is nearly the same as v. 14 of the Piṭhāpuram plates and v. 15 of the Chellūr plates. After it v. 15 of the Piṭhāpuram plates is omitted, though required by the context; see above, Vol. V. p. 95, note 1.

⁸ Verses 16 and 17 bear the same numbers in the Piṭhāpuram and Chellūr plates.

(V. 17.) "The kingdom (*is*) no pleasure at all (*compared*) with the pleasure of worshipping the holy feet of the elders;" having considered thus, he returned to (*his*) parents after having ruled the country of Vēṅgi for one year.

(V. 18.) Then his younger brother, the brave prince Vira-Chōḍa, was ordered by (*his*) father to protect the country of Vēṅgi (*and*) proceeded (*there*).

(V. 19.) Desirous of prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*his*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to do obeisance to (*his*) father and meditating on (*his*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent six years in fear of transgressing the command of (*his*) father.

(V. 20.) The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*his*) father and brothers.

(Vv. 21-27.) Then the emperor, who knew (*his*) duty (*and*) who had conquered the circle of the earth by valour, spake as follows to (*his*) first-born dear son¹ Chōḍagaṅga, having affectionately addressed (*him*) by the name Rājarāja (*i.e.* 'king of kings'), which was full of meaning because (*he thought that*) this lotus-eyed one would become a king of kings, (*and*) having embraced (*him*) who had prostrated himself (*and*) had folded his hands:—

(V. 28.) "There is a country famed by the name of Vēṅgi, (*which is*) the birth-place of the noble Chalukyas, as the ocean (*is*) of precious pearls.

(V. 29.) "Having reached high eminence there, the members of my family overcome even mighty kings,² as the planets, having risen in the east, surmount even lofty mountains.

(V. 30.) "While thou, Rājarāja, art seated on the lion-throne in the Vēṅgi country in order to protect the whole earth unopposed, may the lustre of (*thy*) feet be enhanced by clusters of gems in the diadems of many kings, as the beauty of the lotus by swarms of bees!

(V. 31.) "As long as the king of serpents (Śēṣha), (*who is*) the only lord of the snake-tribe, as thou (*art*) the only lord of a troop of elephants, is ruling the lower world, and as long as the lord of heaven (Indra), being worshipped by hundreds of gods and demi-gods, (*is ruling*) heaven, so long protect thou the earth, purifying the horizon as the impurity in the shape of enemies is washed away by the water of the edge³ of the sharp, large sword in thy hand!"

(V. 32.) When the prince, having thus obtained the blessing of the king (*and*) afterwards the true blessings of (*his*) mother, (*and*) having bowed to both, was about to start for his country, the sound of the conches (*announcing his*) departure and of shrill auspicious bugles reached the ends of the quarters.

(V. 33.) When the glorious Rājarāja had ascended (*the throne of*) the Vēṅgi country, (*as*) the sun the eastern mountain, the night of enmity was dispelled; darkness in the disguise of foes was driven away; the stars in the semblance of necklaces disappeared from the firmament—the wives of the enemies; (*and*) fire in the shape of sorrow sprang up in the sun-crystals—the hearts of the wives of foes.

(V. 34.) In the Śaka year reckoned by the tastes (6), the sky (0), the atmosphere (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1006)— in the month Jyāishṭha, in the bright fortnight, on the full-moon *tithi*, on a Thursday, when the moon had joined Jyēṣṭha, in the excellent *lagna* Simha,— the sinless lord, the glorious Rājarāja, having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, put on the tiara to the joy of the world.

¹ The word *agrajam* occurs in l. 46 and *priyātmajam* in l. 50. I omit the intervening epithets of Chōḍagaṅga, from which we learn little more than that he was a worshipper of Śiva and "an ornament of the Chālukya family" (v. 22).

² The words *tuṅgaṇāpi mahābhīṭaḥ* may also contain an allusion to the Rāshtrakūṭas, who had the surname Tuṅga; see above, Vol. IV. No. 40, verse 8, and Vol. V. No. 20, verse 6.

³ The word *dārdra* has to be taken also in the sense of 'a stream.'

[V. 35 is identical with v. 23 of the Piṭhāpuram plates.]

(V. 36.) This ocean plentifully supplies heaps of wonderful gems,—surely¹ (*because it*) fears a repetition of (*its*) bridging, retreating, stirring, swallowing and overleaping² from him (*who is*) a Rāmaḥhadra in archery, a Bhārgava in splitting hosts of enemies, a Mandara mountain in firmness, a pitcher-born sage in (*absorbing*) the ocean of sciences, (*and*) a son of the wind in prowess.

[Ll. 67-76 illustrate by a series of *vyatirekālāṁkāras* that the king as regent of the middle sphere was superior to the regents of the ten directions. The pun (*ślēsha*) in the word *dakṣhiṇāśā* (l. 70) is particularly amusing.]

(L. 76.) While this asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkātraya*), the glorious Viṣṇu-vardhana-Mahārājādhirāja, the Rājaparamēśvara, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the very pious one, who delights all regions of the world by (*his*) second name Rājārāja, the dust of whose lotus-feet adorns the diadems of lords of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*), who purifies the whole horizon by the great mass of (*his*) pure fame that is being praised by the whole world, who is distinguished by the marks of an emperor, the glorious Chōḍagaṇḍadēva, was enjoying the pleasure of the sport of ruling the whole earth,—once, being attended on all sides by the retinue consisting of the troop of all vassals, *etc.*, in the *darbār* hall of the palace, which had very lofty pinnacles, which possessed the splendour of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) which produced the impression of a lump of his fame that remained after the interior of the whole world had been filled (*with it*), at the capital of (*his*) family, the city (*nagarī*) named (*after*) Jananātha,—called together all the Rāshtrakūṭas and other ryots living between the Mannēru³ (*river*) and the Mahēndra (*mountain*) and ordered as follows in the presence of the councillors, the family priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers and the ministers :—

(V. 37.) “There are (*many*) servants, dependent on the lotus-feet of the kings of my family, clever in service, (*and*) possessing courage and other virtues.

(Vv. 38-41.) “Among them (*are those who have been*) always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings of my family by great devotion, strength and intelligence; who have protected the Chālukya kings at the beginning with their riches, with their lives, (*and*) with their courage and other virtues; who have come already at the beginning with king Vijayāditya, the lord of Ayōdhya, who was desirous of conquering the southern region; the ryots dwelling in the town Vijayavāṭa, the capital of the kings (*who were*) ornaments of the race of the Moon (*Rājavamśa*);⁴

(L. 90.) “And who are born in the Teliki family, whose minds are intent on the performance of their duties, (*and*) who are known to be divided into a thousand families such as Velumanūllu, Pattipālu, Nariyūllu, Kumudāllu, Marṛūllu, Povandlu, Srāvakulu, Uṇḍrūllu, Anumagondalu and Aḍḍanūllu.

(L. 92.) “Be it known to you that, being pleased by (*their*) great devotion, we have now granted to these people by an edict (*śāsana*), as long as the moon and the sun shall last, that when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as Vijayavāṭa and all other towns, cities,

¹ The particle *śaśam*, ‘surely,’ introduces the figure (*alankāra*) of ‘poetical fancy’ (*utprēkṣā*), which in the present case pertains to a cause (*kāraṇa*), viz. the fear felt by the ocean, and is founded on a series of metaphors (*rūpaka*), viz. the identity of the king with Rāma, *etc.*

² These humiliating experiences the ocean had undergone successively at the hands of Rāma, Paraśurāma, the Mandara, Agastya and Hanumat.

³ Mannēru is the Telugu genitive of Mannēru.

⁴ Compare *Rāja-kula-pradīpa* in verse 7 of this inscription, which seems to mean ‘the light of the race of the Moon,’ rather than ‘the light of the warrior-caste,’ as I had translated it in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 59, verse 8.

villages and hamlets (P), the married couple may proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (*to them*) in a golden vessel, (*as*) handed down by old custom.

(L. 98.) "This gift must be assiduously protected by the kings descended from our family."

[Vv. 42-48 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 108.) The *ājñapti* of this edict, which was given in the seventeenth year of the prosperous and victorious reign, (*was*) the commander of the camp;¹ the composer Viddayabhāṭṭa; (*and*) the writer Pennāchārya.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date of the accession of Rājārāja-Chōdaganga (above, p. 345, verse 34).

"The date is irregular for Śaka-Saṃvat 1006, both expired and current. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1006 expired the full-moon *tīthi* of Jyāishṭha ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 22nd May A.D. 1084, when the *nakshatra* was Jyēshṭhā, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., by the Brahma-Siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise. *Simha* was *lagna* from 4 h. 32 m. to 6 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1006 current the same *tīthi* ended 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 2nd June A.D. 1083, when the *nakshatra* by the equal space system only was Jyēshṭhā, for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise (while it was Mūla by the Brahma-Siddhānta and according to Garga). *Simha* was *lagna* from 3 h. 51 m. to 6 h. 0 m. after true sunrise.

"The date would be irregular also for Śaka-Saṃvat 1005 current and 1007 expired."

No. 36.—RANASTIPUNDI GRANT OF VIMALADITYA; DATED IN THE EIGHTH YEAR.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved were discovered about 70 years ago while quarrying earth for bricks in the fields of the ancestors of a ryot in the Amalāpuram tāluka of the Gōdāvarī district, and are now in the possession of Valavala Jagganna who lives at Amalāpuram. They were received from the Collector of Gōdāvarī through the Government of Madras in 1899 and will have to be returned to the owner. Dr. Hultzsch has kindly permitted me to publish them.

The plates are five in number and were strung on a ring, which had not yet been cut when they were received. The ring measures about 6½" in diameter and about ½" in thickness. Its ends are secured in a four-petalled flower, which forms the base of a circular seal of about 3¼" diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāṃkuta*. Below the legend is an eight-petalled flower, and above it a running boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant-goat; behind it the crescent of the moon; and above it the sun flanked by two *chauris*. The breadth of the plates is 10½", and their height 5½". Their edges are raised into rims for protecting the writing, with the exception of the first side of the first plate, which is blank, and of the second side of the fifth plate, which bears only two lines of writing. The writing is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but a number of places are damaged by verdigris.

¹ With *kaṭakaddhīpa* compare *kaṭakaddhirdja*, etc.; above, Vol. IV. p. 309, note 1, and Vol. V. p. 181, last line.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu, while the language is mostly Sanskrit verse and prose. The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 87-94) is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu prose. I would draw attention to the following points in the alphabet of the inscription. The long *ā* after consonants is marked in different ways; compare *dhā*, *nā*, *rā* and *hā* in line 1 with the *smā* of the first *tasmād*= in line 3, and with the *smā* of the second *tasmād*= in the same line. The long *ā* added to conjunct consonants of which the *rēpha* is a member is generally omitted, except in *rttā* of *vāṁśa-karttā* (l. 4) and *rshā* of *varshāni* (l. 29). The syllable *jā* occurs eight times in the inscription; but it is written correctly only once (in *mahārājādhirāja*, l. 61), while in the remaining seven cases the long *ā* is not marked at all. Initial *ī* occurs in ll. 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87 and 97. In a large number of cases the *rēpha* is added to the *i*-symbol above consonants, the addition being denoted by a slight indenture at the base of the latter, e.g. in *rtti* (ll. 4, 16, 60) and *rvvi* (ll. 19, 33, 34, 41). Initial *ī* occurs in l. 91. The secondary form of the long *ī* is rarely distinguished from that of the short *ī*; but in *śrī* (ll. 1, 2), *śī* (l. 3) and *chī* (l. 5) an attempt is made to mark the length. Initial *u* occurs in l. 94. In combination with consonants this vowel is denoted in three different ways; compare *ru* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), *śu* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 3) with *nmu* (l. 2) and *tsu* (l. 3), and with *yu* (ll. 3, 4, 8). The secondary form of the long *ū* is also denoted in three different ways; compare *bhū* (l. 1) with *sū* (ll. 2, 3) and *chū* (l. 2), and with *tsū* (ll. 8, 30, 33), *trū* (l. 41) and *śū* (l. 70). Initial *ē* occurs in ll. 36, 75, 91. Combined with consonants, this vowel is denoted in two ways; compare *tē* (l. 3), *mē* (l. 4) and *kē* (l. 7) with *jñē* and *nē* (l. 2). Initial *ai* is found in l. 6, and initial *ri* in l. 7. Final *k* occurs in l. 68; final *m* in ll. 3, 37, 41, 46; final *n* in ll. 31, 35, 36, 41 (twice), 53, 62; and final *t* in ll. 17, 20, 29, 38, 52, 64, 67. In the majority of cases no distinction is made between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*; compare *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 81) with *°vāraṇ-ādis*= (l. 83) and *mad=alābhi* (l. 84); but in *pratiḍakkā* (l. 22), *Kaḍamba* (l. 23), *Kāramachēḍu* (l. 84) and *Peggaḍa* (l. 85) the loop of the *ḍ* is quite distinct. The aspirate *chha* occurs twice in the inscription (ll. 14, 59), and in both cases in conjunction with *cha*. In all other cases its place is taken by the unaspirated *cha*. Double *śśha* is written as if it consisted of *sha* and *va*; see ll. 32, 35 and 43. The *upadhāniya* occurs in ll. 1, 4, 5 (twice), 11 (twice), 14, 15, 38, 46, 70, 73.

Of orthographical peculiarities the following deserve to be noted:— The syllable *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Richuka* for *Rībhuka* (twice in l. 7), *kritō* for *kṛitvā* (l. 9), *°vritāntas*= for *°vritāntas*= (l. 21) and *°kritya* for *°kṛitya* (l. 86). The syllable *yi* is used for initial *ī* in *yiti* (l. 9) and *yiva* (ll. 45, 47, 55, 56 (twice), 57, 68). *G* is doubled after an *anuvāra* in *Gaṁgg-ādi* (l. 23) and *°saṁggatir*= (l. 81) and before *r* in *°ggrāhinas*= (l. 12), and *t* before *r* in *Ttrilōchana* (l. 17). After *r* consonants are generally doubled, except in *-Bhīm-Ārjuna*- (l. 12) and *nirjitya* (l. 23). *Sāmbrājya* occurs for *sāmbrājya* in l. 23.

The inscription opens with the Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings (ll. 1-15) and with a legendary account of their ancestors (ll. 15-25). Ll. 25-42 furnish the historical genealogy of the donor Vimalāditya. The date of his coronation is given in verse 13. He is praised in general terms in vv. 14-20 and in the subsequent prose passage (ll. 54-61). L. 61 f. contains the king's titles *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vishṇuvardhana*, etc. Vv. 21-34 describe the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the grant itself, the description of the boundaries of the village granted, and of a field which belonged to it. The inscription closes with the date of the grant, and the names of the executor, the composer and the writer.

The Paurāṇik, legendary and historical portion of the genealogy agree almost literally with the corresponding passage of the Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I.¹ as far as the description of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (v. 11). The Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I.,² the Tēki plates of Chōḍagaṅga,³ the Chellūr plates of Vira-Chōḍa,⁴ and the Pithāpuram plates

¹ Above, Vol. IV. No. 43.

² No. 35 above.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48 f.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39.

of the same king¹ also agree with the Ranastipūṇḍi grant to a great extent, while the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva² furnishes substantially the same facts regarding the early Eastern Chālukyas and their ancestors. The historical portion commencing with the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana is known from grants earlier than the time of Vimalāditya. But the Ranastipūṇḍi grant is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered, which contains the Paurāṇik and legendary portions (ll. 1-25).

This is the first inscription which has been found of king Vimalāditya, the son of Dāna or Dānārṇava by his wife Āryamahādēvi³ (v. 12) and younger brother of that king Śaktivarman who ruled immediately after the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country. An important item of information furnished by our grant is the date of Vimalāditya's accession, which until now had to be obtained by deducting the duration of his reign as given in the copper-plate grants from the date of the accession of his son and successor Rājārāja I. as found in the Korumelli plates⁴ and in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant.⁵ According to verse 13 of the subjoined inscription, Vimalāditya's coronation took place in the *Simha lagna* and the *Pushya nakshatra*, on Thursday, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Vṛishabha* in *Śaka-Saṃvat 933*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on this date:— "In line 43 read *pañchamyām*, 'on the fifth *tithi*,' instead of *yash-shashṭhyām*. With this alteration the date corresponds, for *Śaka-Saṃvat 933* expired, to Thursday, the 10th May A.D. 1011. The fifth *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month *Jyāishṭha*) in the solar month *Vṛishabha* ended at 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya*, by the equal space system and according to Garga, for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. For a place situated at 16° Northern Latitude, the *Simha lagna* on that day lasted from 5 h. 14 m. to 7 h. 24 m. after true sunrise."

The above date removes a discrepancy in the duration of the interregnum between Dānārṇava and Śaktivarman. All the grants assign 27 years to this interregnum. The interval between the accession of Amma II. (*Śaka-Saṃvat 867*) and that of Rājārāja I. (*Śaka-Saṃvat 944*) is 77 years, while the total duration of the intervening reigns is only $25 + 3 + 12 + 7 = 47$ years. It had therefore to be inferred that the interregnum lasted $77 - 47 = 30$ years. This discrepancy has already been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.⁶ As we know now that Vimalāditya's reign commenced in *Śaka-Saṃvat 933*, the interregnum is reduced to roughly 27 years, the period actually mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions.

If we subtract from A.D. 1011 the period of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (12 years), we get the approximate date of the accession of Śaktivarman himself, viz. A.D. 999. The interregnum which preceded Śaktivarman's reign and which lasted 27 years has thus to be placed roughly between A.D. 972 and 999. Hitherto it has been supposed that the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was caused by a Chōḷa invasion.⁷ The earliest Chōḷa king who claims to have conquered Vēṅgī is Rājārāja I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. The conquest of Vēṅgī is first mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th year of his reign = A.D. 999-99.⁸ Consequently, the interregnum could not have been caused by the invasion of the Chōḷas, but was probably put an end to by that event. If this conclusion is correct, the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I. must have restored order in Vēṅgī by placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and the interregnum must have been due to causes other than the Chōḷa invasion during the time of Rājārāja I. There is also reason to believe that no Chōḷa invasion could have taken place before the time of Rājārāja I.

¹ Above, Vol. V. No. 10.

² Above, Vol. IV. No. 33.

³ This queen is mentioned as Ā[r]yadēvi in the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva; above, Vol. IV. No. 33, verse 19.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 50 and p. 53, text lines 65-67.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 302.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32, note 10.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 272.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 5.

The later Eastern Chālukya inscriptions, beginning with the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, report that Vimalāditya reigned 7 years, while the subjoined inscription is dated in his 8th year (l. 97). His accession took place in A.D. 1011, and that of his successor Rājārāja I. in A.D. 1022. Thus the duration of Vimalāditya's reign was 11 years, i.e. 4 years in excess of the period assigned to him. The explanation of this difference has perhaps to be sought for in the following facts. Two inscriptions on the Mahēndragiri hill in the Gañjām district (Nos. 396 and 397 of 1896) record that (the Chōḷa king) Rājendra-Chōḷa defeated Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory on the hill. The date when this event took place is not known. But as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Rājendra-Chōḷa's Tamil inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Rājārāja I. was still living. Again, there is an inscription in the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru near Tanjore (No. 215 of 1894), dated in the 29th year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I., which records certain gifts to the temple by Vishṇuvardhana-Vimalāditya, who is no doubt identical with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name. There is thus reason to believe that Vimalāditya was at or near Tanjore in A.D. 1013-14. This fact, coupled with the defeat recorded in the Mahēndragiri inscriptions, appears to show that Vimalāditya was taken prisoner to Tanjore by Rājendra-Chōḷa. While in the Chōḷa country, he must have married Kundavā, the daughter of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I. and younger sister of Rājendra-Chōḷa I.¹ After this marriage Vimalāditya may have been sent back to his dominions about A.D. 1015. Taking these inferences for granted, it may be assumed that, though the period counting from his accession in A.D. 1011 to the date of his death in A.D. 1022 is 11 years, the later Eastern Chālukya records recognise neither his original accession in A.D. 1011 nor the period of his stay in the Chōḷa country, but reckon his reign from the time when he began to rule after his return from the Chōḷa country, and thus give only 7 years as the duration of his reign.

The inscription attributes several surnames to Vimalāditya, viz. Birudaṅka-Bhīma (ll. 44 and 73 f.), Tribhuvanāṅkuśa (l. 47), Mummaḍi-Bhīma (l. 51) and Bhūpa-Mahēndra (l. 74). Birudaṅka-Bhīma occurs also in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (l. 52). The surname Mummaḍi-Bhīma means 'the third Bhīma' and is appropriate for Vimalāditya, as there were only two among his ancestors who bore the name Bhīma. Before introducing the surname Mummaḍi-Bhīma (v. 19), the composer of the subjoined inscription refers to certain predecessors of the king who were looked upon as founders of the family, and states that Mummaḍi-Bhīma was also one of those founders. Again, in two different places the king is spoken of as 'the rescuer of (his) family' (l. 57 f.) and as 'the only rescuer of (his) family' (l. 75). If any significance is to be attached to these statements, they must imply that Vimalāditya took proper care to ensure the succession in his family and to strengthen its position. It is not impossible that there is a remote reference in these passages to Vimalāditya's alliance with the powerful Chōḷas by his marriage with the Chōḷa princess Kundavā, and perhaps also to the actual birth of an heir to the throne, viz. Rājārāja I. The disastrous effects of the anarchy which prevailed in Vēṅgī immediately before the accession of Vimalāditya's predecessor could not have been altogether forgotten at the time when the subjoined grant was issued, and the king's attempts to render the position of his family firm and stable were apparently appreciated by the composer, if not by all the people in Vēṅgī.

The donee was a minister of the king, called Vajra (vv. 24, 26, 28, 30) or, in Telugu, Vajjiya-Peggaḍa (l. 85). He belonged to the Kauṇḍīya gōtra (v. 22), was a resident of the village of Kāramachēḍu (l. 84), and bore the surnames Budhavaajraprākāra (v. 31 and l. 85), Amātyasikṣāmāni and Saujanyaṛatnākāra (v. 33 and l. 85). The composer was Bhīmanabhaṭṭa, son of Rāchiya-Peddēri. This person must have been the father of the composer of

¹ *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 126.

the Korumelli plates, Chêtanabhaṭṭa, who calls himself the son of Râchiya-Peddêri-Bhîma. The writer of the subjoined grant was Jontâchârya, who may have belonged to the same family as his namesake, the writer of a grant of Amma II.¹

Ranastipûṇḍi, the village granted, belonged to the Guddavâdi-vishaya² (l. 62). I am unable to identify either Ranastipûṇḍi or the other villages which are mentioned in the description of its boundaries. As regards Kâramachêḍu, where the donee is stated to have come from, it may be mentioned that there is a village named Kârimchêḍu, 9 miles west of Bâpatla in the Kistna district.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 * श्रीधाम्पुत्रोत्तमस्य महतो नारायणस्य प्रभोर्वाभीपंकदहाभूव
जगतस्सष्टा स्वयंभूस्त-
- 2 तः [1*] जप्ते मानससुनुरचिरिति वस्तुस्मान्मुनेरचितस्त्रीमी वंश[क]रक्षुधांशु-
रदित[2*] श्रीकण्ठचूडामणिः । [1*]
- 3 तस्मादासीमु[धा*]स्तैर्जुधो दु[ध]नुतस्ततः [1*] ज[1*]तः पुररवा⁵
नाम चक्रवर्त्ती स[वि]क्रमः । [2*] गद्यम् । तस्मादायुरा-
- 4 युषो नहुमः नहुषायातिचक्रवर्त्ती वंशकर्त्ता तत[पु]ररि[ति] चक्रवर्त्ती
ततो जनमेजयाश्चमेधचितय-⁶
- 5 स्व कर्त्त[1*]⁷ । तत[प्रा]चीश[प्रा]चीशस्त्वेन⁸वातिस्त्वेन्ययातेर्हयपतिर्हयपते-
स्त्वायमौमस्त्वायमौ-
- 6 माज्जयसेनः चयसेनाश्चहौमः महाभौमदैशानसः ऐशानश्चात्क्रीधाननः
क्रीधाननादेवकिः
- 7 देवकेरिपुत्रः⁹ रिपुकादृचकः ऋच[का]तिनरक्षयगयाजी¹⁰ सरस्वतीनदीनाथः
ततः कात्या-
- 8 यनः कात्यायनाशीलः नीलायुषस्त[स्]स्त[स्]तः¹¹ । आर्य[1*] । गंगा-
यमुनातीरे यदविश्विन्नंविस्वाय¹² यु-
- 9 प[1*]न्क्रमशः [1*] क्रित्वा¹³ तथाश्चमेधाकाम महाकर्मभरत यिति¹⁴
योक्षभत[स्] । [1*] ततो भरताडूमन्युर्भूमन्योसुहोचसुहोचा-
- 10 हस्ती हस्ति[नो विरोच*]नः विरोचनादजमीलः अजमीलात्संवत्सः संवर-
णस्य तपनसुतायास्तपत्याश्च सुधन्वा सुधन्व-

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 17.² On Guddavâdi see above, Vol. V. p. 123 and note 2.³ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 83.⁴ From the original copper-plates.⁵ Read पुररवा.⁶ Read °जयीचमेध°.⁷ See above, Vol. IV. p. 304, note 3.⁸ Read °प्रास्तेन°.⁹ Read °केसुपुत्रः सधुका°.¹⁰ Read °नृतिवरक्षज°.¹¹ Read नीलायुषस्तसुतः.¹² Read °विश्विन्नं विस्वाय यू°.¹³ Read कृत्वा.¹⁴ Read इति.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 37 त्य देशात्पिष्टेतरेषामपि शाचवानाम्¹ [1*] क्षामश्वराज[1*]गुजराजभीमो
भीमस्वमा द्वादश रक्षति स्म । [७*] ²तस्मिन्नुरानतारा-
- 38 तिरस्मराजो ³नृपाग्रणीपंचविंशतिवर्षाणि (1) वेङ्गीभुवमपालयत् । [८*]
हैम[1*]तुरोश्मनृपतेर्ह[1]संनृपो⁴ राजभीमनृ-
- 39 पतनयः [1*] विद्याकलापचतुरश्चतुरंतधरामपालसमा[स्व]स्मः⁵ । [९*] अतु
⁶दाना[1*]र्णवादासीहैवदु[स्त्रे]ष्टया ततस्सप्त⁷
- 40 ⁸विशतिवर्षाणि वेङ्गीमहिरणायिका⁹ । [१०*] अत्रान्त(र)रे दाननरेन्द्र-
सुत[1*] श्रीशक्तिवर्मा[1*] सुरराट्सधर्मा[1*] यशौर्यशक्त्या वि-
- 41 निहत्य शत्रू(न्)स द्वादशाब्दा(न्)समरक्षदुर्वीम् । [११*] तस्यैव दाननृ-
पतेस्साध्याश्चार्थ[1*]महादेव्याः [1*] सु-
- 42 ¹⁰नुव्विमलादित्यस्सत्याश्रयवशवर्चनो देवः । [१२*] अनलानलरन्ध्रगते शक-
वर्षे वृषभमासि
- 43 सितपद्मे [1*] यषष्ठ्यां गुरुपुत्रे सिंहे लग्ने प्रसिद्धमभिषिक्तः । [१३*]
शशिविशदयशीव्यात्या स्व-
- 44 शरीरविबोधनार्थमवहत्कण्ठे [1*] शशलक्ष्मलक्ष्मलक्ष्मीं शंभुर्विदंभीमनृ-
पतेर्यस्य । [१४*]
- 45 अरिकरटिकुंभविदलनमुक्तसमामुक्तश्चिरमुक्तानिकरः [1*] हार यिव¹¹ यस्य
दोरसिर(र)ध्यासितजयत्रियो
- 46 भाति चिरम् । [१५*] यत्तेजःप्रपलायितरिपुपुरगृहशालभंजिकासुख-
रोधो [1*] लूतापटस्तु परजनविलोकना-
- 47 सङ्घनवहपट यि[व]¹² भाति । [१६*] दुस्साधनाधिकविरोधिगजे[न्द्र]संघ-
निर्भेदतस्त्रिभुवनांकुशनाम युद्धे [1*] अन्वत्यं-
- 48 त[1*]त्रिजमजीगमदुद्धतं यो बं[हि]ष्ठसिंहपरिहासिपराक्रमयोः । [१७*]
यस्मावर्चभीमधरणीश्वरनीतकल्प-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 49 ¹³प्राघूर्त्तकेभमदसिक्तमहीविभागः [1*] यस्तर्जितानिलजवाक्षसहस्रसंघधाव्या-
[ह]ताहितशिशोक्ति-

¹ Read °वाणाम्.⁴ Read °हाननृपो.⁷ Read ततः । सप्त°.¹⁰ Read °नुव्वि°.¹³ Read °प्राघूर्त्त°.² Read तस्मिन्.⁵ Read °मासिस्मः.⁶ Read °विशति°.¹¹ Read इव.³ Read °अग्रणीः । पंच°.⁹ Read दानावर्षवा°.⁸ Read °रणायका.¹² Read इव.

Ranastipundi Grant of Vimaladitya; the eighth year.

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ii a.

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ii b.

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iii a.

38 38
 40 40
 42 42
 44 44
 46 46
 48 48

iii b.

50 50
 52 52
 54 54
 56 56
 58 58
 60 60

iv a.

62 62
 64 64
 66 66
 68 68
 70 70
 72 72

- 50 शूलकोटिः । [१८*] आदौ शंभुशिरोमणिस्र च सुधास्रुतिस्रुधांशस्ततस्तद्व-
[श्यो] भरत[स्त*]तश्च विजयादित्य-
- 51 सलुक्कांक्षितः [१*] श्रीसत्त्वाश्रयवत्तभस्तदपि च श्रीसर्वलोकाश्रयो [देवो]
सुस्रुडि[भो]मनामनृपतिर्यो व-¹
- 52 शकत्त[र]भवत् । [१९*] सौराष्ट्रान्दरयन्ती निशितपरशुधारायमाना
शकानां ला[टा]नां गु[र्ज]राणामथ भवति मनो-
- 53 हारिणी वत्तभा वा । शूरान्स्त्र[ः*]स्थान्विधत्ते वृकतिप्रदखिला[न्स्त्री]र-
[मन्यान्वि]भीतान् काष्ठान्तस्त-
- 54 प[ः*]श्रीरिषा² नयति रणे शौर्यसम्पद्यदीया । [२०*] स वीरमकर-
ध्वजः मकरध्वज यिव³ ध्वस्तविग्र-
- 55 हः ग्रहपतिरिवाहितान्वतमसापहरः हर इव राजकलाधरः धरणीधर यिव⁴
56 रमारामाभिरामः राम यिव⁵ परशुक्रियासहः [सह]देव यिव⁶ देव[र*]-
ध्वर्यनन्दनः
- 57 नन्दनविशेष 'यिवाभिलषितफलसमुत्कविसहस्रः सहस्राक्षोपमानः मानव्यस-
गोचः गोचनि-
- 58 स्तारकः तारकाधिपान्वयवर्द्धो वृद्धिनिशाकरः करदीकतारातिपर[म्प]रः
परनरपतिनिकरमुकुट-
- 59 तटघटितमणिगणकिरणपरिकरितसमरुणितचर[णे]न्दो[व]र[ः] वरवराहलांछ-
नालीकनम[र*]-
- 60 च[र]वित्रासिताखिलधराधीशचक्रः चक्रवर्त्तिपदवीसमुचितानेकधवलच्चत्राया-
श्चादितसर्व-⁵

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 61 लोक[ः]सर्वलोकाश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्ट[र]कपरम-
ब्रह्मण्यपरम-
- 62 माहेश्वरः । 'गुहवादिवि[ष*]यनिवासिनो 'राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबि[न]-
सर्व[र]समाह्वय मन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- 63 तसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकाध्यक्षमित्यमात्रापयति यथा । आशो य[ः*]
स्वयसुहृभूव परमन्न-
- 64 ह्या निसृज्यान्वपो वीर्यन्तास्त्रवसृष्टमण्डमभवद्भैमन्नहत्तेन⁷ यत् । तस्मात्तो-
कपितामहो विधिरभूत-

¹ Read वज्र°.² Read इवा°.³ Read राष्ट्रकुट°.⁴ Read श्रीरिव.⁵ Read °स्रुक्कायाश्चादित°.⁶ Read °मन्याह°.⁷ Read इव.⁸ Read गुहवादि°.

- 65 आम्भरोष्वादयः¹ पुत्रा ये दश जग्निरे श्रुतिमय[र*] वर्चस्विनी म[र*]-
नसाः । [२१*] तेषां श्रेष्ठत[र]-
66 मो वसिष्ठ इति यस्मात्स्वतीकी मुनिस्तस्मात्कण्डिन² इत्यभूद्ध³ च तत्की-
ण्डिन्यगोत्रे क्र-
67 म[र*]त् [र*] यो विद्वानुदितोदितद्विजवरो द्रोणः 'प्रमाणीभर[हु]त्त[ः*]
स्तुत्ययमतिर्बल्योदय-⁴
68 स्तुत्यवाक् । [२२*] दत्ताभिधानसचिवो हरदत्तवरप्रसाद यिव⁵ तस्य
सुतः [र*] शुभकृत्यभा-
69 वमद्वितः प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्ति(य)संयुक्तः । [२३*] तस्य च सहस्रधात्रः
पतिव्रतायाश्च चीडमं[र*]वाय[र*]: [र*] व-
70 आभिधान इति यस्मूनुस्मृतवचास्सुमेधास्सुमणः⁷ । [२४*] नित्याकर्षणया⁸
शश्वदुभिः पटुभिर्गृहे [र*] वेद-
71 शास्त्राणि यद्वाचि पधन्ति⁹ श[क]शारिकाः । [२५*] भीमेश्वरसमो देवो
वेगोश्चरस[मो नृ]पः [र*] वज्रामात्यसमोमा-
72 त्यो न भूतो न भविष्यति । [२६*] ¹⁰नागेन्द्रेर्हिगिभैश्च षोडशनृपैराद्ये-
र्हितां¹¹ आ[धु]र[रि] वीरैरप्यति[शू]द्रकप्रभृति-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 73 भिक्षाजेर्हुरं दुस्सहं [र*] विभ्रद्यपथि[तं]¹² क्रमाद्ययवलाहाहाबलात्प्राप्त-
वान्म[र*]हाय्यं विबुदं¹³
74 भीमनृपतेः कार्येण खड्गेन च । [२७*] ¹⁴गो[त्रं]चेत्तुररिचमाधरकुलोन्ने-
दात्म[हेन्द्रात्म][:*] [त्री]माभूपमहेन्द्र
75 एव नितरां गोत्रैकनिस्तारकः [र*] तद्व्यादतिरिभ्यते¹⁵ लघुतराह्वाभिधोयं
गुर्य्यन्नाथोपि च यज्ञ-
76 टश्च विबुधव्रातैरिति[र*] स्तूयते । [२८*] ¹⁶[य]नेधानलधूमधूमघटितैरक्षै-
र्ब्रिजेहाहितक्षोणीभृत्पुरदाहधूमजनि-
77 तांभीभृत्सहस्रैस्म¹⁷ । व्याप्तं व्योम तदीयशत्रुलक्षणादृक्पायसा[मा च]मा
सिक्ता यत्परिपा-

¹ Read °रीचादयः.

⁴ Read °भवद्.

⁶ Read इव.

⁹ Read पठन्ति.

¹⁰ Read प्रथितं.

¹¹ Read °रिष्यते

² Read °कुण्डिन.

⁶ Between य and म the engraver has omitted five *aksharas*.

⁷ Read °सुमणाः.

¹⁰ Read नागेन्द्रे.

¹³ Read विबुदं.

¹⁶ Read यनेधा.

³ Read °द्ध.

⁸ Read °कर्षणया.

¹¹ Read °राद्यैर्हिता.

¹⁴ Read गोचर्हिता.

¹⁷ Read °स्यमं.

- 78 वनातिथिपदप्रक्षा[ल*]नाक्षांभसा¹ । [२८*] य[*] श्रीवज्रामात्यो² धन-
सन्तपितजगज्जनस्तुत्यः [१*] भूसुर[वं]गा-³
- 79 दिव्यशुचिरतिचतुरो वचोनिरत्ययसत्यः । [३०*] बुधवज्रप्राकारा⁴ गृहनि-
यमितारिसैनिकचक्रः⁵ । [१*]
- 80 चक्रभृदुश्चक्र[*] श्रीकण्ठपदारविन्दषट्भरणः⁶ । [३१*] सदा स्ववाचा
मनसा च कर्मणांस्वकारि ये-
- 81 नाधिगुणेन कुण्डिनः [१*] प्रवृत्तवैतानिक(व)धर्मसंगतिर्हिज[१*]धिनाधो-
ययदारतानिधिः⁷ । [३२*] चालुश्चूडामणिपा-
- 82 दभक्तो भक्तैकचूडामणिरीश[मृ]र्त्तिः [१*] कीर्त्यन्वि[तोम]ात्यशिखामणि[*]
श्रीसौजन्यरत्नाकरनामधेयः⁸ । [३३*] सप्तांगके गृ-
- 83 पपदे प्रभुता प्रधाना तादृश्यमात्यपदवी खलु तद्वितीय⁹ । ¹⁰श्रीद्वारपिञ्च-
करकातपवारवादिस्तस्यां वि-
- 84 शेषमहिमा मदलाभि येन । [३४*] तस्मै मङ्गलाय कृतकेशाय
कारमचेडुवास्तव्याय कौण्डिन्यगोचा-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 85 य[१*]मात्यशिखामणये बुधवज्रप्राकाराय सौजन्यरत्नाकाराय वज्रियपेगड
इति प्रसिद्धाभिधा-
- 86 नाय भवद्विषय¹¹ (i) पा००७व००७नामग्रामेण सार्धं रणस्ति[पू]ण्डिनामग्रा-
मोग्रहारीकृत्य¹² मत्सवंर्हि-
- 87 तत्त्व(१)निमित्ते मय[१*] दत्त इति विदि[त]मस्तु व[.] । अस्यावधयः
पू[र्व्व]तः कौत नडिपिय [चे]००७ प००७मटि क-
- 88 इ । आग्नेयतः स्त्रीतुक००७तियुं वा[लूरियु] र[ण]स्तिपूण्डियु सुव्यलिङ्गु-
ट्००७न वेलांगगुण्ड¹³ प००७मटि कट्ट । दक्षि-
- 89 णतः पेजे००७वु कट्ट डिगु[ना]लि चोव । नैरित्यतः¹⁴ पालूरियुं गो००७-
केटियु रणस्तिपूण्डियु
- 90 सुव्यलिङ्गुट्००७न चिन्तगुण्ड¹⁵ । पश्चिमतः को००७केटि पोद००७ । व[१*]-
यव्यतः ००७जसोमैव सोमा ।

¹ Read °नाक्षांभसा.

² Read °प्राकारो.

³ Read °षट्चरणः.

⁴ Read तद्द्वितीया.

⁵ Read °रीक्षण.

⁶ Read °गुह्य.

⁷ Read °सन्तर्पित°.

⁸ Instead of से the metre (Udgiti) requires a short syllable.

⁹ Read °नाक्षीयसुदार°.

¹⁰ Read °पिञ्च°.

¹¹ Read °गुह्य.

¹² Read °वंश°.

¹³ Read °रत्नाकर°.

¹⁴ Read °द्विषय°.

¹⁵ Read नैर्ऋततः.

91. उत्तरतः क७७प७७तियुने७७ट्यु सीमैव [सी]मा । ईशानतः^१ ष७७ट्यु
मोन्तुक७७तियु रणस्तिपूण्डि-
- 92 यु सुखलकुट७७ । एतद्रण(र)स्तिपूण्डिनाम[१*]यहारसंबन्धिनः तांक७७-
पोलसुनामसंघनचे-
- 93 चस्यावधयः पूर्वतो दक्षि[णत]श्च [ग]ंगले७७ । पश्चिमतः सिरि[पोदि]-
पूण्डियु गीगनत्रोलियु ७७स्युं बोत्तुन कोक्कि७७ ।
- 94 उत्तरतः सिरिपोदिपूण्डि[सीमैव] सीमा । अस्थोपरि न केनचिद्वाधा
कर्त्तव्या [१*] यः करोति स पञ्च[मह]पात(१)को भव-
- 95 ति । तथा चोक्तं भगव[ता] व्यासभट्ट[१]रकेनापि^२ । बहुभिर्व्यसुधा
दत्ता बहुभिश्चालुपा[लिता] [१*] [यस्य यस्य] [य*]दा
- 96 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तद[१ फ]लं । [३५*] [स्त्र]दत्ता प[रदत्ता] व[१*]
यो हरेत्^३ वसुन्धरां [१*] षष्टिं वर्ष(१)सह[स्त्र][१*][णि विष्टायां
ज][१*]यते क्रि-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 97 मिः । [३६*] षष्टमवर्षवर्षने सिंहम[१*]से दत्तस्यास्य शासनस्य त्रि-
दण्डनायक इति द्विज[१*]धिनायकः । आश्रमिर्नृ[प*]का-
- 98 मो राचियपेहेरितनयभीमनभट्टः [१*] कर्त्तव्यां काव्यानामध^४ शासनले-
खकश्च जीन्ताचार्यः [॥ ३७*] ✽

TRANSLATION.^५

[Up to line 36 the text is nearly identical with that of the Chellūr plates (II. 1-42)].^६
(Verse 7.) Having expelled this Yuddhamalla from the country and having crushed the
other enemies, the terrible Rājabhīma, the younger brother of Ammarāja (I.), protected the
earth for twelve years.

(V. 8.) His son Ammarāja (II.), the foremost of princes, before whom enemies prostrated
themselves, ruled the country of Vēṅgī for twenty-five years.

(V. 9.) The son of king Rājabhīma (and) brother of king Amma (II.) by a second
mother, king Dāna, (who was) skilled in all sciences, ruled for three years the earth to (its)
four ends.

(V. 10.) Then after (the reign of) Dānārjaya, through the evil action of fate, the country
of Vēṅgī was without a ruler for twenty-seven years.

^१ Read ऐशानतः.

^२ Read °केनापि.

^३ Read हरेत्.

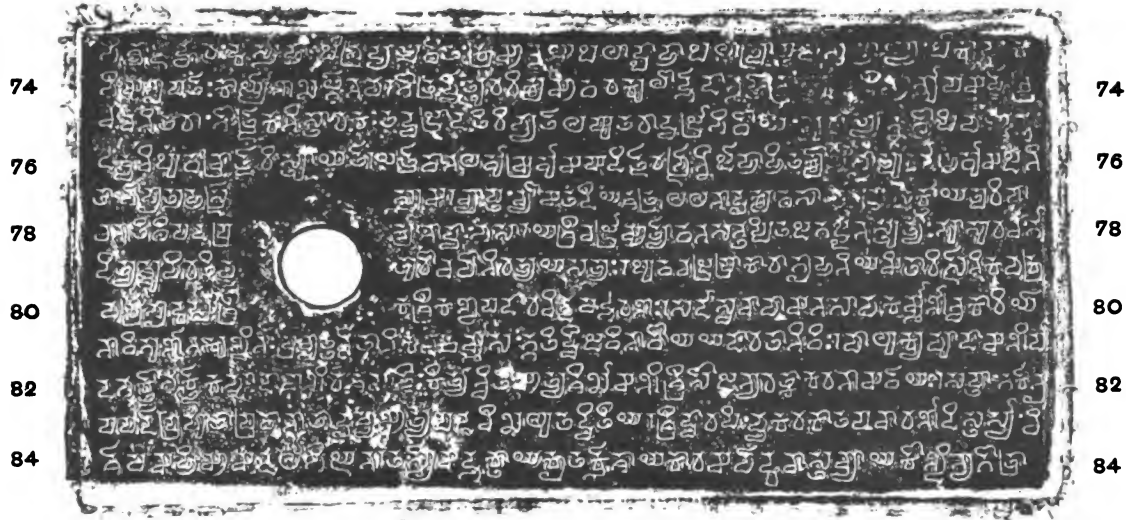
^४ Read °नय.

^५ It is my duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Hultzsch for the translation of a number of verses, the
meaning of which I could not make out.

^६ See the translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 57 f.

Ranastipundi Grant of Vimaladitya ; the eighth year.

iv b.



v a.



v b.



(V. 11.) At this point the son of king **Dāna**, that glorious **Śaktivarman**, who resembled (Indra) the king of the gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of (*his*) valour, protected the earth for twelve years.

(V. 12.) The son of this same king **Dāna** and of (*his*) virtuous great queen **Āryā** (*was*) king **Vimalāditya**, who made the family of **Satyāśraya** (*i.e.* of Polakēsin II.) prosper.

(V. 13.) In the **Śaka** year contained in the fires (3), the fires (3) and the openings of the body (9),— (*i.e.* **Śaka-Saṃvat 933**),— in the month **Vṛishabha**, in the bright fortnight, on the sixth *tithi*, in (the *nakshatra*) **Pushya** (combined with) **Thursday**, in the *lagna* **Siṃha**, he was publicly anointed.

(V. 14.) As (*the whole world*) was filled by the fame— white as the moon— of this king **Birudāṅka-Bhīma**, (*the god*) **Śaṃbhu** (**Śiva**), in order to make his (*white*) body recognizable, wore on (*his*) throat (*a black spot possessing*) the splendour of the spot in the moon.

(V. 15.) The sword in his arm, to which were sticking a mass of glittering pearls which had dropped at the splitting of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, is resplendent for a long time, as if it were the necklace of the goddess of victory who rested (*on his arm*).

(V. 16.) The cobwebs, which cover the faces of the statues in the houses of the towns of the enemies routed by his valour, appear as if they were veils put on (*because they*) could not endure the sight of strangers.

(V. 17.) He, the glory of whose valour laughed at the strongest lions, made significant in battle his proud name **Tribhuvanāṅkuśa** (*i.e.* 'the elephant-goad of the three worlds') by splitting (*the temples of*) a crowd of numerous mighty elephants of the enemy, which were hard to overcome.

(V. 18.) The ground (*in front of*) his (*palace*) was sprinkled with the rut of strong foreign¹ elephants, brought by the rulers of the country of **Sārvabhauma**.² Crores of stakes were surmounted by the heads of enemies, which had been brought (*back*) from raids (*undertaken by*) his troops of thousands of horses which rivalled the wind in swiftness.

(V. 19.) In the beginning the founder of the race was (*the Moon*), the jewel on the head of **Śaṃbhu** (**Śiva**), the nectar-producer, the nectar-rayed; then his descendant **Bharata**; then **Vijayāditya** surnamed **Chalukya**; (*then*) the glorious **Satyāśrayavallabha**; and then the glorious king **Sarvalōkāśraya**, the prince named **Mummaḍi-Bhīma**.³

(V. 20.) At its free will his great valour in battle, like the edge of a sharp axe, cuts up the **Saurāshtras**; like a wife who captivates the mind, deprives the **Śakas**, **Lāṭas** (*and*) **Gurjaras** of (*their*) courage; like good deeds, causes all heroes to reside in heaven; (*and*) drives others who are afraid to the ends of the quarters, as if the fervency of their austerities led (*them*) to the highest goal.

(L. 54.) This Cupid among heroes, who has put an end to war (*vigraha*), as Cupid has lost his body (*vigraha*); who destroys (*his*) enemies, as the sun dense darkness; who is skilled in royal sciences (*rāja-kalā*), as **Hara** (**Śiva**) wears the crescent of the moon (*rāja-kalā*); who is beloved by the goddess **Lakṣmī** (*Ramā-rāmā*), as a mountain is adorned with pleasure-gardens (*ram-ārāma*); who is skilled in the use of the axe, like **Rāma**; who pleases gods and priests, as **Sahadēva** is the son of the *Adhvaryus* of the gods (*i.e.* the **Aśvins**); who gladdens thousands of poets (*samut-kavi-sahasra*) (by granting) the fruit of (*their*) desires, as a kind of **Nandana**

¹ Literally 'guests.' The kings of the North had come on their elephants to visit Vimalāditya.

² *I.e.* by the kings of the North. **Sārvabhauma** is the name of the elephant of the god **Kubēra**, the regent of the Northern direction.

³ This verse implies that Vimalāditya, to whom the titles **Sarvalōkāśraya** and **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** refer apparently, was considered equal in importance to his ancestors: the Moon, **Bharata**, **Vijayāditya** (of **Ayōdhyā**) and **Polakēsin II.**

(*tree*) (*bears*) desirable fruits coveted by thousands of birds (*samutka-vi-sahasra*); who resembles the thousand-eyed (Indra); who belongs to the *gōtra* of the *Mānavyas*; (*who is*) the rescuer of (*his*) family; who increases the *race* of the Moon; (*who resembles*) the moon in waxing; who has made crowds of enemies tributary; whose lotus-feet are surrounded and reddened by the rays of clusters of jewels set into the diadems of crowds of (*bowing*) hostile kings; by the mere sight of whose excellent *boar-crest* the circle of all the rulers of the earth is terrified; the shade of whose many white parasols, worthy of the dignity of an emperor, overspreads the whole world; the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious *Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja-dhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), having called together the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* and all other *ryots* residing in the district (*viśhaya*) of *Guddavādi*, orders as follows in the presence of the ministers, the family-priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, and the door-keepers:—

(V. 21.) The primeval supreme Brahman, who was born spontaneously, subsequently created the waters. The seed emitted by him into these became a great golden egg. Out of this was produced the Creator, the progenitor of the world. From him were born ten learned (*and*) brilliant sons of the mind, commencing with Marichi.

(V. 22.) The best of them was the sage called Vasishṭha whose (*wife*) was Arundhatī. To him was born Kuṇḍina. And then in due course in that Kuṇḍinya *gōtra* (appeared) Drōṇa, a learned Brāhmaṇa conversant with the tradition, whose conduct became authoritative, whose mind was praiseworthy, who was continually rising (*and*) truthful.

(V. 23.) His son (*was*) the minister called Datta, who, like an excellent boon granted by Hara (Śiva), performed good deeds, was honoured on account of (*his*) greatness, (*and*) possessed the (*regal*) powers, (*vis.*) majesty, counsel and energy.

(V. 24.) The son of this abode of good qualities and of (*his*) devoted wife Chīdamāmbā is named Vajra, whose speech is true and pleasant, (*who is*) wise (*and*) benevolent.

(V. 25.) In his residence parrots and *mainds* recite the Vēdas and Śāstras, as they hear (*them*) continually every day in the house from clever students.

(V. 26.) There never was nor will there be a god like Bhimēśvara,¹ a king like the lord of Vēngī (*viz.* Vimalāditya), (*and*) a minister like the minister Vajra.

(V. 27.) He obtained in due course the high position of companion of king Birudaṅka-Bhima,—carrying by means of (*his*) administration through the power of (*his*) policy the heavy burden of the earth, which had been supported by the lords of serpents, the elephants of the quarters, and the sixteen first kings, and (*holding*) by (*his*) sword through the power of (*his*) arm the front of the battle, (*which had been held*) also by heroes like Atiśṭdraka (?).

(V. 28.) Hosts of wise men praise both the master and the servant, because the glorious Bhūpa-Mahēndra (*i.e.* Vimalāditya) alone is much more able than (*the god*) Mahēndra, who destroyed the mass of hostile mountains (*as the former*) hostile kings, (*but*) split families² (*while the former is*) the only rescuer of (*his*) family, (*and*) because the weighty man named Vajra is superior to his (*viz.* Indra's) very light thunderbolt (*vajra*).

(V. 29.) The sky is filled with the clouds formed by the dark smoke of his triple fire, together with the thousands of clouds produced by the smoke of the conflagration of the cities of (*all*) kings on this earth hostile to him, (*while*) the earth is sprinkled by the pure water (*used in*) washing the feet of his holy guests, together with the tears of the wives of his enemies.

(V. 30.) This glorious minister Vajra is to be praised by (*all*) the people of the world whom (*he*) has gratified by (*gifts of*) money, the sun of the Brāhmaṇa caste, pure, very clever (*and*) of faultless truth in (*his*) speech.

¹ Evidently the temple at Drākshārāma is meant; see above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

² The author here attributes this meaning to Indra's surname *Gōtrachchhēdṭri* or *Gōtrabhīd*, which properly means 'the mountain-splitter.'

(V. 31.) (*This*) **Budhavajraprākāra**¹ keeps the troop of the soldiers of the enemy at home,² possesses the happiness and prosperity of the discus-bearer (*Vishṇu*), (*and is*) a bee at the lotus-feet of Śrīkaṇṭha (*Śiva*).

(V. 32.) This very virtuous lord of the twice-born, who always equalled Kuṇḍina³ in his speech, thoughts and actions, has performed a mass of sacrificial rites (*and is*) a treasury of liberality.

(V. 33.) (*This*) **Amātyasīkhāmaṇi**⁴ is devoted to the feet of the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas (*vis. Vimalāditya*), (*is*) the only crest-jewel among devotees, resembles Īśa (*Śiva*), has acquired fame, (*and*) bears the glorious name **Saujanyaṛatnākara**.⁵

(V. 34.) Among the seven constituent parts of a kingdom the foremost is sovereignty, (*and*) second to it (*is*) a suitable ministry. Special distinctions, such as *śrīdvādra*,⁶ a peacock's tail, a water-pot and a parasol, he (*vis. Vajra*) received from me in that (*office*).

(L. 84.) "Be it known to you that, for the sake of my prosperity, I have granted the village named **Raṇastipūṇḍi** in your district, having made (*it*) an *agrahāra*, together with the village named **Pāruvaḷa**, to this **Amātyasīkhāmaṇi Budhavajraprākāra Saujanyaṛatnākara**, who is known by the name **Vajjiya-Peggaḍa**, is devoted to me, has taken pains (*in my service*) resides at **Kāramachēḍu**, (*and*) belongs to the *Kaṇḍinya gōtra*."

(L. 87.) The boundaries of this (*village are*):— In the east, the western bank of the tank in the middle of **Kauta**; in the south-east, the western bank of the Wood-apple pond (*Velaṅga-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of **Mrontukaṛṇṇu**, **Pālūru** and **Raṇastipūṇḍi** meet;⁷ in the south, the road on the ridge (*ḍli*) sloping to the bank of the Big tank (*Peñjeruvu*); in the south-west, the Tamarind pond (*Ohinta-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of **Pālūru**, **Korukēru** and **Raṇastipūṇḍi** meet; in the west, a bush in **Korukēru**; in the north-west the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **ḷulla**; in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Kaḷaparru** and **Elṭa**; in the north-east, the spot where the three boundaries of **Elṭa**, **Mrontukaṛṇṇu** and **Raṇastipūṇḍi** meet.

(L. 92.) The boundaries of the *Amallaṅghana* (?) field in the fields of *Tāṅkaḷa*, which belongs to this *agrahāra* named **Raṇastipūṇḍi**, (*are*):— In the east and south, the **[G]āṅgalēru** (*river*); in the west, **Kollikurru** near (?) **Siripodipūṇḍi**, **Goṅganavrōlu** and **ḷulla**; in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Siripodipūṇḍi**.

(L. 94.) Nobody shall cause trouble to this (*grant*); he who does (*it*) becomes possessed of the five great sins.

(L. 95.) And the venerable lord **Vyāsa** has also said:— [Verses 35 and 36 contain admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 97 and v. 37.) The executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant, which was given in the prosperous eighth year, in the month **Simha**, (*was*) **Nṛi[pa]kāma**, the lord of the twice-born, entitled the glorious *Danḍanāyaka*. The author of these verses (*was*) **Bhīmanabhaṭṭa**, son of **Rāchiya-Peddēri**. And the writer of the edict (*was*) **Jontāchārya**.

¹ *I.e.* 'the wall of adamant (in protecting) wise men.'

² *I.e.* they are afraid to leave their houses.

³ According to verse 22, *Vajra* belonged to the *gōtra* of Kuṇḍina.

⁴ *I.e.* 'the crest-jewel of ministers.'

⁵ *I.e.* 'the ocean of gentleness.'

⁶ Compare *makarātōraṇa* which, as well as the peacock's tail, was one of the emblems of the Eastern Chālukyas. Compare also above, Vol. III. p. 92, verse 38, and Vol. IV. p. 48, verse 3.

⁷ Regarding *muyyalikurru* see above, Vol. IV. p. 96, note 4.

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¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the additions on pp. v. to vii. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *W.* = Western.

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